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RENÉ VIVIANI

The special representative and former Premier of the Republic of France, who arrived in America in the latter part of March to urge upon the new Administration the necessity for reorganizing our relations with European countries

[See page 9]

THE
WORLD'S WORK

MAY, 1921

VOLUME XLII NUMBER 1

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

THE foreign policy under the Harding Administration is rapidly taking form. First and foremost, we shall have no relations with the Russian Government which is supported by murder and dedicated to the overthrow of democracy.

And it is clear that, while the Administration does not object to a Congressional declaration that war no longer exists, the actual settlement of the war must be made in coöperation with the Allies under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, although modifications, including the elimination of the League Covenant, are to be made. The important point, however, is that Harding has committed himself to a settlement under the existing treaty and in coöperation with the Allies. After this he commits himself to an effort to create some machinery to take the place of the League. The President's message and the informal note to Germany announcing that we agree with the Allies as to Germany's guilt in the war and the necessity for her making reparations to the full extent of her ability are efforts to provide an antidote for the weakening of the Allies' position which our attitude has caused.

In the meanwhile the State Department has announced that as long as we are not in the League we do not necessarily accept the League's decisions as binding, and that we intend to negotiate concerning our rights with any nation whose acts affect those rights, whether that nation is acting in accordance with the dictates of the League, the agreements of the Big Three, or on its own initiative.

It is, however, fairly clear that the new Administration, while refusing to use the League machinery, does, through the old channels of diplomacy, intend to maintain close and sympathetic relations with Great Britain, France, and Italy, and with these relations to take a more informed interest in world affairs —all of which affect us now more or less directly—than we ever have done heretofore. To do this, Mr. Hughes evidently intends to make a very strenuous effort to reorganize the diplomatic and consular services, not only in personnel, and continuity of service but also in their relations with the State Department. The reform in the State Department itself, headed by Secretary Hughes with Henry Fletcher and Robert Bliss as assistants, will mean more in giving morale and purpose to the whole service than any other single thing. Mr. Hughes's definiteness of mind and administrative ability are well known. Mr. Fletcher is the only man who ever rose through the grades of the diplomatic service to the rank of ambassador and his experience and that of Mr. Bliss cover many of the capitals of the world.

It is an encouraging sign that the new State Department is not on the defensive, merely trying to settle troubles that have arisen, but that it has already taken the initiative and is trying to direct the course of events into channels which shall be safe and beneficial to the United States—the only method by which diplomatic crises can be averted before they arise.

Photo by Moffett Studio

CHARLES G. DAWES

Head of a committee of eleven, appointed by the President to conduct an inquiry into the treatment of our ex-soldiers. Mr. Dawes, a Chicago financier, was, during the war, a brigadier-general on General Pershing's staff, and his record both during and since the war is one that suggests the probability of action on the greatly delayed problem of our ex-soldiers

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EUGENE MEYER

Appointed by President Harding as head of the resuscitated War Finance Corporation. Mr. Meyer is largely responsible for the existence of this board, and is also largely responsible for its being called into operation again after its activities were suspended in 1920 [See page 14]

THE STATUE OF BOLIVAR, RECENTLY UNVEILED IN CENTRAL PARK, NEW YORK CITY
This statue of the great South American liberator, executed by Mrs. Sally James Farnham, was erected by the Venezuelan Government. The unveiling was made the occasion for a demonstration of strong Pan American friendship, in which President Harding was invited to take the leading part

THE BUST OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

The Sulgrave Institution and seventy-one associated societies are presenting to the people of Great Britai for deposit in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, and in the Town Hall, Liverpool, two busts of George Was ington from the original statue by Jean Antoine Houdon. A third will be presented to Sulgrave Manc the English ancestral home of the Washingtons. The unveilings will take place in May

SIR PAUL DUKES

Who, until recently, was Chief of the British Secret Intelligence Service in Soviet Russia, and whose article, descriptive of conditions in Russia, appears in this number of the WORLD'S WORK. The inserted pictures were taken at the time he was playing the part of an enthusiastic Bolshevik [See page 100]

The Visit of René Viviani

ONE of the most important events since the signing of the Versailles Treaty is the visit of M. Viviani to this country. This visit is especially significant for the memories which it arouses. Few names imply more in the recent history of Franco-American relations than that of Viviani. He was the Prime-Minister of France who conducted the negotiations with Germany which preceded the World War. In May, 1917, Viviani and Marshal Joffre headed the French Commission to this country—a mission which resulted in the creation of an American Army and the effective coöperation of the United States in the war. M. Viviani's eloquence, sincerity, and patriotism profoundly impressed the audiences he addressed and the people with whom he came in personal contact, and laid the basis for the earnest reception which he has now received. Though his mission is one of officially extending the felicitations of France to the new American President, it has in fact a purpose much more far-reaching and definite. M. Viviani's real hope is that this visit may complete the results of the one which was made so successfully in 1917. At that time he and his associates succeeded in persuading the American people that upon their whole-souled participation in the war depended the salvation of the Allied cause. The fruits of this coöperation became evident eighteen months afterward in a defeated Germany. Having contributed decisively to this result, the mass of Americans apparently regarded their work as finished and began to lose interest in European politics.

The essential characteristic of M. Viviani is the dramatic; and his arrival has the wholesome effect of concentrating national attention upon the existing international situation—of bringing the Harding Administration face to face with what is its greatest problem. The world is marking time, waiting for a final policy toward Germany. The economic and industrial life of all nations is standing still until this matter is decided. Conditions are not so acute in the United States as in other countries, but they are far from satisfactory, and there will be no positive change until the Administration clearly outlines and actively pursues a foreign policy. There is no excuse for further delay. There is no comfort to be gained in any further carping on the mistakes of the Wilson régime. The fact that the Versailles Treaty was made a political issue gave some excuse for postponing this decision until a new Administration was seated in Washington. That Administration is now in power; it was elected by the most overwhelming majority given any President since the Civil War; it has an abundant majority in both the Senate and the House. The Republicans therefore have ready to their hands all the agencies needed for meeting the German issue. It is absurd to maintain, as certain unenlightened and partisan forces at Washington are maintaining, that the Treaty and the League are not the predominant questions of the hour. The assertion that the tariff comes first is not only a display of parochialism sadly out of tune with the pressing claims of a disordered and disintegrating Europe, but is nonsensical from a fiscal standpoint. The close relation between the German indemnity and a tariff policy is apparent, since Germany must pay an indemnity, if she does pay one, in manufactured goods. It will be necessary to have this and other questions resulting from the war settled before Congress can act intelligently on the tariff or anything else. Even taxation, important as that is, is a matter that can be decided only after a peace policy has been determined. The amount we shall pay in taxes is clearly connected with such questions as disarmament, the American-owed debts of European powers, reparations, and a dozen other details. Moreover, the time has passed when Washington can discuss this issue in generalities. The last eight months have witnessed a sufficiency of ambiguous phrases. No proposal is entitled to the slightest interest now that is not made in definite terms. The world cares to hear nothing further about an "association of nations," "coöperation," and the like; it is now concerned only in a programme which sets out in precise terms just what these expressions mean.

Influence of American Drifting in Europe

THE truth is rapidly dawning on the American consciousness that American policy since the Armistice has exercised a malevolent influence upon the course of human existence. To what an extent this explains the demoralized condition of Europe cannot be determined in a situation which is so complex; but it has been important. The most unfor-

tunate circumstance has been the encouragement it has given to Germany. The recent conduct of the German peace commissioners has opened many American eyes. Their spokesman, Doctor Simons, has taken a public stand which suggests the conqueror rather than the conquered. He has defiantly proclaimed the German belief that Germany does not regard itself as a defeated country and that it does not acknowledge responsibility for the war. In face of the fact that Germany, in signing the Treaty, specifically accepted this responsibility, and that the whole Treaty rests upon this acceptance, the new Simons doctrine amounts to little less than a repudiation of the work of Versailles. More and more is it becoming apparent that Germany proposes to ignore its signature—that the one fixed determination in German foreign policy at present is the destruction of. the Versailles Treaty.

At no time since the Armistice has the Fatherland shown any contrition—that is not a German trait; but never have its public acts taken on the insolence and defiance that mark them now. What is the explanation? It seems evident enough. Germany is simply playing once more the old Bismarckian game of dividing the enemy. She has just one possible way of escaping the penalties of her crimes, and that is by separating the United States from the Allies. Germany knows that she was unbeaten up to the time that this country entered the war. The result of this coöperation was the Treaty of Versailles—which represented the most disastrous defeat ever suffered by a great power which survived as a great power. This document is unique in human annals. It will take at least half a century to carry out its provisions. It necessarily assumes that the Powers, whose force compelled Germany to sign it, must remain united for the purpose of enforcing it. Something in the nature of a league of nations, in an alliance of the great non-Teutonic Powers, is implied in the very structure of the Treaty itself, for without this united force the details can never be carried out. If Great Britain should withdraw its support of France, is it likely that Germany, with a population twice that of the Republic, and with great military skill and resources, will observe these severe stipulations? But the coöperation of the United States is just as essential. German statesmen can thus see one possibility of breaking the Treaty and restoring Germany to her former strength; and that is by building a great wall between America and Europe. It is not surprising that many happenings of the last two years should encourage her. The failure of prompt ratification was the greatest victory Germany won since the destruction of the Fifth British Army in March, 1918. The fact that the responsibility for this failure is at least evenly distributed between the Senate and the Wilson Administration, that forces beyond the control of the American people placed them in this equivocal position, is not the point: the German masses cannot be expected to understand the intricacies of American politics or the play of personal and party passion in this country. That the American nation had officially rejected the product of Versailles was enough; to a people who could see nothing in the future but blackness the action of Washington opened up a new sunrise. The alliance which had accomplished the military destruction and which alone could keep down the Germanic menace was apparently broken. The present defiance of Germany is the inevitable consequence. So long as America remains aloof, invasions by the French army will not especially disturb the Fatherland; they are only temporary inconveniences. If this country maintains its present policy, aggression from France is a matter to which Germany herself can attend to in time.

The German-Americans Take Heart

BUT this indefinite position will have deplorable consequences at home as well as in Europe. Already voices which had been quiescent during the war are again becoming vocal. One of the worst consequences of the World War was the outbreak of hyphenism. The evidence which it afforded that there were certain elements in our population whose first allegiance was given to a European country and who, indeed, regarded the United States chiefly as an instrument for advancing the interests of a distant Fatherland, was something which struck deeply at the whole national structure. A particularly deplorable characteristic of hyphenism is that it is contagious. It is not exclusively a manifestation of the German and Irish immigrant, though in these directions it is most vociferous. It extends to al-

most every element in our population. All during the Peace Conference the more recently arrived immigrants sought to use the United States to advance the interests of their European fatherlands. American Poles, Czechoslovaks, Italians, and Greeks seemed to think that it was the business of the American delegates to advance their purely particularistic "national aspirations" in Europe rather than attempt to settle all problems on their merits. All right-minded Americans can have only the greatest contempt for the ignorant and degraded campaign which Henry Ford is waging against the Jews; the atrocious falsehoods published about a world-wide Jewish conspiracy to exploit mankind are at once ludicrous and infamous. Yet these same Americans see in the Zionistic movement a menace to American solidarity; for anything that tends to make any section of the population transfer a modicum of its allegiance, even a sentimental and religious allegiance, to foreign soil is an impediment to that undivided devotion which true Americanism demands. Americanism, after all, is a jealous mistress, and can brook no rivals.

But the most offensive revival of hyphenism is that which is now being exerted in the interest of Germany. In February a large crowd of disloyal American citizens gathered in Madison Square Garden, New York City, nominally to protest against the presence of Negro troops in German cities—this despite the fact that no Negro troops had been so stationed for six months; really to praise Germany, to abuse the new American President, to advocate the cause of Germanism in the United States, and to create a public sentiment that would separate the United States from Great Britain and France and transform our country into an agency for destroying the Treaty of Versailles. This meeting was really a great service to the cause of international decency; for it had the effect of widely advertising the Germanic purpose, of awakening the anti-Germanic impulses of the American people, and of starting forces at work that more than counteracted its malignant influence. The resurrection of certain disreputable characters who had not blatantly exhibited themselves since April, 1917, proved to be the precise stimulus which Americanism needed. The lack of an American policy on the Treaty was really the cause of this and numerous other manifestations of a new Germanic propaganda. One of the most effective ways of crushing these disintegrating forces and of hastening that process of amalgamation in which the future of the nation depends is to end the period of inaction. America's entrance into the war at once ended hyphenism and transformed all the elements in the population —always excepting the minute minority of professional agitators—into a solid and compact phalanx of Americans. Our entrance into the peace, if it is emphatic and definite, will have the same effect.

Industrial Recovery Awaits Peace

IT IS also apparent that there can be no permanent improvement in industrial and agricultural conditions until this uncertainty is removed. The loss of the European market is the chief reason for the economic troubles that now afflict us. So long as the United States Government financed the exportation of our great commodities to Europe, as it did for more than a year following the Armistice, this nation could enjoy boom times. But that is a process which cannot go on indefinitely; the rehabilitated War Finance Corporation may accomplish something, but no one expects that body to solve all the problems now facing the agricultural districts. The trouble that chiefly accounts for the existing depression is the sensational slump in the prices of those great commodities which largely explain our national prosperity—grain, cotton, pig iron, copper, and the like. It is true that the 1920 exports of wheat were nearly twice as large as those of 1919, and the greatest in our history; yet these exports largely represent the carrying out of contracts entered into last summer, in the prosperous season, and, while the outlook for this year is becoming brighter, there is little expectation that the record of the year just closed will be duplicated in 1921. The prosperity of one large section of the country, the South, depends almost exclusively upon cotton, and here the prospect is really disheartening. So large a part of last year's crop is still unmarketed that the planters have little incentive to grow a new one in 1921. Prices are so low that the loans made to finance operations in 1920 are unpaid, and the wherewithal to grow a new crop is therefore not readily obtainable. This does not mean that Europe has outgrown her need for the surplus product of our farms or plantations or our

factories. The world is not facing a period of overproduction—rather the reverse. It simply means that the mechanism of distribution has collapsed. Upon one point all economists and financial authorities are agreed; and that is that there will be no permanent change in agricultural and industrial conditions until a peace settlement has been made and the world started on the way to recovery. Legislation by Congress may help, but will not permanently relieve the ills of the farmers, the planters, the manufacturers, the bankers, and the merchants; the real difficulty is fundamental, and that is the existence of a chaotic world.

More and more the fact is becoming clear that mankind is facing an entirely new period in its industrial development and its political organization. As the question of the German indemnity is studied, the strange character of this new existence is manifest. It has now become a commonplace of newspaper discussion that the Germans can pay their indemnity in only one form—that of goods and services. There is only about $3,000,000,000 of gold in the world; Germany possesses only a fractional amount of this; whether the proposed indemnity is placed at $55,000,000,000, its face value, or at $20,000,000,000, its discount value, the idea that Germany can pay in any way except labor is, of course, absurd. The last great war indemnity actually collected, the $1,000,000,000 paid by France in 1871, was paid in the shape of foreign securities held by the French people, who took French bonds in exchange—the Government selling the securities for cash in foreign markets, particularly England. Germany does not possess a large stock of foreign investments, and can thus raise only a small part of her indemnity this way. Of course she could pay any indemnity demanded in paper marks—but such payments would merely amount to a promissory note, which, in the present condition of German credit, would not possess great value. No, Germany can pay only by her labor—by actually rebuilding with the hands of German workmen the territories destroyed or by producing goods. The first suggestion does not altogether please the French; especially they do not wish an army of German workmen in districts where there is much French population. The prolonged presence of hundreds of thousands of German workmen would cause all kinds of social troubles. Besides, the French wish to reserve this vast amount of employment for French workmen. Thus, from whatever possible points of view the question is considered, the same fact stands out—that only by manufactured products can Germany discharge her debt to mankind.

Far-Reaching Influences of an Indemnity

THIS means the growth of an enormous German foreign trade—a phenomenon which the enemies of the Fatherland cannot regard with complacency. While the United States would be affected, we should not suffer so greatly from the competition as other countries, especially Great Britain. Just what effect the flooding of the world with German low-priced products would have on British industry is something to which the British people are now giving much thought. Far more than British industry is at stake; the matter affects British politics, British social life, and the position of Great Britain as a great Power. The foreign trade of the United States can be destroyed and we can make economic adjustments that will still permit us to exist as a great and rich nation. Not so Great Britain. The inevitable result of the loss of her foreign trade would be an enormous reduction in population, with all the misery which that implies. One effect would probably be the transference of a large share of the population of the British Isles to the United States and to the British Colonies. In the early days of the Nineteenth Century there were only about 10,000,000 men and women and children in England, Scotland, and Wales; in those days Great Britain was an economic entity, herself raising the nation's food supply: in the Napoleonic wars, indeed, the farms of Great Britain, by feeding the continent, performed much the same function that American farms performed in the recent war. At present the population is about 41,000,000.

The presence of so many people in such a small area is an artificial state of affairs. It is made possible because England has become a great workshop and has built up an enormous foreign trade. The British have existed only by importing raw materials, exchanging the manufactured products with the rest of the world for the food which they cannot grow themselves. Without this foreign trade Great Britain would be compelled to reduce its population to a size which could be supported by British agriculture. Under normal cir-

cumstances this is the danger that faces Great Britain as a nation; that the collection of an enormous German indemnity of manufactured goods would hasten the process is apparent. This is only one aspect of the problem presented by a defeated Germany. It only shows again that there can be no economic or industrial equilibrium until this matter is settled. The idea that the United States can remain aloof while settlement is being made is simply childish. Whether there is to be a political League of Nations may be disputed, but there can be no question that an economic League of Nations already exists, that the world is an economic entity, and that nothing can happen in one section that does not immediately affect the rest. One of the greatest arguments for a world organization to assure peace is that a war is no longer the private business of the nations that chose to wage it. It is the concern of the entire world. Certain economists insist that, whatever the size of the German indemnity or whatever arrangements are made for its liquidation, the United States will really pay it. Since all nations have such a personal stake in international quarrels, it is not unfitting that they should have something to say as to whether they shall lead to war.

Balance of Idealism in America's Favor

WHILE most enlightened Americans believe that their nation should join some kind of a league or an association, they still believe that the manifestation of a new spirit in Europe would help the general situation. If the future of the world is to be settled on the basis of idealism, this idealism should be organized on a practical basis. Despite the unkind things said of the United States in foreign countries the balance of idealism, so far, is in this country's favor. But the difficulty is that neither our idealism nor that of any other nation has produced a sufficiently practical formula. Premier Clemenceau started the peace proceedings at Paris with a speech in the Chamber of Deputies, in which he took his stand in favor of reconstituting Europe on the basis of the old balance of power. Despite the Wilsonian League, that is the principle which ultimately triumphed.

The world did not clearly see this at the time the peace was signed, but it sees it clearly enough now. Territories were passed about for the purpose of establishing strategic frontiers and also as the spoils of victory. France and Great Britain acquired enormous accessions of new territory in Asia and Africa, Italy obtained purely German-speaking populations in the Tyrol, to say nothing of Trieste and other territories in the Mediterranean and Asia Minor. Japan obtained virtual possession of the great Chinese province of Shantung besides valuable islands in the Pacific. Some of these non-European territories, it is true, were transferred under the guise of "mandatories," but the terms of such of the mandates as have since been published show that the new possessions are to be controlled in the interests of the trustee nations rather than in the interests of their wards or mankind generally. Perhaps, in the present state of international conscience and capacity, the distribution of the assets of victory on the spoils basis is inevitable; the question is not a simple one. But in the whole situation one fact stands out conspicuously. The one nation which has not claimed a reward, and which certainly has received none, is the United States. Directly connected with this is the fact that the one nation that has refused responsibility is the United States. Had we been willing to accept responsibility it would have given us added power either for self-aggrandizement, if selfishness controlled us, or idealistic efforts if we were less selfishly inclined—more likely for a mixture of both. But by refusing responsibility we are without either profit or opportunity to practise ideals. The ordering of Versailles appears most strikingly perhaps in the relative positions assigned the United States and Japan. The United States spent 40 billion dollars in the World War; Japan invested about 250 million. The United States lost about 100,000 men—Japan about 300. The United States has demanded no advantages in return for its expenditures; the defeat of Germany and the elimination of the autocratic menace are compensation enough. Japan gets China's richest province, a large number of islands north of the equator that strategically nullify American occupation of the Philippine Islands, and the possession of a Pacific Island—that of Yap—which deprives this country of cable communication with its Far Eastern possessions. So far as material results are concerned, this country is thus considerably worse off than it was before the

World War—this despite its enormous expenditures of treasure and its considerable expenditure of life.

America's Duty to Europe

PROBABLY as far as land is concerned this is precisely the position which the mass of Americans would prefer to occupy. We have no interest in more land. Probably if this country had insisted, it too, could have shared in the parcellings out that took place in Paris. Great Britain frequently expressed a wish that the United States would join her in administering the German colonies, and our refusal to do so was perhaps a mistake. However, while we do not want more land we do want more trade and trading facilities, in the shape of cables and ships and markets. But on the whole it is fair to say that no fair charge of selfishness or lack of idealism can be made against the United States. This country had no responsibility for the World War. The origins of our troubles, such as those with Mexico, are far removed from the origins of European disturbances. The principles by which we have in the past governed our foreign affairs are likewise different and less complicated than those of Europe. If we are going to coöperate more in world affairs it is fair to ask Europe to bring her methods and ideals into conformity with ours at least as much as we change our habits to suit European conditions. On such a basis we can coöperate.

The first thing to be done is to stop Germany in her frantic attempts to escape the consequences of her crimes. The Treaty of Versailles, like most human documents, is a mixture of good and bad, but the balance inclines to the good. The penalties inflicted on Germany represent nothing but justice. This country should exert its full influence to make certain that those penalties are carried out in full. The existence of these penalties in itself provides a sufficient reason why we should ratify the Treaty with such reservations as are essential. That there are great faults in the document is apparent, and these should be corrected. But the only way in which this country can assist in correcting them is by becoming a part of the general association of nations which will administer the Treaty. The visit of M. Viviani shows that the Allies are prepared to accept the changes which the American people demand. The business of the Harding Administration should be to make this arrangement as speedily as posible. The United States draws its peoples and its traditions from Europe; we are what we are, because we are transplanted Europeans; and we certainly owe it to our inheritance to do all that we can to bring order and justice to a sadly worn and devastated continent.

Mr. Eugene Meyer and the War Finance Corporation

THERE is a great appropriateness in President Harding's selection of Mr. Eugene Meyer as head of the resuscitated War Finance Corporation. Mr. Meyer is the one person who is chiefly responsible for the existence of this board in its present shape. In March, 1919, Congress assigned a credit of $500,000,000 to the War Finance Corporation for the purpose of providing long credits to European customers who greatly needed American products. In a year's operations this organization lent $125,000,000 to such creditors; the reason it was not forced to encroach still more upon its resources was that it was able to persuade private bankers to assume a considerable part of the loans. In May, 1920, Secretary Houston suspended these operations; at that time our foreign trade was progressing prosperously and this work of the War Finance Corporation was regarded as superfluous. With the falling off in the demand for American agricultural products, strong pressure was exerted upon Congress for a resumption of this function. The judgment of many bankers and economists was strongly against it. The use of Government credit to finance exports was criticised as class legislation. Its purpose, it was urged, was to enable the farmers to sell their grain at high prices, and to use the money of the taxpayers in doing it. The process, therefore, was merely a temporary palliative; it might help the agricultural classes over their present hard times; the net result would be to maintain high prices for a somewhat longer period; the injustice of the whole proceeding was that it took the money of one part of the community to bolster up the fortunes of another.

This was the attitude of Secretary Houston and that of the President. The voice that most eloquently upheld a contrary view was that of Mr. Meyer. His testimony before a Congressional Committee was the most effec-

tive plea made in behalf of the War Finance Corporation. It converted Congress itself and many people whose natural tendency was to look upon this activity as a defiance of all the laws of finance and trade. As Mr. Meyer was a practical and successful banker, with international associations, his arguments naturally carried a weight that would not have been attached to those emanating from the plains of Iowa and Kansas. The appearance of this Wall Street financier as a friend of the farmer also had a piquancy which was not lost upon congressmen and senators. Practically on his assurance that the plan would succeed, that it would promote trade generally and not burden the taxpayer, Congress passed the resolution—and again passed it over the President's veto. The War Finance Corporation, however, has accomplished little since receiving this new lease of life. Naturally the farmers attribute this to the fact that the work had been placed in unfriendly hands.

Whatever the justice of this criticism, President Harding has done well in making Mr. Meyer the new head of the Board. If any man in the country can make the plan work, he is clearly the man. One of the most important of his duties will be the stimulation of similar activities in non-official quarters. Already the Foreign Trade Financing Corporation, organized under the Edge Act, is making preparations to engage in extensive operations. The organization of this concern is one of the most important developments in the business of promoting American foreign trade. There are foreign precedents for the Edge Act, under which this corporation is formed. Great Britain began its foreign trade expansion in earnest about 1860, and ten years afterward the German Empire started its competition for world markets. Both nations attempted to capture new markets by extending long term credits to purchasers, and the custom spread in all countries with which they did business.

The Edge Act represents an attempt to introduce the same system into this country. The Foreign Trade Financing Corporation, organized under its provisions, aspires to accomplish in the foreign field of commerce almost what the Federal Reserve Bank accomplishes in the domestic. Its capitalization is large enough to exert a powerful influence on our foreign trade problem, and it has the power to issue debentures in an amount ten times greater than its capital. The proceeds of the sale of the debentures will be used solely in the interest of expanding American foreign trade. It will include in its activities every American industry and will operate in all foreign countries, taking the securities of the foreign buyer for the credit extended to him, or investing outright in foreign producing enterprises. Like the English and the German organizations, the Foreign Trade Financing Corporation will establish outposts in every part of the world, for the furtherance of American commerce.

The Harding Administration and the Civil Service

ONE subject of which little has been heard in recent years, despite the fact that there is hardly one that is more important, is that of civil service reform. This matter is important because it strikes deeply at the spirit that should underlie democratic institutions. The gross manifestations of political corruption—such as the brazen use of money for the purchase of votes or legislation—are probably not the most serious impediments to honest government. These things are crimes and can be treated as crimes; there is no man so unblushing as to insist that they are anything else. The more difficult problems are those which arise from perverted points of view. Efficient and honest government is the kind which furnishes an exact return for every penny invested in it. In an administration conducted on ideal lines there would be no ground for personal favoritism—for the bestowal of offices in return for party services; every man and woman, in the humblest position as in the highest, would be selected purely on the basis of qualifications for the post. This is a conception which makes its way slowly; but political progress is measured in accordance with the extent to which it becomes a rule of action. It is an idea which many of the most fiery advocates of political honesty have never absorbed. Mr. Bryan, for example, had spent a lifetime denouncing the men who sought to use the government for the advancement of their private interests, yet he never perceived that he was doing something just as reprehensible when he stuffed the Federal payrolls with his own political followers. Reduced to its final meaning, this amounts simply to using the

public funds for advancing personal or party interest. A curious aspect of the wave of reform that swept over the country from 1900 to 1912, manifesting itself in such proposals as the Initiative, the Referendum, the Recall, the popular election of United States Senators, and the like, was that it entirely overlooked a matter that was infinitely more important and pressing—and that was the reform of the civil service. Many of the Western states which were most insistent on Railroad Commissions and Compensation Acts had no civil service commissions, and the successful politicians saw nothing wrong in treating the public offices as political spoils.

Yet the great progress which has been made in reforming the civil service, especially that of the Federal Government, is one of the greatest triumphs American democracy has made in fifty years. It is a triumph in which both parties can about equally share. President Hayes made the first important contribution, but perhaps President Cleveland is the one executive who gave the movement its greatest impetus. McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft also advanced the cause. In the last eight years progress has not been so great. On the whole the advocates of civil service reform do not look upon the Wilson Administrations as one of its friends. It passed several great measures which created a large number of new positions—especially the income tax law and the Volstead Act—and in most cases it specifically handed these jobs over to the politicians. On the other hand several improvements stand to its credit. Bryan's retirement from the Department of State gave an opportunity for merit in the diplomatic service which was impossible so long as he remained in office; the most tangible evidence of this was the promotion of several young men to chiefs of mission in such countries as Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Austria. Above all the Wilson Administration took the final stage in removing the Post Office from politics by placing "presidential" postmasterships on a competitive basis. The result of this order was that every postmaster, even that of the largest cities, such as New York and Chicago, ceased to be a temporary appointee, owing his place to political favor, but a permanent official, who was to obtain the position solely on the ground of fitness and to hold office during good behavior.

The new Harding Administration has already given signs that it proposes to further the cause of this great reform. The new Secretary of the Treasury and the new Secretary of State have retained most of the assistant secretaries whom they found in office. The hopes entertained by many Senators that President Wilson's order on first class postmasters would be rescinded by Mr. Harding are apparently doomed to disappointment. Mr. Hays, the new Postmaster-General, experienced politician that he is, assures the country that it is his purpose to "strengthen and broaden the civil service at every point wherever possible to the end that merit may govern." "The post office," he adds, "is an institution for service and not an institution for profit." It is his determination "to put the entire postal service upon a purely business basis, so sound and so serviceable that no political party will ever again dare attempt to ignore or evade it ultimately." This is the spirit which should control not only the Post Office Department but every branch of the Federal Service. It is the one path along which progress lies.

Universal Physical Training

THE Fess-Capper Physical Education Bill received scant attention in the short session of Congress ending March 4th, and its promoters have still to look ahead for its success, yet the bill has many good points. It proposes that the Federal Government shall pay one half the expense of training and employing physical directors for schools, including medical examiners and nurses. The states are required to meet the other half of the expense and to organize and conduct their own programmes independently and without Federal interference.

There is, naturally, at a time when Congress is being urged to reduce appropriations, some objection to the bill on the ground of unnecessary expense, yet the ten million dollars called for will not be spent wastefully if it does what is proposed. All persons between the ages of six and eighteen years are to benefit from the bill. The Fess-Capper Bill is planned for boys and girls alike, that they may be healthy when the duties of maturity fall upon them. Furthermore, this bill works not only to the advantage of the physical welfare of every child, but also will make it possible for a larger percentage of our boys to enter the army in case of

necessity than were able to do so during the World War.

The bill does not interfere with "states' rights," as has been charged, for it specifically states that the physical education programmes shall be conducted independently by the states in accordance with their own laws. Another criticism of the bill has been advanced by various anti-medical groups who base their objections on the grounds that the bill would compel the physical examination of the children against the expressed desires of the parents. This objection will probably be entirely eliminated by the inclusion of a provision preventing this interpretation.

The Fess-Capper Bill is not one that will attract a great deal of popular interest, and yet its effects might easily be so far-reaching, so constructive that Congress can hardly be urged too strongly to act favorably upon it.

Reasons for a New Arctic Expedition

THERE is wide-spread interest in the proposal that the American Navy send a large expedition of scientists to the Arctic. This would perpetuate the reputation established by the American and British navies as pioneers in polar exploration. But there are practical reasons now for Arctic exploration that did not exist a few years ago. Indeed, now that the North Pole has been found, the romantic period in Arctic exploration may be regarded as having passed. The old question, "What is the good of these expeditions?" can now be answered by pointing to essential advantages that may result. The unexplored Arctic still covers a vast area. Greenland alone, whose interior is almost wholly unknown, is nearly one fourth as large as the United States, and, if the deductions of scientists are well founded, there is in the Polar Sea a great continent, as yet unseen by civilized eyes. The scientific possibilities of such an expedition are too vast to be conjectured. There are thought to be vast deposits of oil in the polar regions, and their discovery might solve a problem which is perhaps the most serious menace to the present economic fabric of the world. How long the present fields can supply the demand is a matter of speculation, but many trustworthy estimates fix the maximum period at twenty-five years. Although oil-fields in the Arctic, probably have little practical importance now, they may have stupendous value in the future. Coal-mines in Spitzbergen, an Arctic archipelago as far north as central Greenland, have been profitably worked for some time. Therefore, the explorers who can plant their country's flag in the ice above such deposits, will confer an incalculable boon upon coming generations. The world already greatly needs larger supplies of the rare metals; their use in the naval mines of the North Sea is still a secret, but even the non-scientific world is familiar with the importance of vanadium and molybdenum in the steel industry, platinum and iridium in the laboratory, and radium in medicine. There are good chances that such deposits exist in polar continents.

These are a few of the possible direct benefits which this rumor of an Arctic expedition suggests. But, after all, those results we can predict are likely to prove the least important. To the devotees of science and learning the extension of the knowledge of mankind is in itself a sufficient excuse for the expense involved. The advantages that may result from the discovery of new lands cannot be foreseen. Four hundred years ago America was interesting to Europe chiefly as a land of possible gold and silver and precious stones, but, in its farms, its forests, its rivers, its coal, it has developed riches far greater than any ever dreamed of by Columbus and his followers. The fact that there are great areas still undiscovered and unexplored, even though they lie under ice and snow, is a sufficient excuse for such enterprises as are now in contemplation. Moreover, pure science will probably gain from a great Arctic expedition. It is only in the polar regions that atmospheric conditions approximate the phenomena of the high altitudes further south; the study of these conditions is of great importance to the progress of aeronautics. Probably the airplane will prove a great assistance to all future Arctic expeditions.

Commercial Success of the Panama Canal

ONE part of the United States that is not suffering from business depression is the Panama Canal. The success which that waterway has already obtained abundantly justifies all the forecasts made when its construction began. In the last few years the tolls have yielded a profit over the expense of maintenance. It has not yet reached a point which it has earned interest charges and the upkeep of equipment, but the

earnings are constantly increasing. Until 1917 the traffic for a calendar year had never exceeded 4,900,000 tons, and from 1917 to 1919 the amount transported each year had never exceeded 7,000,000 tons. But in 1920 more than 11,000,000 tons of cargo were carried through the Canal, and it seems that the growth of this year is only a beginning; the records for January, 1921, which are the best available, show that the tonnage of ships passing through the Canal again exceed all records for previous months. The number of vessels last year increased 32 per cent. and their tonnage, cargo, and tolls were all half as much again as in preceding years.

When a voyage is shortened from three to five days, the saving is sufficient to pay the tolls at the Canal; and when it is considered that the distance, from New York to San Francisco is decreased by 8,000 nautical miles, and from New York to Valparaiso by 3,700 miles, the tremendous value of the Canal becomes apparent. The traffic from the Pacific to the Atlantic slightly exceeded that in the other direction, which is not surprising in view of the fact that 2,000,000 tons of nitrates alone were carried from the west coast of South America to countries on the Atlantic. Eastward bound cargoes also included large amounts of cold storage products, lumber, sugar, and especially wheat and flour. Oil is the greatest westward bound cargo, most of the crude product going from Mexico to South America; but there are also large shipments of coal and coke, and steel and iron.

Vessels from the west coast of South America to the east coast of the United States were the chief users of the Canal, their cargoes amounting to one eighth of the total shipments which passed through in both directions. Only slightly less, however, are the cargoes from the Atlantic seaboard of the United States to the Far East, and from the west coast of South America to Europe.

In 1920 2,814 merchantmen passed through the Canal, 32 per cent. more than in 1919; and of these 1,281 were sailing under United States registry with a tonnage which exceeded the 867 British vessels by 1,196 gross tons. The vessels of the two Anglo-Saxon nations together comprised 76 per cent. of all the users of the Canal. Such figures are not only a tribute to the commercial initiative of America, which accomplished this great engineering project, first proposed four centuries ago; they are also a significant example of the rapid progress which is being made by American commerce.

Law and Order in New York City

SEVERAL civic organizations in New York City recently joined in a testimonial dinner to Dr. John A. Harris, a special Deputy Police Commissioner. Doctor Harris is an effective and unpretending citizen who has performed a service almost unique in the history of his town. For several years the haphazard methods which prevailed in New York for regulating traffic on Fifth Avenue had appealed to his reforming spirit. These methods differed little from those used in other large capitals. A traffic policeman located at important crossways ruled his little kingdom with autocratic sway. When, in his judgment, the automobiles, buses, and other vehicles going north or south had possessed the thoroughfare for a reasonable period, this gentleman lifted a tyrannical right hand, and perhaps blew a whistle. At these signals the vehicles came to a stop, giving the east and west bound traffic their chance. This would be a perfect system if there were only one junction point involved. The confusion was caused by the fact that, on Fifth Avenue, there were about fifty such centres, with the corresponding number of uniformed policemen, making not the slightest effort at co-operation. Each traffic despot managed his own particular point with no reference to what was taking place a block ahead; a vehicle would get beyond one corner only to be held up at the next, the result being that progress was a slow and extremely irritating matter.

Doctor Harris proposed a simple solution for this problem. That was to have the entire procession, reaching from Washington Square to Fifty-ninth Street, move as a mass. It either advanced as a unit, or stood still as a unit. He arranged a succession of electric signal towers, which gave the signals for traffic changes simultaneously. When a white light appears, the whole Fifth Avenue caravansary, for its entire length of nearly three miles, moves north or south. When a red light is flashed the whole aggregation stops as one; then comes a green light, which informs east and west bound traffic that it has the right of way. Like most reformers, Doctor Harris had trouble in convincing the authorities that this simple plan would succeed; he therefore

installed the system at his own expense. So successful has it proved that the merchants and bankers of the city have honored him with a public dinner in recognition of his great public services.

But Doctor Harris has done more than solve the problem of a congested city street. The most cheerful result of his enterprise is the demonstration that the people of New York have the utmost capacity for law and order. The chief value of the Harris signal towers is that they are great cultivators of good citizenship. For many years Englishmen boasted that the people of London were so law-abiding that merely the upraised hand of a London bobby would instantaneously halt the densest traffic. New York has improved upon this manifestation of a reverence for law and order. The flash of an electric light now produces the same effect upon a Fifth Avenue crowd. At night time the policemen are withdrawn from most of the intersecting points. Yet the mere appearance of the red and green light has a magical effect. The autos and buses come to a sudden stop and patiently wait until another colored light tells them to go on. Occasionally a bad citizen may break through the rule, but such performances are extremely rare. The records show that not a single summons has been served for violation of the traffic rules since the new plan was adopted.

Americans need education in few things so much as in a reverence for law. Doctor Harris's chief claim upon popular gratitude is that his system gives the New York public a splendid opportunity to train this faculty. That the people have responded so quickly gives grounds for optimistic belief in the permanence of the Republic. While most of the world is in turmoil, Fifth Avenue is showing the blessings that accrue to the masses from the observance of law and order.

Is There Natural Death?

NINE years ago Dr. Alexis Carrel, of the Rockefeller Institute, placed a small piece of chicken heart in a solution of chicken plasma and other media, and confided the specimen to an incubator at 39 degrees Centigrade. To the inexperienced layman there was nothing remarkable in this experiment, but to the scientist this chicken tissue soon assumed the utmost importance. For, contrary to the rule then regarded as an immutable one, the specimen lost neither life nor function. This piece of a chicken heart, removed from the living body and confined in a test tube, continued to behave as naturally as though existing in its accustomed habitat. Moreover, the passing of time apparently had no influence upon its vitality. It manifested no signs of growing old. Dr. Carrel discovered that two simple precautions would keep it in the bloom of perpetual youth. At stated periods it was given a bath in an antiseptic solution; at the same time it was provided with certain food which supplied all of its physiological needs. So long as these simple precautions were observed, this minute section of a chicken heart not only kept living and proliferating—more startling still, it also showed not the slightest sign of growing old.

Far back in 1912, when this daring experiment was begun, Doctor Carrel was asked how long his specimen would live. His answer was amazing. So long as these precautions were observed, he saw no reason why it should not live forever. If it were frequently sterilized, thus eliminating all possibility of infection, and if it were judiciously and periodically fed, he could see no necessity of death. For two years the experimenter gave his precious tissue his personal attention—and it continued to keep young and vigorous. Then the World War took Doctor Carrel to France, where he remained four years. During his absence an assistant religiously tended this new kind of vestal flame; so that, when the distinguished Frenchman returned to his duties, he found his little piece of chicken heart still alive and proliferating—as active and vigorous as when he left. Nine years have now passed and the first sign of decay has not yet appeared. All chickens contemporary with that from which this specimen was obtained have long since gone the way of all flesh; but this section lives on, apparently immortal. Time has no effect upon it. It is just as young to-day as on the day when it was removed from its parent. The usual graduations of human experience—infancy, youth, maturity, senescence, death—are not for it. At last science seems to have found the fountain of eternal youth.

While this Carrel demonstration will not abolish death it will inevitably lead to a revision of certain current ideas on that subject. Until this piece of chicken heart had upset their definitions, scientists had usually divided death

into two kinds—accidental death and natural death. Accidental death is the kind to which the vast majority of mankind was supposed to succumb. It was death caused by forces not inherent in the physical frame itself. It was death caused by an automobile accident, a fall from a ten-story building, or the invasion of the germs of pneumonia or typhus. All death caused by disease was listed as accidental death—for this represented an assault made upon the body by external forces. For this same reason all deaths by disease are avoidable—at least theoretically. If we could keep ourselves absolutely protected from disease germs, and from those forces which cause other ailments, the precise nature of which is not yet understood—we should not die of accidental death.

But science has insisted that, irrespective of all such influences, death would still be inevitable. The common parlance of men has recognized this same belief in the familiar phrase, "death from old age." The physical mechanism, whatever its future so far as disease or violence is concerned, must gradually run down and finally cease its operations. When this process is complete, when a man had died, not because he has been shot or fallen a victim to disease, but because his weary frame is unable longer to perform its functions, he is said to have died a "natural death"—or a "death from old age." Scientists had long recognized that such takings off are extremely rare—that is, that the vast majority of deaths are accidental; but that they actually took place had hardly been disputed. But Doctor Carrel's experiment seems to prove that there is really no such thing as natural death. Moreover, it apparently indicates that there is not necessarily any such thing as senescence or decay. Given certain conditions, the human frame should not only live forever but stay eternally young. If the Rockefeller Institute could do for the whole body what it has done for this little piece of chicken heart, it could produce that phenomenon which has existed hitherto only in the fairyland of poets—a man ever fresh, ever young and immortal. If each could be kept absolutely free from infection and other contaminations, and provided with precisely the food needed for its sustenance, the problem of eternal life would be solved. Of courses these conditions can never be realized.

But, while this Carrel experiment will not destroy death, it has modified certain ideas about it. It has great significance not only for the biologist, but for the philosopher and the theologian. Its application in the treatment of disease can only dimly be foreseen.

The Railroads' Troubles

THE favorable expectations based on the new railroad law passed by Congress a year or more ago have not yet been fulfilled. There have been two reasons for this; first, the high wages and the national working agreements with which the railroads are still burdened as a result of Mr. McAdoo's generous treatment of railroad workers while Federal Director General; and second, the falling off in traffic, both freight and passenger, due to business depression. As a result, the higher freight and passenger rates authorized by the Interstate Commerce Commission with a view to giving the roads the 6 per cent. return on their property value as specified in the new law have fallen far short of giving that return because the railroad managements have been unable to cut their expenses to fit the pattern of their smaller income.

Temporary expedients, however, have been adopted by most of the roads to meet this situation after a fashion, and the effects of these were reflected to some extent in the earnings statements for February, and will be reflected to a greater extent in the net earnings of the roads for the month of March. These expedients consist for the most part in laying off men in the maintenance departments and neglecting the up-keep of equipment. By this method it is hoped to save enough money out of gross receipts to pay the interest on bonds and dividends on some stocks. This, of course, is a policy that operates to the detriment of the properties, or would if it were continued long, but at a time when all the equipment is not needed it is not bad business policy to postpone repairs on part of it, particularly when it is likely to cost less to make the same repairs subsequently. This expedient is expected to carry the stronger, if not all the roads, over the present period of depleted net earnings until traffic comes back or wages can be substantially reduced, or both.

The wage item is the important thing just now. According to the railroad managements, it has recently been consuming 60 per cent. of all the money the railroads have taken in.

On the Pennsylvania system it has taken as much as 70 cents out of every dollar which that road has received. After other expenses of operation and maintenance have been met, there was an operating deficit shown on the reports of all the roads of the country in January. In other words, the combined figures showed nothing at all earned for interest on bonds or dividends on railroad stocks. Some roads did better than this poor average; but until wages are reduced, no permanent material improvement in railroad net earnings seems likely to take place.

Control over wages has now passed almost completely out of the hands of the railroad managements. Under the new railroad law a Federal Railroad Labor Board has been created to which questions relating to wages and working conditions are to be referred if the roads and their employees cannot come to a mutual agreement by negotiation. This new machinery will undoubtedly delay the downward adjustment of wages, but it will not stop this adjustment unless the Labor Board fails completely to take account of the economic principles involved. Under the Transportation Act it was provided by Congress that this Board should take into consideration: (1) The scale of wages paid for similar kinds of work in other industries; (2) the relation between wages and the cost of living; (3) the hazards of the employment; (4) the training and skill required; (5) the degree of responsibility; (6) the character and regularity of the employment; and (7) inequalities of increases in wages or of treatment, the result of previous wage orders or adjustment.

Railroad wages have mounted from $1,740,000,000 in 1917, the last year under private management, to $3,800,000,000 in 1920. There is no question that in many cases they are now higher than the class of work justifies, and that many adjustments in conformity with item seven above should be made. Some of the national working agreements established under Federal control are particularly unfair to the roads, due to variation of conditions in different parts of the country. One of the economies that the railroads are now trying to effect is to keep trains on schedule time so as to avoid payments of large amounts for over-time. A train crew that makes a two hours' run in the morning and another two hours' run in the late afternoon may get not only a day's pay but over-time pay at the rate of time-and-a-half for the afternoon run as well. Another possible economy will come through the reduction of many of the new positions created on the railroads while they were under Federal management. But these savings can only be effected gradually; for if they were all put into effect at once they would upset operations of the roads. Furthermore, many of them depend upon coöperation on the part of the men themselves, a thing that cannot be hurried but which will bring about the more efficient operation required to meet the present situation.

With a reduction in wages, a return to more normal conditions in business should find the railroads doing much better than they have for some years past. Competition on the part of the motor-truck is being felt in some sections of the East where short hauls are common. It is reported that as bulky a commodity as lumber has been carried fifty miles in New England by truck for less than the railroad charge. Although this short haul business is not profitable to the railroads because of the handling charges, just at present, however, there is no long haul business to take its place and the roads have not yet had time to adjust themselves to the loss of it. With a revival in business, there will be need for all our transportation facilities. In the long run the motor-truck will probably be called upon to pay more than it is to-day for the upkeep of public highways and this will put rates on a closer competitive basis.

The Pope and Conscription

IN AN article in the January WORLD'S WORK on "Garvey's Empire of Ethiopia," Mr. Truman H. Talley used the following phrase:

"A precise analogy is to be found in the Pope's decree in the World War that conscription was immoral and should be resisted."

The WORLD'S WORK has received letters from several of its Catholic readers expressing their indignation that one of its contributors should have accused the Pope of issuing a decree against conscription. They call attention to the fact that millions of Catholics were conscripted for the World War. Their attitude is perhaps best expressed in a statement addressed to the editor of this magazine by Mr. Michael Williams, writing in behalf of the National Catholic Welfare Council:

The fact that more than one million Catholics were conscripted in the United States, not only without opposition on their part, but with the full encouragement of the Government's action given by the official pronouncement of the Catholic Archbishops, whose letter to President Wilson offering the support of the Catholic body was the first public pledge of patriotism to be received from any religious organization; the fact that the Catholics of Italy itself, where the Pope's influence presumably is most powerful, were conscripted by the millions; the fact that the Catholic citizens of France were conscripted, and had been conscripted for many years before the war, also by the millions; the fact that the Catholics of England were also conscripted; and the fact that the Catholics of Germany and of Austria and Hungary were conscripted by the many millions, should certainly have given Mr. Talley pause before he penned his astounding and utterly false statement that the Pope had issued a decree declaring conscription to be immoral. The opposition to conscription in Ireland and Australia, and the much less violent flurry of opposition in Quebec, were purely political in their nature. They had nothing whatsoever to do with any moral question, or any religious question, except most remotely, and even then without connection with any decree or utterance of the Pope. Conscription, as a matter of fact, was and had been the prevailing condition in all European countries save Great Britain long before the war, and no decree by any Pope can be pointed to which declares such a step to be immoral. As a matter of fact, the burden of the Church's teaching is all the other way. Catholic education has always stressed the doctrine that a lawful government has a just claim upon the services of its subjects or its citizens in case of war."

When asked for his statement of the case, Mr. Talley has replied:

Concerning the protest of Catholics I shall have to admit a technical error in the wording employed, though not in the meaning intended to be conveyed.

It might have been more strictly correct to say 'in a Catholic decree,' or 'in the Papal approval of a decree,' or 'in the Vatican sanction of a Hierarchical edict,' for so far as I know the Pope never *publicly* issued such an order, though the evidence in certain countries, or certain sections of countries, is irrefutable that the Vatican gave tacit approval and withheld all semblance of disapproval of anti-conscription decrees issued by the highest and most responsible governing church officials.

Ireland is the particular instance. In 1918 the Hierarchy of Bishops at Maynooth, Ireland—the most powerful of hierarchies in the Roman Church and the most influential in Vatican politics, because of Ireland's preëminence among Catholic fields—issued an edict stating 'compulsory military service is immoral and should be resisted.' That is a matter of history, as is also the fact that this edict evoked no remonstrance of any kind from Rome. That an edict of such significance should have been issued by the Maynooth Hierarchy without the advice and even the consent of Rome is a theory too thin to be credited, and it is not credited by any chronicler of contemporary times except of course certain Sinn Feiners—though some Sinn Feiners are proud to boast that their Church came to their aid in that matter. It is also a matter of history that upon the issuance of that edict there was formed in Ireland the Anti-Conscription League, with branches in every parish and with the local priest either the local chairman or treasurer, and in most instances both.

Mr. Talley instances similar decrees issued by Archbishop Mannix in Australia and the Hierarchy in Quebec.

On the basis of these statements it is the judgment of the World's Work that Mr. Williams has the better of the discussion. Indeed, Mr. Talley frankly admits that his statement was an error and that he can produce no decree of the Pope of the nature in question. Mr. Talley was clearly thinking of conditions in Ireland and of the decree of the Archbishop of Maynooth. Whether the Pope approved, or did not approve, this particular decree, is not the point at issue; the only point is whether the Pope issued a general condemnation of conscription as "immoral" and therefore "to be resisted." As no such document is produced, and as the millions of Catholic conscripts show its existence to be highly improbable, the World's Work regrets that this sentence has appeared in its columns.

SPREADING THE RISK ON INVESTMENTS

Every month in this part of the magazine the WORLD'S WORK *prints an article on investments and the lessons to be learned therefrom*

AFTER the man with money to invest has first satisfied himself as to the degree of safety for his principal in the investment he is contemplating, as to the degree of certainty regarding the income return he will get on his money, as to the marketability or value as collateral of the security he has in mind, then he should give attention to diversification of his investment. Diversification, or spreading the risk, comes after these other safeguards, for without the first two it is of little value; with them, however, it adds still further to the safety of the investment.

The salesman of a New York banking house who tried to influence an investor to sell his Liberty Bonds and put all the proceeds into the bonds and stocks of a single company in which his house was interested, grossly violated this principal of diversification.

United States Government bonds are about the only securities in which one does not need to spread the risk. They are the obligations of all the people and of all the businesses of the country. Their principal and interest is secured by taxation on all these sources. The risk is spread the full length and breadth of the United States. It is not confined to any one section, nor is it based upon any one single industry or activity. Here is one security that combines the elements of diversification within itself. No corporation, state, or other local security does this. That is the reason why Liberty Bonds are particularly suitable investments for persons who cannot afford to take risks with their money—which is to say they are particularly suitable for most everybody, for there are few who really can afford to take risks with their savings.

Outside of Liberty Bonds, the investor, by distribution of his funds in various securities, must secure for himself the diversification that means added safety. The case of the dependents of a man who had watched New Haven stock advance over a period of years and who became so confident in its future that he placed all his money in it and prohibited his trustees from selling the stock after his death is an extreme example of failure to diversify an investment that illustrates the point. From comfortable circumstances, the wife and children of this man became almost penniless and without income.

A few years ago the trustees of a religious organization in New England, having a considerable sum to invest, wrote to one of the richest men in the country, a member of their denomination, and one in whose advice they had great confidence. He wrote back, "Buy Interborough Rapid Transit bonds." They did, at 98. To-day those bonds are selling for fifty-four cents on the dollar. They have so far paid their interest and may work out all right; but those trustees would feel much easier if they had invested this fund in a diversified list of securities instead of in one issue.

There are, it is true, few securities, formerly as highly regarded as Interborough bonds, that have become involved in such disturbing circumstances as those bonds. But no one can tell when a security may be affected by changed conditions in this way and its investment value upset. These changes may be due to many causes. They may affect a single security, being due to alteration in the character of the management of a company, or as in the case of the Interborough, to outside developments over which the management has no control. Or they may be changes that affect the securities in a certain territory; or business or economic changes that affect the securities of an entire industry or field of activity. Then there may also be more fundamental economic changes that have an influence on the cost of living and cause the long upward and downward swings of interest rates which are reflected in the price movement of long term bonds. All of these changes except the last the investor can help to protect himself against by spreading the risk through the purchase of a diversified list of securities. The greater the diversification the smaller the risk.

Against the long swings in interest rates the investor not only can protect himself in

order to prevent a decline in the value of his principal and of the purchasing power of his interest return, but better still, he can take advantage of these swings actually to increase the amount of his principal and the purchasing power of his interest. This can be accomplished by buying high grade long term bonds when interest rates are high and bonds are therefore low, as at present; holding them until interest rates go down, and then selling the bonds at higher prices and investing the funds in short term securities where there will be little or no loss of principal while long term bonds are again going down. While one is managing his investments to take advantage of these swings, he should diversify his purchases as a measure of protection against the less certain changes of conditions that might arise.

But the same degree of diversification is not required in every investment. In buying the highest grade securities there is less need of spreading the risk than when buying second or third grade issues. In buying Liberty Bonds there is no need at all. A short time ago a man from Massachusetts with approximately $40,000 to invest, inquired whether it would be proper for him to buy $10,000 each of Pennsylvania Railroad general mortgage 4½ per cent. bonds, due 1965; New York Central first mortgage 3½s, due 1997; Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé general mortgage 4s, due 1995; Chicago Burlington & Quincy, Illinois Division 4s, due 1949, and $15,000 Northern Pacific general lien 3s, due 2047. The total cost was about $38,400 and the annual interest return $2,050, or a little more than 5 per cent. on the cost. These bonds are all legal investments for savings banks in New York State, which means that they are high grade railroad securities. In this class of bonds a spreading of the risk over five issues would seem sufficient for a forty thousand dollar investment. But the investor was placing his entire investment in one business field. That increased his risk over what it would have been if he had included similar grade bonds in other fields. He had evidently studied the railroad situation, however, and reached the conclusion that the best railroad bonds held attractive investment possibilities at this time. He was therefore willing to take the risk of having all this fund invested in one field as long as he was buying from among the best bonds in that field. The risk was distributed geographically by selecting bonds of roads in different parts of the country.

No serious criticism could be made of this selection of bonds. Looked at from the viewpoint of possible growth in value of the principal as interest rates decline, it seemed to have attractive possibilities.

For in 1900, when interest rates and the cost of living were low, the New York Central 3½s sold as high as 111½. They were at 67½ when this list was made up. They have seventy-six years yet to run and in that time may go through several cycles of fluctuating value due to the swings in interest rates. The Atchison general 4s, which were issued at the time of the reorganization of that road in 1895, reached 106 in 1905, and the C. B. & Q., Illinois Division as sold at 106¼ in 1906. These two bonds cost this investor 76 and 79 respectively.

If this selection was being made among lower grade railroad bonds and only five issues had been chosen, it might very properly have been criticised for lack of distribution of the risk. The value of spreading widely the risk in such a case can be shown, as it has been at times, by making a list of securities of all the weak roads at any particular time and then tracing their price history. It will be found that the losses have been more than offset by the gains. Yet for one to try to choose among these issues without taking the whole list would likely result in losses that would outweigh the gains. It is only in wide diversification that a protection against loss is assured.

For the investment of a smaller fund than this $40,000, the Investment Editor recently recommended fifteen different issues in four different fields of investment for the savings of a California business man. In this case there was no predilection for any class of security expressed by the investor. He wanted a safe investment with fair returns and said he could afford to take some chances. The list sent him by way of suggestion included three of the better grade foreign government bonds brought out in this market, six of the first line of the second grade railroad bonds, five of the best public utility issues, particularly those in the hydro-electric field, and one industrial bond. Greater diversification and increased safety could have been secured by going into other fields, but these seemed at the time to offer the "chances" that this investor seemed to want.

THE COUNCIL TABLE

EDWIN A. ALDERMAN
President, University of Virginia

CHARLES H. BRENT
Bishop of Western New York

CHARLES W. ELIOT
President Emeritus, Harvard University

CASS GILBERT
Architect

JAMES G. HARBORD
Major-General, U. S. Army

HENRY J. HASKELL
Of the Kansas City *Star*

HERBERT HOOVER
Secretary of Commerce

ERIE C. HOPWOOD
Editor, Cleveland *Plain Dealer*

FRANKLIN K. LANE
Ex-Secretary of the Interior

ROBERT S. LOVETT
Railroad President

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In order to present in one place wise and informed thought and stimulating counsel, month after month, the editors of the WORLD'S WORK *have created this special section in the magazine and invited the gentlemen whose names appear above to contribute to it. The magazine wishes to express its appreciation of their willingness to coöperate in this undertaking.*

The views expressed by each author are his alone, there being no group responsibility for any of the opinions, but no opinions will appear in this section except those belonging to some individual of this group.—THE EDITORS.

THE BATTLESHIP AND THE AIRPLANE

BY REAR-ADMIRAL WILLIAM S. SIMS

CAN the battleship be defeated by airplanes that have command of the air? That is, should we build airplane carriers in the future instead of battleships?

That depends upon whether torpedo, bomb, and gas attack by airplanes will prove as effective as claimed by their advocates. Briefly, their claims are:

1. That it has already been shown by actual experiments that airplanes can launch torpedoes successfully against surface craft, particularly against a number of ships in column.

2. That planes can be developed that

will carry and launch the present full-powered torpedoes with equal success, or torpedoes of even much greater power.

3. That airplanes can make fair percentages of hits with heavy explosive bombs dropped from such a height that the planes will be practically immune from the fire of a vessel's anti-aircraft guns.

4. That these planes can carry six bombs of 1,000 pounds each, and bombs twice as heavy if necessary.

5. That, according to a statement made by General Maitrot, the French have developed bombs of this type that weigh a ton.

6. That such bombs, falling upon a battleship's decks from a considerable height, will penetrate all decks down to the protective deck, and then explode with such force as to destroy or put out of action any ship now built or designed.

7. That such bombs, acting as a depth charge, will sink or put out of action any ship if they fall in the water within 60 feet of her hull.

8. That planes can drop to windward of a battle fleet gas bombs that will entirely incapacitate the ships' crews, or even destroy them if poison gas is used.

9. That anti-aircraft guns are ineffective against airplanes at a considerable height. The record during the World War, even with guns on solid land platforms, was one hit in every 1,000 shots, and the hits from a sea platform would necessarily be less.

If the claims of the airplane advocates can be realized, it means that any battleship operating within the radius of planes which are in control of the air will be disabled or destroyed.

An up-to-date airplane carrier is a vessel of about 35,000 tons, having a speed of 35 knots, a length of 800 feet, and carries eighty planes which can successfully be launched from and landed upon her flush upper deck.

A modern battleship displaces more than 40,000 tons, has a speed of about 25 knots, heavy armor, heavy turret guns, and relatively few anti-aircraft guns.

The battleship has no means of offense against the airplane carrier, because the latter's speed enables her to keep entirely out of range of the powerful guns—at a distance of 100 miles if desirable.

The carrier's means of offense against the battleship are, as above stated, torpedoes, bombs, and gas, any one of which is capable of disabling it; and the battleship's only means of defense against the torpedo and bombing plane is the almost wholly ineffective fire of her anti-aircraft guns, while she has no means of defense whatever against gas bombs dropped from planes at a great height.

From the above, it is clear that, if the assumption as to the effectiveness of air attack is approximately correct, a duel between a battleship and a carrier would inevitably result in the destruction or disablement of the former, while the latter, being outside of gun range, would be unharmed, and few if any of her planes would be shot down.

It is clear that a similar action between a fleet of battleships and a fleet of carriers would result in the defeat of the former without damage to the latter. The same would be true if each fleet was accompanied by the same number of cruisers, destroyers, and submarines, as these forces, being equal, would neutralize each other. The same would also be true if one fleet had a decisive preponderance of air forces.

It is universally admitted that air attack is so dangerous that our fleet could not win an action against an enemy having a considerable air force; that we should therefore at once build carriers and develop our planes and torpedoes and bombs.

This means that the only adequate defense against a fleet air force is to equip our fleet with an effective air force at least equal in the number of planes.

If this is true, it necessarily follows that

if we permit an enemy to equip her fleet with an air force, say, three times as great as ours, he will, at the expense of one third of his planes, destroy our air force, gain complete command of the air, and we will have no adequate means of defense against the remaining two thirds of his airplanes.

If, in turn, this is true, it also follows that a nation that puts its money into airplane carriers, instead of battleships, will have a stronger fighting force than a nation which continues building many battleships and only a few carriers.

To assume the contrary, is simply to assume that American mechanical ingenuity and ability is not equal to producing airplanes, torpedoes, bombs, and gas bombs, that cannot duplicate the results already achieved or surpass them.

Considering the great superiority and the continuous and rapid development of these weapons abroad, this is manifestly a very dangerous assumption.

As a matter of fact, the acknowledgment that a fleet cannot operate successfully without airplane carriers at least equal in number of planes to those of the enemy, means that the modern airplane carrier is a capital ship having greater offensive power than any battleship yet designed, or that can be designed, because the latter can be successfully attacked from above her decks, where she can have only light armor, from below the water-line where no armor or compartmentation could keep out the explosion of a torpedo such as can readily be built and launched by a plane; all this not to mention there being no possibility of defense against attack by gas.

The usual argument that because the danger to the battleship of the torpedo boat of the 1880's was successfully met by designing the destroyer, we shall therefore find some similar means of opposing air attack, neglects to note that the ability of the larger (and consequently faster and more powerful) surface vessel to run down and destroy the smaller one, does not apply in the air, where the fighting is not confined to a level plane, because it is the smaller aircraft that is the more efficient fighter. That is, we cannot oppose airplanes by building larger and more powerful ones, because the superior speed and climbing ability of the smaller battle planes will always enable them to attack in any position with reference to the larger, slower, and more cumbersome planes, and easily bring them down by gun-fire to which the latter cannot effectively reply.

The destroyer would not have been able to drive the small torpedo boat from the sea if the latter had been able to fly at a speed of 100 miles an hour.

The torpedo-launching plane is more dangerous to the battleship than would be a submarine having a submerged speed of 100 miles an hour, because the latter would be subject to attack by surface craft carrying depth charges, while the former, when in command of the air, can be attacked only by anti-aircraft guns.

Moreover, the planes, having a speed at least equal to 3 or 4 times that of any surface vessels, have therefore the ability to attack a fleet on any bearing before the fleet auxiliary forces (cruisers, destroyers, and so forth) can be concentrated at the point of attack for such defense as they can exert with their anti-aircraft guns.

Incidentally, if we assume the power of air attack to be as above indicated, it means that these new weapons add greatly to the power of defense against an enemy from overseas, and this because the number of planes operating against the fleet from shore stations would be very much greater than the number that could be brought against us on war vessels.

In all that has been indicated above, as to the power of air attack upon an enemy's fleet, it is of course assumed that such attacks can reach their maximum efficiency only if carried out by naval officer air pilots, belonging to the fleet

and continuously trained by the responsible commander-in-chief, in conformity with his established doctrines of attack and defense. It is for this fundamental reason that the Navy is, and must always be, firmly opposed to trusting the air tactics of its fleet to the pilots of a united service.

A DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRY

By CASPER S. YOST

IN 1884 Congress created a Bureau of Labor, an outgrowth of various state labor bureaus, the first of which was established by Massachusetts in 1869. The primary duty of all of these was the collection of statistics bearing upon the interests of labor. The national bureau was placed under the Department of the Interior, where it remained until the Department of Commerce and Labor was created in 1903. Ten years later this department was divided, a Department of Commerce and a Department of Labor being established. The act creating the Department of Labor was signed by President Taft on the last day of his term. He had some objections to it for administrative reasons, but was not opposed to the purpose of it, which was, as declared in the act, "to foster, promote, and develop the welfare of the wage-earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions, and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment." When President Wilson was inaugurated he found this new Cabinet office waiting to be filled, and he appointed William B. Wilson, at that time a member of Congress but previously an officer of the United Mine Workers of America, as Secretary of Labor. Mr. Wilson served through both terms of President Wilson's Administration.

With the intent of the act, as expressed in its text, there can be no quarrel. "To foster, promote, and develop the welfare of the wage-earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions, and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment," are laudable purposes, and a proper function of an enlightened government. To what extent these purposes have been fulfilled by the Department under the direction of Secretary Wilson it is not my present task to inquire. But, without regard to the personality or acts of the Secretary there are some objections to the operation of the Department that are inherent in its organization. Being a department for the advancement of the interests of labor it is, almost of necessity, a partisan of labor, and in particular a partisan of organized labor, which, it is needless to say, is but a small proportion of all labor. The mere fact of organization greatly facilitates those inquiries which are a part of the work for which the department was created, enabling it to secure statistical information, not easy, if, indeed, it is possible, to obtain from unorganized labor. Moreover, organized labor having its representatives whose expenses, at least, are paid, can be and is in constant contact and coöperation with the Department, leading to the very general impression that it is in effect, as so far conducted, a department of the American Federation of Labor rather than a department of the United States Government. The tendency of the Department as now constituted is to make it an agency of organized labor, and, at least by implication, in opposition to the interests of the employers.

The welfare of labor is inseparable from the welfare of industry. Labor is not all of industry, but is only one of the

two elements without which industry cannot exist, and each is wholly dependent upon the other. To create a department for the promotion of the interests of one element without regard to, or in antagonism to, the interests of the other, is not helpful to the advancement of industry, and therefore in the long run is hurtful to labor, for labor can progress only in relation to the progress and prosperity of industry as a whole. The fundamental interests of employers and employees are identical, and the proper interest of one cannot be injured without reflex injury to the other. Neither, on the other hand, can the interest of one be helped at the expense of the other without ultimate injury to both. There is nothing so essential to the welfare of the wage-earners of the United States as harmonious relations between employers and employees. The Department of Labor as now constituted exercises no influence for the establishment of such relations, for from its very nature it becomes a partisan of one element in opposition to the other. The employing interest gets no encouragement or help from it, and in consequence its operations are viewed with suspicion, if not with antagonism, by that interest. It does seem that its scope might be broadened, with advantage to labor, and to all industry, by making it a Department of Industry, or of Industrial Relations. Without modifying in any degree the purpose expressed in its present act of creation, it could be extended to promote and develop the welfare of industry in the United States, by using its powers, fairly and impartially, to encourage friendly coöperation between the two elements of industry for the advancement of both. A great many of the conflicts in industry grow out of misunderstanding, which could be avoided if an authoritative and unbiased governmental agency could, upon proper application, ascertain the facts in the situation and present them to the parties concerned, or, if necessary, to the public. The Secretary of Labor, under the law as it is, is empowered to act as mediator and to appoint commissioners of conciliation in labor disputes whenever in his judgment the interests of industrial peace may require it to be done, but the nature of his office makes him a partisan of labor and therefore an object of mistrust by the employing interest. But if he were a Secretary of Industry, his duty would be to promote the welfare of industry, which would mean the welfare of both wage-earners and wage-payers, and in promoting both would best promote each, while at the same time he would be promoting the public welfare, which is the primary object of all good government.

There is no getting away from the fact that employers and employees have a common interest in the advancement of industry. Labor demands which cripple industry inevitably react upon the laborer. On the other hand, the employers interest is best promoted by the productiveness and economy that comes from an appreciated and appreciative force of wage-earners. A Department of Industry, serving both, could do much to bring the two elements closer together, to create better understandings and friendlier relations without mischievous interference with individual effort. There could be no greater service to labor than this, and it would be a service that would, if fairly given, command the confidence of the employing interest, and vastly enlarge the influence of the Department.

THE STUPENDOUS POSSIBILITIES OF THE ATOM

Great Things Accomplished by Radioactivity and What Science Promises for the Uses of Civilization

By FLOYD W. PARSONS

IT IS no exaggeration to say that the whole course of human life in the future depends largely upon the development of knowledge concerning the atom. Recently the press of the world has been filled with news about the efforts of the Allies to make Germany pay the debt fixed on her by the Reparations Commission. If some German scientist should happen to discover a way artificially to break up an atom, and if this new-found power were to be employed by the Teutons to destroy their conquerors, there would be a new set of victors and a new treaty to fulfill. Although such a development is hardly probable, it is possible, and this forcibly calls attention to the political and economic uncertainties that surround us due to the marvelous advances of science.

It has always been our habit to view political and religious changes as matters of greatest moment. But these are of small consequence compared with the vital revolutions in our mode of living caused by new technical knowledge. Science is the master of law and is the true agent of social change. Only a couple of centuries ago men froze on sites where coal-mines are now operated. Life-giving energy lay directly underfoot, but it was rendered useless through lack of knowledge. It is likely that succeeding generations will look back with pity upon us for a similar display of ignorance concerning the multitude of useful and valuable forces which were all about us.

As time is now measured, it is not a long interval from the day of our primitive forefathers who struck a spark to kindle a fire to the present era of comparative comfort, when we may supply ourselves with heat and light by merely turning a switch while lying in bed. From the beginning of time human minds have questioned the origin of energy pouring out from the sun and stars. Now we are far more curious concerning the nature of the energy that is being emitted by the atoms of certain elements, particularly radium. The stars are far off, but radium and other elements are close at hand, and it is only natural that our interest should increase with our nearness to the marvel.

Modern chemistry has been reared on the theory we have built up concerning atoms. The idea that the objects we see around us every day are aggregates of exceedingly small indivisible particles is older than science itself. Such a belief was expressed by a great Phœnician philosopher eleven hundred years before the commencement of the Christian era. His views were developed by the Greeks, but were forgotten after the destruction of Rome and were not again brought to light until the middle of the Seventeenth Century. Boyle used the same hypothesis in his explanation of chemical phenomena and Newton applied the same theory in his explanation of Boyle's law. Dalton obtained the idea from Newton and in 1803 discovered a way to determine the relative weight of atoms.

But the greatest advance in our knowledge concerning the atom and its possibilities has come within recent years. The ancients were quite sure that matter was made up of atoms, but they could not prove their theory. To-day we are able to count atoms and determine their size and motions. The discovery of the X-ray and the powers of radium have enabled us materially to increase our understanding of the subject. While we are yet unable to break up an atom into its component parts, we do know that nature performs such a feat, for the radium element is so broken up by natural forces and this gives us the so-called radioactivity. As a consequence we no longer view the atom as a simple, indivisible structure.

An atom is about as big compared to a base-ball as the base-ball is when compared to the earth. Each atom consists of particles of

positive and negative electricity. The centre of the atom is known as the nucleus and contains all of the positive electricity. The negative electricity exists in the form of electrons which arrange themselves in space about the nucleus and revolve in a fixed system around or about it. Although the atom as a whole is very small, the electrons are far more minute. If we were to enlarge an atom until it had a diameter of one mile, the electrons would be about five feet in diameter while the nucleus at the centre would be no larger than a walnut. In other words, each atom may be considered more or less as a little solar system all by itself, and this new conception of the atom is enabling scientists to work along lines of new knowledge with far greater hope of success.

While the electrons in all atoms are alike, each one of the ninety-two elements, which we believe constitute all matter, has its own particular type of nucleus. These nuclei differ from one another only in the amount of positive electricity they contain. Thus for the simplest element, hydrogen, the nucleus has a unit positive charge which is able to neutralize the charge of a single electron. Therefore a hydrogen atom consists merely of the nucleus or core and one electron. The next element, helium, has a nucleus with a double positive charge, and consequently this element contains two electrons. In like manner it has been discovered that the carbon atom contains six electrons; oxygen, eight; aluminum, thirteen; sulphur, sixteen; iron, twenty-six; copper, twenty-nine; silver, forty-seven; gold, seventy-nine; mercury, eighty; lead, eighty-two; bismuth, eighty-three; radium, eighty-eight; thorium, ninety; and uranium, ninety-two.

So much for the fundamental idea of the atomic theory. The questions arise: What does this mean to us in our lives to-day? What are the future possibilities of scientific developments along this same line, and what effect will these advances have on civilization?

Life is a variety of motions and motion is energy. If the moving things are large enough to see, we call their movement mechanical energy. If the particles in motion are invisible to the eye, even through a microscope, we call their movement heat energy. When the particles are not matter at all, but electrons, we call their energy electrical energy. The farther we go, the more it appears that the basis of all life is electricity. Some day we may know just what electricity is.

The first real step forward in the utilization of the mysterious energy of the atom was the invention of a practical X-ray machine. The X-rays are identical with light and electric waves, except that their wave-lengths are very much less than the shortest of light waves. Our present X-ray practice is extremely wasteful, for not more than $\frac{1}{10}$ of 1 per cent. of the energy delivered in an X-ray tube leaves the tube as X-rays, the remainder of the energy being transformed mainly into heat.

MADAME CURIE'S DISCOVERY

ANOTHER development closely related to the X-ray, and of even greater interest to students of science, is radioactivity. The famous discoverer of radium, Mme. Marie Curie, is expected to visit the United States this month. The story of her wonderful achievements in science unfolds a tale of zealous research, self-sacrifice, and persistence unique in history. When but a girl, Mme. Curie entered the University of Paris, where she did brilliant work as a student in chemistry. Prof. Becquerel, who had devoted much time to investigating the X-ray, accidentally discovered the property of radioactivity in 1896. His experiments led to the development of the fact that the salts of uranium possessed the property of converting the molecules of gases into charged particles. Mme. Curie, one of Prof. Becquerel's students, was invited to assist in the problem of uranium research, to see if that metal, after exposure to sunlight, would shine when brought into a dark room, and if it did, would that light act like the newly discovered X-ray.

An experiment was prepared with a photographic plate enclosed in a black envelope, on which a piece of uranium was laid. While waiting for a sunny day, this was placed in a dark drawer. Two weeks later it was decided to test the freshness of the plate by developing it, and to the surprise of all, a dark spot appeared on it, beneath where the mineral had rested. This was proof conclusive that some unsuspected rays had passed through the black paper, and after delicate tests had been made, it was shown beyond doubt that the new and unsuspected rays were really electrical.

Mme. Curie took up the pursuit and found that radioactivity is an atomic property; that thorium acted like uranium; that pitchblende carrying a given weight of uranium

had approximately four times greater activity than any pure uranium salt containing the same weight of uranium. This latter disclosure caused her to conclude that pitchblende contained another element that was also radioactive, and she proceeded to prove this conclusion.

The pitchblende was dissolved, and the various elements in it were precipitated and tested for radioactivity. The principal activity was found to be concentrated in the barium, strontium, and calcium group. After the calcium and strontium had been eliminated the barium that remained still showed strong activity. This caused Mme. Curie to investigate further, and the element radium was eventually separated out by the fractional crystallization of its salts from the corresponding barium salts. Radium gives off three types of rays—called the alpha, beta, and gamma. The alpha rays travel with a velocity of about 20,000 miles a second; the beta rays are ejected with a velocity of more than 100,000 miles a second; while the gamma rays travel with the speed of light. The alpha is stopped by an ordinary sheet of notepaper; the beta ray will penetrate a piece of glass; while the gamma ray is practically identical with the X-ray, only being more penetrating.

THE SOURCE OF RADIUM

IN 1898, Mme. Curie announced to the world the discovery of the new element—radium. Speed tests were made, and it was found that the new metal gives out heat continuously. Miners throughout the world started to search for this wonderful metal, which, weight for weight, is worth 150,000 times as much as gold. Radium is now obtained chiefly from carnotite, though a small amount is derived from pitchblende. Practically all of the world's radium until about nine years ago, came from deposits in Portugal. The first important radium operations in the United States did not commence until 1912, though a small plant designed to recover uranium from carnotite ore was erected in Colorado in 1900. This venture, however, was unsuccessful.

Practice has shown that it is necessary to handle and treat something like 1,000,000 pounds of ore in order to recover a gram of radium. One ton of ore will seldom deliver more than six or seven milligrams of the radium element, or an amount of radium no larger than the size of a pinhead. One authority figures that including coal, water, and chemicals, the producers must handle more than 50,000 tons of raw material to produce an ounce of the precious radium metal. No such effort has ever before been required to produce a spoonful of any single element.

The medical fraternity of the world has come to accept radium as a beneficial treatment for cancer. Permanent cures have been accomplished, and practically every large city has at least one hospital that is supplied with a small quantity of radium. In actual practice the surgeon generally uses a minimum of 50 milligrams of the powerful substance, and even this quantity, which is no larger than the head of a match, costs him $6,000.

As a general rule, the radium metal is shaped into a tiny rod no larger than a small piece of the lead in a pencil. This is encased in a glass capsule and hermetically sealed; next the whole tube is placed in a silver casing, open at one end; and finally the silver tube with its precious contents is inserted in a strong cylindrical holder made of brass. The rays of the radium are directed upon the diseased human tissue through a screen of rubber, and strange as it may appear, the rays act only upon the diseased flesh, leaving the healthy tissues unaffected. The rays of this small piece of radium will penetrate lead to a depth of more than two inches, and the metal must be handled carefully with silver forceps. If the surgeon's fingers should come in contact with the radium, a serious burn would result.

RADIUM'S AID TO MEDICINE

THERE has been much discussion of late concerning the real value of radium as an aid in medicine. A careful survey throughout the country shows a list of successful treatments which is quite convincing. Dr. W. J. Mayo uses radium extensively in his famous institution in Minnesota. He says: "By properly combining radiotherapy with surgery, we can increase operability, lower mortality, and increase the percentage of cures." Dr. Joseph Ransohoff, of Cincinnati, is favorable to the use of radium treatment of cancer of the uterus in certain cases, because the "radium can be brought into close contact with the cervix, where it can exert its direct influence." Recent practice shows conclusively that the application of radium to the

eye is harmless, and as a consequence this agent is particularly useful in treating a cataract of the eye. Dr. Robert Abbe, of New York, senior surgeon of one of the great hospitals of that city, was one of the first, if not the very first doctor in America, to use radium.

THE OWNERS OF RADIUM

DR. HOWARD A. KELLY, of Baltimore, has more radium than any other one medical man in this country, perhaps in the world. Dr. Kelly has been using radium in his practice for twelve years. His cures include patients who had swollen masses of glands on the sides of their necks; cancer of the thyroid; cancer of the cervix; fibroid tumors and sarcoma of the chest. Declares Dr. Kelly: "Radium is working its marvels every day and assuming its established place in medicine. The most brilliant successes of radium are scored in those fields in which a more aggressive surgical treatment is also usually successful. But where some serious complicating ailment, such as heart disease, tuberculosis, Bright's disease, or an extreme anemia, contra-indicates anæsthesia or any procedure which will tax the patient's vital resources, radium steps in and does its work quietly, imperceptibly, and, indeed, without the slightest risk to life."

Drs. John G. Clark, of Philadelphia, C. Jeff Miller, of New Orleans, and Albert J. Ochsner, of Chicago, are other famous surgeons who are using radium continuously. Out in San Francisco are Drs. Walter S. Franklin and Frederick C. Cordes, who have used radium successfully in treating serious affections of the eye. There is no doubt that radium has a wide field of usefulness in medicine, the real value of which can be estimated only after painstaking collective studies. It has no field absolutely to itself, but is merely a therapeutic agent which should be used in common with other well established methods of treatment. Experience has shown that it increases the permanent results obtained by surgery; it converts inoperable into operable cases, and last but not least, it materially relieves the suffering of the hopeless victims of disease.

Just as Mme. Curie gave the world radium through her brilliant work in chemistry, the late Joseph M. Flannery, of Pittsburgh, gave the United States its substantial lead in the production of radium metal. Some years ago, Mr. Flannery obtained control of a specially designed stay-bolt for locomotives. He didn't seem to be able to find a satisfactory steel from which to make these bolts. He started to investigate the steel in the famous Damascus swords. An analysis showed that these swords contained a trace of vanadium, and Mr. Flannery started a search of the world for a supply of vanadium. While in London he heard of a deposit high up in the Andes Mountains in Peru. Returning to Pittsburgh, he got together all of the money he had—twenty thousand dollars—converted his money into gold coin, and with his little fortune carefully packed in an old carpet bag, he went to the home of the mine owner in Peru and dumped the whole glittering mass upon this man's office table.

Without an unnecessary word, the young Pittsburgher reached for a rule and divided the pile of coin into what seemed two equal parts. "That half for your mine," he said, "and this half to improve and work the mine—and a good job for you at a big salary to run it for our company." The psychological effect of the gold on the table was so irresistible, just as Mr. Flannery surmised it would be, that the Peruvian was won. The deal was closed then and there, and Flannery returned to the United States, where he slowly but surely convinced engineers of the superiority of vanadium steel.

In 1909, a sister of Mr. Flannery was afflicted with cancer, and the brother, in an effort to find a cure, again went to Europe. He learned that radium alone might help her, but found it impossible to obtain sufficient radium in Europe to serve his purpose. He returned to America determined to make his own radium in this country. The field was absolutely new. Experts were only familiar with work on high-grade ores—ores containing a high percentage of uranium. The ores which Mr. Flannery got control of in Colorado were of such low grade that hundreds of tons were necessary to yield a single gram of radium metal under treatment.

Mr. Flannery started to devise a method of his own. In the face of the pleas of his bankers, who believed he was making a foolish move, he withdrew from his vanadium interests. Getting together a small staff of engineers and chemists, he worked away quietly for fourteen months. In 1913 he obtained the first radium made in this country. That year he produced 2.1 grams of the radium

element. In the five years that followed, his company's total output of radium was one ounce. However, this production was the most notable in the world, and amounted to more than one third of the world's estimated stock of high-purity radium. The company which Mr. Flannery established is now producing about fourteen grams each year, which is said to be double or triple the total production of all the other radium-producing companies in the world.

LUMINOUS DIALS

IN ADDITION to its use in medicine radium, like the X-ray, is rapidly entering into our industrial life. One common use of radium is for making luminous dials on watches and clocks. An examination of one of these radium dials through a powerful magnifying glass furnishes a sight that will never be forgotten. The luminous material is seething with tiny flashes of light, caused by the explosions of radium atoms. As each atom explodes, a particle flies from it as a projectile from a gun. While it is impossible actually to see one of these particles, scientific investigation has shown that when one of these particles is suddenly stopped by striking a crystal of zinc sulphide, the heat is sufficient to make a flash of light the eye can see, and it is these flashes that are seen under the magnifying glass. They occur at the rate of 200,000 a second, and their combined light produces a glow that may easily be seen without a lens.

The more radium there is in the luminous material placed on the dial, the more flashes there will be and the brighter the dial. But every flash means a blow upon a crystal of zinc sulphide, and these crystals cannot stand these blows indefinitely. When the zinc finally fails, there are no more flashes, and the dial loses its glow. But the radium is still going good, for only $\frac{1}{10}$ of 1 per cent. of the radium is lost in a year. Experience has shown that if the amount of radium in the luminous material is so reduced that only 200,000 explosions occur each second, the zinc crystals will stand up under the bombardment for five years, which means that the dial of the watch or clock will be brilliant in the dark for that length of time.

The rôle of radium in industry as an agent of safety may be less spectacular, but it is no less important than the part it plays as a therapeutic agent. Accidents in factories, mines, offices, and homes are being reduced in number through the use of radium-luminous material. This so-called radium paint is used on power-line switches, where fumbling by an operator might mean electrocution. The dependability of high-pressure gages is being materially increased through making them safe twenty-four hours a day, through the application of luminous material. Many electric switches are located in places which are unlighted. A dab of radium paint on the bottom of such a switch renders it easy to locate quickly in case of an emergency. Radium luminous material is also placed on fire extinguishers, emergency call bells, poison bottles, combination dials on safes, bolts under machines not easily accessible, compass dials and steering wheels on ships, gages and dials on automobiles, and telephones located in dark places.

WHAT MAY DEVELOP

WHILE all of these uses for radium indicate the widening field of this remarkable new metal, the really important aspect of the radium problem is the possibility that further research with this element will lead eventually to a solution of the vital questions concerning the nature of radioactivity and the phenomena of transmutation. Down through the ages, human minds have devoted earnest thought to the development of a method for producing gold or some other precious metal from more common elements. Right here it may be stated that if we ever discover the secret of transmutation, it is certain that the last thing we would want to do would be to turn lead, mercury, or any other element into gold purely for the intrinsic value of the gold. The energy that would be liberated and made available through gaining control of chemical changes in the atom would have a far greater worth and a higher importance than the gold itself. Such energy could be used for combustion purposes, and if so employed, it would pay to take gold itself, even at its present value, and transmute it into silver or some base metal located farther down the periodic scale.

Radium has the greatest power of all discovered sources of energy. If one ton of it could be harnessed to a ship equipped with 1500-horse-power engines, the vessel would be propelled at the rate of fifteen knots an hour for thirty years. The great thing about radium is that every gram that is added to what we already have is in the nature of a

permanent addition. It requires something like 1600 years for the metal to lose one half of its potency. Then, after a second period of 1600 years, we still have one quarter of the radium energy we started with. At the end of about 20,000 years the original volume of radium will have ceased giving off emanations, and will have changed into common lead. If we could find a way to get a gram of radium to discharge in one minute all the energy it will eventually discharge in 20,000 years, there would be sufficient power in this one gram to raise out of the water all of the dreadnaughts in all of the navies of the world. A half-dozen grams of radium carried in a glass tube in a man's pocket would kill this individual in less than twenty-four hours by destroying his tissues and bones.

TREMENDOUS POWER AND VALUE

IN ONE year, a unit weight of radium evolves about 150 times as much energy as would be evolved in the complete combustion of the same weight of coal. The great potentiality of the situation lies in the possibility that someone will discover how to extract the energy which now oozes out so slowly from radioactive materials, in as short a time as he pleases. When we find a way to make radium expend its energy at any predetermined rate of speed, it means that we will be able to do the same thing with other elements. As one authority points out, if a gram of iron could be made to discharge the energy of its atoms in one minute, the power obtained would be equal to fifty tons of dynamite. A gram of radium in completely disintegrating into a small mass of lead actually yields 300,000 times as much heat energy as does the burning of a gram of coal. Of course, at the present time, we are compelled to be content with the spontaneous liberation of energy from the small amount of radium we have, and this energy or power is released so slowly that it is of no practical use to us except in medicine, where it is employed to bombard diseased tissues in the human body.

Although the three ounces of radium now available in the world are worth more than three million dollars because of the curative properties of the element, the real value of the mysterious metal lies rather in its use as a rare and promising material for experiment. Radium is the key to the unknown in science. Nothing man can conceive or imagine would be of greater importance to humanity than the discovery of a practical method to liberate the energy contained within atoms of the elements. The first step will be artificially to disintegrate heavier elements into higher ones. There is already strong evidence that it is possible to produce hydrogen through breaking down several heavier elements. One experimenter secured hydrogen and helium from an aluminum electrode by using a high potential electrical discharge in a vacuum tube.

SOURCES OF NEW ENERGY

AT PRESENT we know of but three possible sources of new energy—solar energy, the internal heat of the earth, and atomic disintegration. The last mentioned source of energy is just now attracting greatest attention. We know that the atoms of radium are in constant process of breaking up. We know that this disintegration liberates energy, for it has been proved that the temperature of the air surrounding a piece of radium is about three degrees higher than the temperature beyond its vicinity. However, scientists have been unable to increase the flow of energy from radium by heating the metal to a temperature as high as that of the electric arc. Nor have investigators been able to slow down the disintegration of radium atoms by placing the metal in a temperature as low as that of liquid air. In other words, we are easily able to observe all of the phenomena of radioactivity and yet we cannot control this activity. That is the problem science is attempting to solve, and one day when the answer is written, the whole course of human life will be so changed through the utilization of the new knowledge that past revolutions will appear of small consequence in comparison.

When we have discovered the secret of the atom and can control its force, it is likely all nations will be ready and willing to lay down their arms and abolish their armies and navies. Statesmen will be glad to sit around a table and compromise their differences without any talk of force, for a power will be available in the world so mighty in its potentialities that no person would dare consider its use except for some constructive purpose.

OUR RELATIONS WITH CHINA AND JAPAN

The Last of Three Articles on the Bases of American Foreign Policy

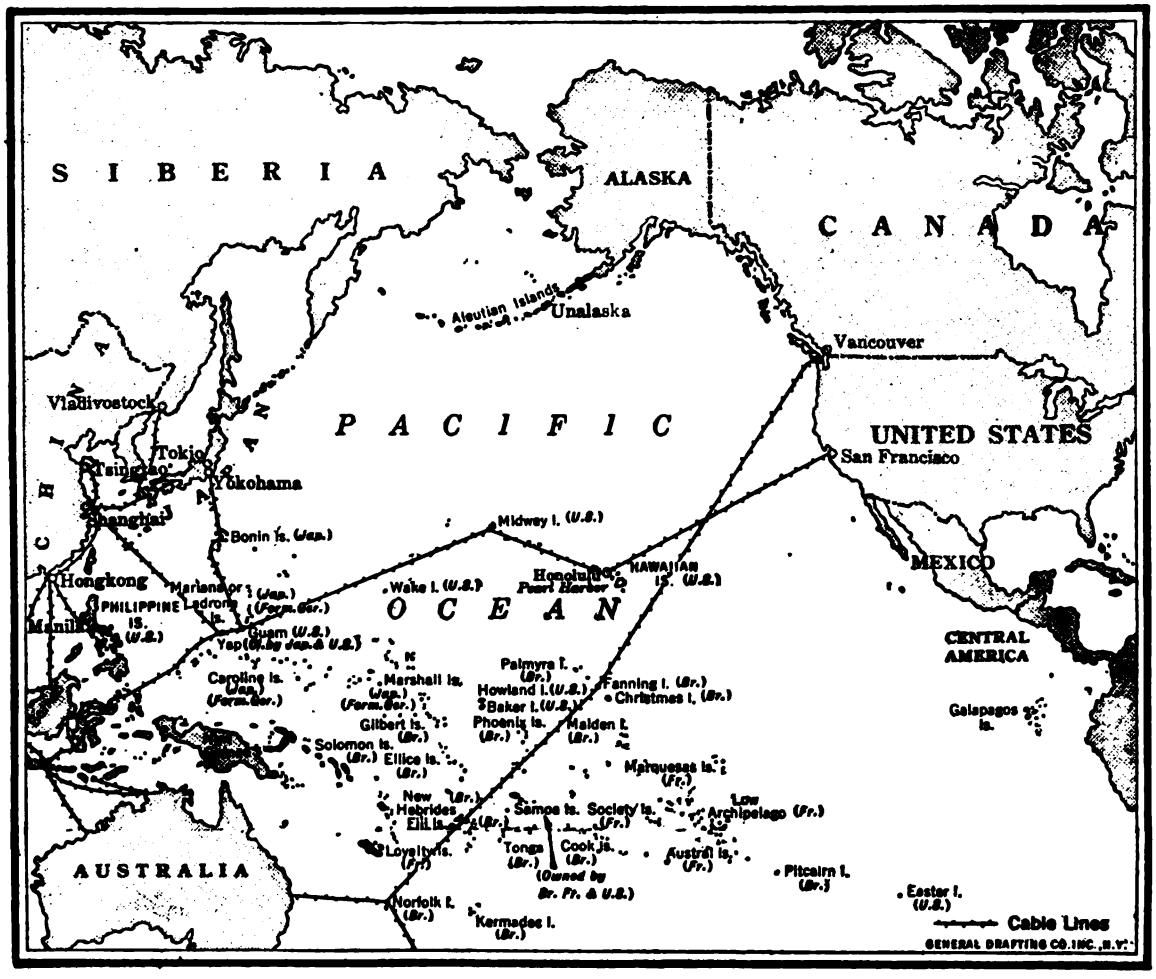
By JOHN H. LATANÉ

PRIOR to the so-called Opium War of 1840 foreign trade with China was limited to Canton. By the treaty of Nanking signed at the conclusion of that war, August 29, 1842, China agreed to open to British trade, on the same conditions as Canton, the ports of Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai. This was the origin of the five treaty ports. Notwithstanding the strong expressions of public opinion in other countries against the morality of the British insistence on the opium trade, all the great commercial nations profited by the war, and were quick to send envoys to China for the purpose of negotiating trade agreements. One of the first nations to take advantage of the situation was the United States. In fact, before the treaty of Nanking was signed, Commodore Kearny, who had been sent to Chinese waters with a squadron to protect American interests, addressed a formal communication to the governor of Canton in which he said that the United States would expect its citizens to "be placed upon the same footing as the merchants of the nation most favored." The governor promised to memorialize the Emperor to this effect.

In February, 1844, Caleb Cushing arrived in China at the head of an imposing mission for the purpose of negotiating a treaty of friendship and commerce. There was no direct intercourse with Peking in those days, all communications having to go through Canton. After tedious delays an imperial commissioner finally met Mr. Cushing at Macao and on July 3, 1844, our first treaty with China was signed. Mr. Cushing was an able lawyer and proved to be a shrewd negotiator. He secured for Americans admission to the five treaty ports, most-favored-nation treatment, and, under the principle of exterritoriality, exemption from the jurisdiction of Chinese courts and laws. During the next half century whatever concessions were extorted from China by England or France were immediately granted to us under the most-favored-nation clause.

In a few years Chinese laborers began coming to the United States, and under the Burlingame treaty of 1866 they were given as full rights and privileges as were enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation. Large numbers of them were at that time employed on the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad. But public opinion, which had at first been entirely favorable to Chinese immigration, soon underwent a change, and there came a demand from California for the abrogation of the Burlingame treaty. In 1878, after a long investigation by a committee of Congress, an act was passed limiting Chinese immigration, but President Hayes vetoed it as being in violation of treaty obligations. A commission, headed by President Angell of the University of Michigan, was then sent to Peking, and persuaded the Chinese Government to sign a treaty prohibiting the immigration of Chinese laborers, but expressly safeguarding the right of teachers, students, merchants, and travelers to come to the United States. These treaty restrictions have been renewed from time to time, but there have been frequent disputes with China over the rigid interpretation placed by our officials on these restrictions and the harsh methods employed in enforcing them. Upon several occasions we have wantonly ignored our treaty obligations.

For about two centuries Japan had pursued a policy of exclusion to an even greater degree than China. In 1854 the United States forced an entrance into Japan at the muzzle of the cannon. There were, it is true, certain definite grievances to redress, but the main reason for



WHERE THE UNITED STATES COMES INTO CONTACT WITH CHINA AND JAPAN

Until the United States acquired possessions in the Pacific there was practically no friction with the Asiatic countries. And at the time of the Russo-Japanese War the relations of the United States and Japan were exceptionally friendly, but the change in feeling that came at its close has become more and more marked as questions have arisen on which the two countries fail to agree. Japanese emigration to the United States and the dispute of the two countries over the former German cables centring on the Island of Yap are the two outstanding difficulties at present

Commodore Perry's famous expedition was that Japan refused to recognize her obligations as a member of the family of nations and closed her ports to all intercourse with the outside world. American sailors who had been shipwrecked on the coasts of Japan had failed to receive the treatment usually accorded by civilized nations. Finally, the United States decided to send a naval force to Japan and to compel that country to abandon its policy of exclusion and to open its ports to intercourse with other countries. Perry's expedition was quite a radical departure from the general policy of minding our own business, but in the Orient, American diplomacy has had a freer hand than in Europe. Japan yielded only under the threat of superior force. The conduct of the expedition as well as of our subsequent diplomatic negotiations with Japan, was highly creditable to the United States and the Japanese people later erected a monument to the memory of Perry on the spot where he first landed. For some years Japan remained unreconciled to the concessions she had been forced to make. But intercourse with the outer world soon led to a complete transformation of Japanese civilization, and the Japanese people entered upon one of the most remarkable careers of national development that history records. Until 1905 our relations with Japan were almost ideal. The Russo-Japanese War brought about changes that will be noted later.

The Chino-Japanese War of 1894–1895, caused by conflicting interests in Korea, revealed the inherent weakness of China and established the military prestige of Japan. It was followed, however, by a diplomatic defeat. China had agreed to cede Formosa to Japan, the Pescadores Islands, and the Liao-tung Peninsula, when Russia, backed by Germany and France, made what was termed "a friendly representation" to Japan and informed her, practically under a threat of war, that she would not be permitted to retain the Liao-tung Peninsula. Japan was thus deprived of the full fruits of her victory. Russia's motives were soon apparent. In less than three years she took possession of Port Arthur, and under concession from China soon extended her influence throughout the whole of the Liao-tung Peninsula. The seeds of the Russo-Japanese War were thus sown. The war with China was followed by the complete enfranchisement of Japan. The powers agreed to release her from all restrictions imposed by the early treaties. Since 1899 she has had full control over her tariffs and has had the same jurisdiction over resident aliens that other civilized nations exercise.

FOREIGN INVASION OF CHINA

CHINA now lay at the mercy of the Great Powers, and they were quick to avail themselves of the opportunity. Russia, as we have seen, secured a lease of Port Arthur and the Liao-tung Peninsula as her "sphere of interest;" Germany established herself on Kiao-chau Bay and secured extensive concessions in Shantung; while England, in self-defense, leased Wei-hai-wei "for so long a period as Port Arthur shall remain in the occupation of Russia;" and France and Italy secured less important leases. The partition of China was well under way when we went to war with Spain. What attitude was the United States to assume? Our commerce with China, which was second to that of England alone, was seriously threatened by the establishment of these "spheres of influence," which were in utter disregard of the most-favored-nation clauses in our treaties with China, but China was helpless and it was useless to protest to her. Under these circumstances President McKinley determined to keep the Philippines, which would serve as a naval base from which we might still afford some protection to our interests in China.

In September, 1899, John Hay sent to the principal powers of Europe and to Japan his famous note on the subject of the open door in China. He requested each of the Powers addressed to make a declaration to the following effect: (1) that it would not interfere with any treaty port or vested interests in its so-called sphere of influence; (2) that it would permit the Chinese tariff to continue in force and to be collected by Chinese officials; and (3) that it would not discriminate against other foreigners in the matter of port dues or railroad rates. Great Britain alone expressed her willingness to sign such a declaration. The other powers, while professing general accord with Mr. Hay's proposals, were somewhat evasive in their replies. The Russian reply was the least satisfactory, and in fact contained serious reservations. Mr. Hay made a skillful move, however, to clinch matters by informing each of the powers addressed that in view of the favorable replies received from the others, its acceptance of the proposals of the United States was accepted "as final and definitive."

Americans generally are under the impression that John Hay originated the open-door policy and that it was successfully upheld by the United States. Neither of these impressions is correct. A few months before John Hay formulated his famous note, Lord Charles Beresford came through America on his return from China and addressed the leading Chambers of Commerce from San Francisco to New York, telling Americans what was actually taking place in China, and urging this country to unite with England and Japan in an effort to maintain the open door. Like the Monroe Doctrine, the open door policy was thus Anglo-American in origin. There is little doubt that England and Japan were willing to form an alliance with the United States for the purpose of maintaining the open door in China, but our traditional policy of isolation prevented our committing ourselves to the employment of force. President McKinley, following the example of President Monroe, preferred announcing our policy independently and requesting the other powers to consent to it. Had John Hay been able to carry out the plan which he favored of an alliance with England and Japan, the mere announcement of the fact would have been sufficient to check the aggressions of the powers in China. Instead of such an alliance, however, we let it be known that

while we favored the open door we would not fight for it under any conditions.

The exploitation of China which continued at a rapid rate naturally aroused an intense anti-foreign sentiment and led to the Boxer Uprising. Events moved with startling rapidity and United States troops took a prominent part with those of England, France, Russia, and Japan in the march to Peking for the relief of the legations. In a note to the Powers July 3, 1900, Secretary Hay, in defining the attitude of the United States on the Chinese question, said: "The policy of the Government of the United States is to seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire." Mr. Hay's notes were skillfully worded and had some influence in helping to formulate public opinion on the Chinese question both in this country and abroad, but we know now from his private letters, which have been made public since his death, that he realized only too fully the utter futility of his efforts to stay the course of events.

During the long negotiations leading to the Protocol of 1901 the United States urged a policy of moderation, declaring that the only hope for the future lay in a strong, independent, responsible Chinese Government. The powers, nevertheless, imposed a very heavy indemnity on China, the amount assigned to the United States being over $24,000,000. This was greatly in excess of the losses sustained by American citizens during the Boxer disturbances and the cost of the expeditionary force, which together amounted to about $11,000,000. Upon recommendation of President Roosevelt, Congress authorized the return of the indemnity in excess of what we were actually entitled to, and China set this sum aside as an educational fund to be used in sending Chinese students to American universities.

In violation of the terms of the Protocol Russia retained in Manchuria the troops concentrated there during the Boxer movement with the intention of exacting further concessions from China. The open door policy was again ignored. The seriousness of the situation led England and Japan to sign a defensive alliance January 30, 1902, recognizing England's interest in China and Japan's interest in Korea, and providing that if either party should be attacked in its sphere by a single power the other would remain neutral, but if attacked by several powers, the other would come immediately to its assistance.

With this assurance of fair play in case of war, Japan determined to use force where Secretary Hay's diplomacy had failed. The presence of Russian troops on the soil she had conquered in 1895 and returned to China was a thorn in her side. After a series of futile negotiations the Japanese Government finally presented an ultimatum to Russia, January 16, 1904, in which it was stipulated: (1) that Japan would recognize Manchuria as being outside her sphere of interest, provided Russia would respect the territorial integrity of China in Manchuria; (2) that Russia would not impede Japan or other powers in the enjoyment of rights and privileges acquired by them in Manchuria under existing treaties with China; and (3) that Russia would recognize Korea as being outside her sphere of interest. Not receiving a reply within the time specified, Japan withdrew her minister from St. Petersburg and a few days later formally declared war.

RESULTS OF THE TREATY OF PORTSMOUTH

AFTER a series of notable victories on land and sea Japan was fast approaching the end of her resources when President Roosevelt intervened diplomatically and paved the way for peace. It is now known that he acted in response to a personal letter from the Emperor of Japan. The Russian and Japanese commissioners met at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in August, 1905. During the war public sentiment in the United States had been strongly pro-Japanese. But during the peace negotiations it veered to the side of Russia, largely as a result of the very striking personality of Count Witte, who gave out interesting interviews, while the Japanese commissioners kept themselves in seclusion and rarely gave anything to the press. The result of the negotiations was a keen disappointment to the Japanese. Their commissioners had been instructed among other things to demand an indemnity of $600,000,000. This they had to forego. The most important provisions of the Treaty of Portsmouth were those relating to Manchuria. The Russian leases of Port Arthur, Talienwan, and adjacent territories and territorial waters were transferred to Japan; the South Manchuria

Railway was also transferred to Japan, while the Eastern Railway in northern Manchuria was retained by Russia. So great was the disappointment of the Japanese people at not getting an indemnity that the treaty of Portsmouth was received with denunciations and the commissioners tried to shift the blame to President Roosevelt, who had kept in close touch with the negotiations, and who had advised them to abandon the claim to indemnity. This advice was probably sound, for the opinion was expressed by many of the foreign military observers that if the war had continued six weeks longer the tide would have turned in favor of Russia. Japan was getting farther and farther away from her base of supplies every day and Russia was drawing nearer to hers. The Japanese authorities knew that they were nearing the end of their resources, but they did not care to admit it. To the Japanese people it appeared that a great military triumph had again, as in 1895, been followed by a diplomatic defeat and for this defeat they held President Roosevelt responsible.

The following year the action of the San Francisco school authorities in excluding Japanese subjects from the schools attended by American children and children of European nationality, and assigning them to a special Oriental school, increased the bad feeling in Japan. The school question was adjusted for the time being by the intervention of President Roosevelt, but it proved to be a mere incident in the development of a strong opposition in California and the other Pacific States to further Japanese immigration. Japan declared that it was not the practice of her Government to issue passports to laborers to come to the United States, though passports were issued for Hawaii, Canada, and Mexico, the holders of which in many cases entered this country. Japan expressed her intention of continuing this policy, and relying on this "gentlemen's agreement," Congress inserted in the Immigration Act of 1907 a clause authorizing the President to exclude from the continental territory of the United States holders of passports issued by any foreign government to its citizens to go to any country other than the United States. The Japanese feel that they have made good as a nation and are entitled to full recognition as a civilized people, while the laws of the United States admit to naturalization only white persons and persons of African descent or nativity. The anti-Japanese sentiment in the Coast States is so strong that Congress is not likely to modify our laws in favor of the Japanese. Japanese resentment of the school incident was so great, and President Roosevelt was so annoyed at the attitude of Japan that in the autumn of 1907 he decided to send a great American fleet on a voyage around the world, and to have it visit Japanese waters. The fleet was received with marked courtesy by the Japanese Government and returned to America without any untoward incident.

The treaty of Portsmouth, as we have seen, transferred Russia's lease of the Liao-tung Peninsula and Russia's railway and other rights in southern Manchuria to Japan. By a secret arrangement, of which the United States and other powers were not aware, Russia agreed to hand over to Japan various secret agreements which she had made with China. Relying upon these, Japan later claimed "absolute and exclusive right of administration in the territories attached to the railway," in utter disregard of the open door policy. It was soon apparent that Japan had ambitions in Manchuria which went far beyond the Portsmouth treaty and were in fact in conflict with its provisions. By a treaty signed in December, 1905, China not only agreed to the transfers made by Russia to Japan, but agreed further not to construct any line parallel with the South Manchuria Railway. In 1907 Russia and Japan came to an understanding and agreed to support each other in their respective spheres in Manchuria. All the while Japan was professing to the outside world her adherence to the open door. In order to quiet the apprehensions of the United States, the Root-Takahira agreement was signed in November, 1908, by which Japan confirmed "the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry in China" and agreed to support the "independence and integrity" of that Empire. The agreement also bound both parties to maintain "the existing *status quo*." Did this refer to the open door or to the *status quo* established by the secret arrangements with Russia and China? It could be easily interpreted by Japan to mean the latter.

Under the various agreements China had reserved the right to purchase, after a certain period, the railways in Manchuria. In December, 1909, Secretary Knox came forward with a plan to hasten this prospective purchase

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THE FORMER GERMAN BASE, TSINGTAU, NOW IN THE HANDS OF JAPAN
This port, together with extensive concessions in Shantung were secured by Germany in 1898, and at about the same time Russia, Great Britain, France, and Italy also obtained concessions from China

through the means of an international loan to China, the railroads to be administered by a joint commission of the powers advancing the money. This plan to "neutralize" the railroads of Manchuria met with the emphatic opposition of both Russia and Japan and was dropped.

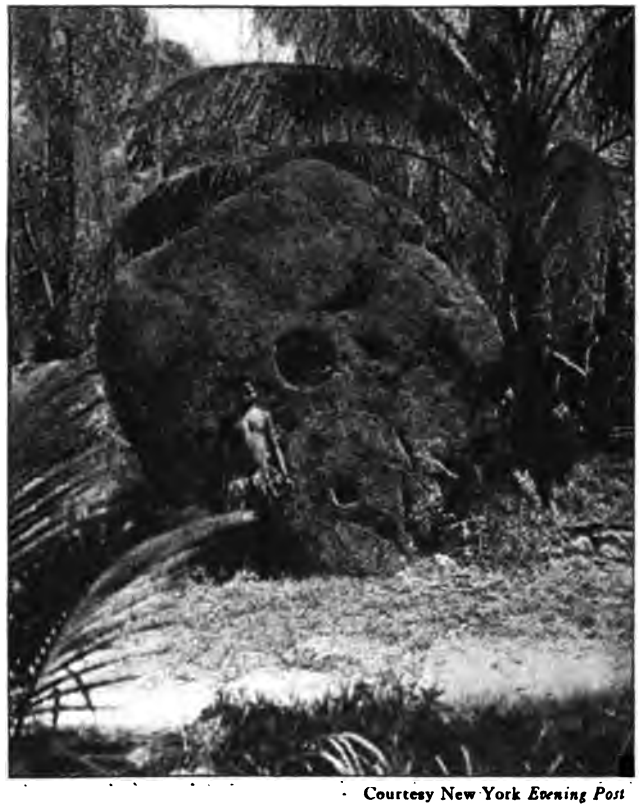
The overthrow of the Chinese monarchy and the Proclamation of a republic in 1911 were viewed with great satisfaction in the United States. It was felt that the awakening of China was due in no small part to American influence. American missionaries and those who supported them were in full sympathy with the political and social revolution that held out such large promises for the future. The new government needed money and American bankers united with British, French, German, Russian, and Japanese bankers in what was known as the Six-Power Consortium. This group was contemplating a loan of $125,000,000 to China when the American bankers withdrew. It appears from the announcement made at the time that the American group had been requested by the Taft Administration to go into the Consortium. When the Wilson Administration came in the bankers declined to go on with the loan unless expressly requested to do so by the new Administration. In a public announcement issued March 18, 1913, President Wilson said: "The Administration has declined to make such request, because it did not approve the conditions of the loan or the implications of responsibility on its own part, which it was plainly told would be involved in the request." American bankers have, however, taken the lead in forming the new consortium, arranged in 1920, with the full backing of the Government. Japan reluctantly came into the arrangement, which may serve to check in some measure her exploitation of China.

While China was struggling with the problems confronting the new republic, Japan eagerly took her place among the Great Powers in the world war. Although outside the European balance and not bound by the alliance with England to aid that country in the European sphere, Japan had reasons of her own for making war on Germany. Japanese statesmen were not hampered by any tradition of isolation. On the contrary, since Japan has attained the rank of a great power, she has not been backward about playing the

part. On August 15, 1914, the Tokio Government addressed an ultimatum to Germany to the effect that she immediately withdraw all German vessels from Chinese and Japanese waters and deliver not later than September 15th "to the Imperial Japanese authorities without condition or compensation the entire leased territory of Kiao-chau with a view to the eventual restoration of the same to China."

In a statement issued to the press Count Okuma said: "As Premier of Japan, I have stated and I now again state to the people of America and of the world that Japan has no ulterior motive or desire to secure more territory, no thought of depriving China or any other peoples of anything which they now possess."

The Germans had spent about $100,000,000 in improving Tsingtau, the principal city of Kiao-chau, and they had no intention of surrendering it. After a siege of two months the city was captured by the Japanese army and navy, assisted by a small force of British troops. This was the first act in the drama. On January 8, 1915, Japan suddenly presented to the Chinese Government the now famous twenty-one demands. They were divided into five groups, dealing respectively with Shantung, Manchuria, the Hanyehping Company, the non-alienation of territory, and the employment by the Chinese Government of Japanese advisers in political, financial, and military affairs. China flatly refused to comply with the fifth group and proposed modifications of the others. While the negotiations with China were going on, Japan deliberately misrepresented to the United States and other powers the nature of the demands she had made.



Courtesy New York *Evening Post*

ON THE ISLAND OF YAP

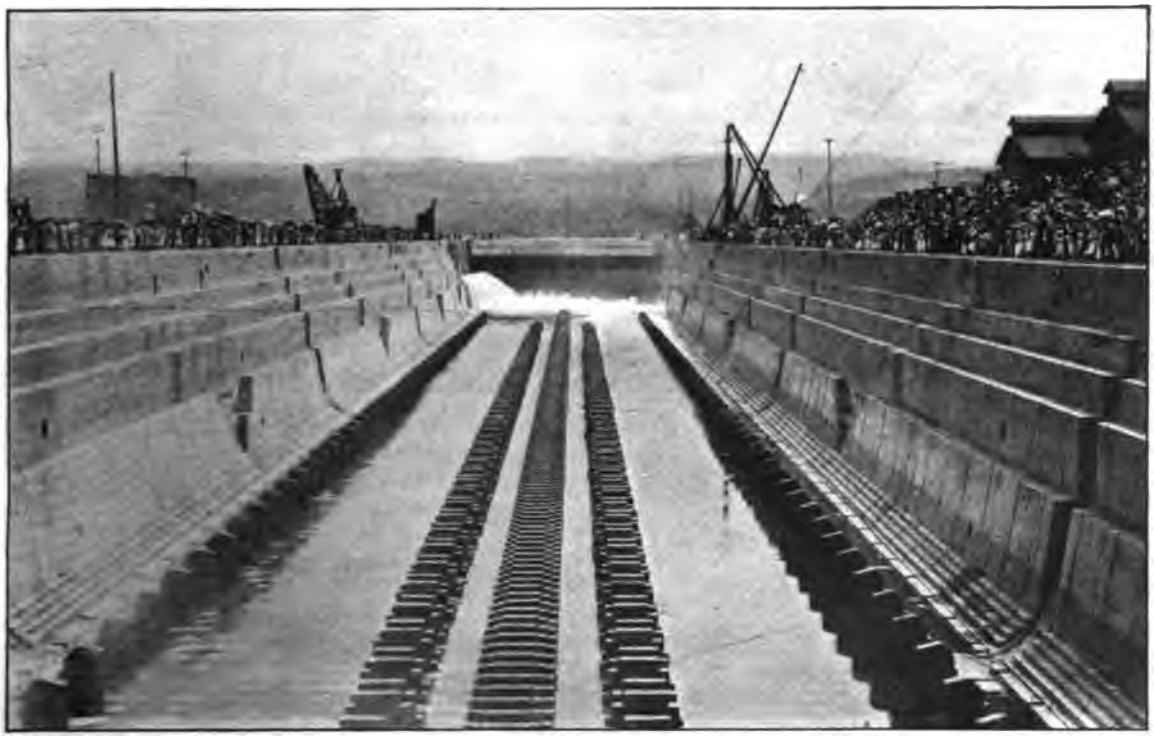
These mill-wheel-like stones are the money of the tiny island in the Caroline group that is the important cable junction over which has arisen a new cause for friction between Japan and the United States

In the first group Japan demanded not only that China should assent to any agreement in regard to Shantung that Japan and Germany might reach at the conclusion of the war, but that she should also grant to her greater rights and concessions in Shantung than Germany enjoyed. China was finally forced to agree to this and to grant the other demands with modifications. While these negotiations were in progress, the United States sent an identic note to China and Japan informing them that it would not recognize any agreement that impaired its treaty rights in China, the integrity of the Republic of China, or the policy of the open door.

Japan's next step was to secure from the Allies assurances that they would support her claims to Shantung and to the German islands in the Pacific north of the Equator at the conclusion of the war. This she did in secret treaties signed in February and March, 1917, with England, France, Italy, and Russia. England agreed to support Japan's claim on condition that Japan would support her claims to the Pacific islands south of the Equator. France signed on condition that Japan would use her influence on China to break relations with Germany and place at the disposal of the Allies the German ships interned in Chinese ports. The Allies were evidently

DIAMOND HEAD, THE PROTECTION FOR PEARL HARBOR

With Waikiki Beach in the foreground. This extinct volcano has been heavily fortified and ably defends the great American naval base in Hawaii



A DRYDOCK AT PEARL HARBOR

Pearl Harbor, capable of accommodating with ease our entire fleet, has been transformed into one of the world's greatest naval bases, but its distance from the Philippines handicaps it as a defence for those islands while at the same time Japan sees in it a threat against herself

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CORREGIDOR ISLAND, MANILA BAY

At about the time of the Spanish-American War the desire on the part of European nations to secure "sphe
ence" in China seemed to reach its height. As a consequence President McKinley, seeing the desirability of
China from which American interests might be protected, decided to retain the Philippines

A RELIGIOUS PROCESSION ON THE ISLAND OF GUAM
Guam, a halfway stop between Hawaii and the Philippines secured by the United States from Spain at the time of the Spanish-American War

JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA
The opposition of the people of California to the Japanese who have entered that state has created a situation upon which Japan is trading to secure advantages for herself elsewhere

uneasy about Japan and were willing to do anything that was necessary to satisfy her. This uncertainty about Japan may also be the explanation of the Lansing-Ishii agreement, signed November 2, 1917, a few months after we entered the war, in which the United States recognized the "special interests" of Japan in China, and Japan again reaffirmed her adherence to the principle of the open door.

In the Treaty of Versailles Germany renounced, in favor of Japan, all her rights, titles, and privileges in Shantung acquired by the treaty of March 6, 1898. This provision was similar to the article of the treaty of Portsmouth which transferred the Russian rights in Manchuria to Japan. The treaty of Portsmouth, negotiated in our midst, excited little adverse criticism, but the transfer of the German interests in Shantung to Japan raised a storm of indignation. The reason was that President Wilson had in his Fourteen Points set up a new standard of international morality, and public opinion was disposed to hold him strictly to that standard. The secret treaties of the Allies upholding Japanese claims were not revealed until the disposition of the German islands in the Pacific was under discussion at the Peace Conference. When informed by Baron Makino that the islands north of the Equator had been pledged to Japan by treaties signed two years before, President Wilson inquired whether there were other secret agreements, and was informed that the German rights in Shantung had also been promised to Japan. As the other powers were pledged to support Japan's claims, President Wilson found himself in a very embarrassing situation, especially as he had also to oppose Japan's

HONGKONG, THE IMPORTANT BRITISH BASE IN CHINA

Hongkong was occupied by the British in 1841 and permanently secured by a treaty signed in the following year. It is Great Britain's most important base in the Far East

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TOKIO

From a backward nation refusing to associate with the outside world Japan has rapidly grown to be one of the Great Powers. Commodore Perry, commanding an American squadron, forced Japan to open her ports in 1854, and intercourse with the outside world soon changed the entire nation

demand that a clause recognizing racial equality be inserted in the Covenant of the League of Nations. This was a moral claim that Japan urged with great strategic effect. In pushing her claims to Shantung she ignored all moral considerations and relied entirely upon her legal status, secured (1) by the secret treaties with the Allies, (2) by the treaty of 1915 with China, and (3) by right of conquest. When charged with having coerced China into signing the treaty of 1915, Japan replied with truth that most of the important treaties with China had been extorted by force. Japan urged her demand for racial equality until her claims to Shantung were recognized. She then dropped a demand which she probably never had much hope of securing, for she must have known that the United States would never consent to have the status of Japanese in California brought within the jurisdiction of the League.

Japan gave an oral promise at the Conference to restore Shantung to China in full sovereignty, retaining only the economic privileges transferred from Germany. China, however, refused to sign the treaty of Versailles, and Japan claims that she cannot discuss with China the conditions on which Shantung is to be restored until China recognizes its present legal status as fixed by the treaty. China signed the treaty of peace with Austria, which also provided for the League of Nations, and in that way became a member of the League and is now represented on the Council.

If Japan continues in possession of Shantung and adheres generally to the policy of the twenty-one demands, as she shows every intention of doing, our future relations with her are likely to be fraught with difficulties. Our Chinese policy is complicated by the situation in California. How much Japan really cares about the immigration question is a matter of doubt, but the discrimination against her subjects in California provides her with a standing grievance, which she continually uses as a diplomatic club to gain her ends elsewhere. This fact makes it doubly important that we treat Japanese subjects in the United States with full justice and see that their treaty rights are enforced. The recent land legislation of California was unnecessarily harsh, even if not in violation of the letter of our treaties with Japan. On the question of Japanese immigration we cannot yield, and the sooner Japan

recognizes that fact and substitutes definite treaty stipulations for the "gentlemen's agreement" the better.

Our relations with Japan are further complicated by the Anglo-Japanese alliance, which comes up for renewal this year. The original purpose of this compact, as we have seen, was to check the Russian advance in Manchuria. It was renewed in revised form in 1905, and again renewed in 1911 for a period of ten years. England's motives for renewing the compact on the latter occasion were quite different from her earlier motives. The situation had completely changed. Russia was no longer a menace. Japan was now the dominant power in the Far East, and if England did not renew the alliance there was danger of Japan forming one with Germany. Now that the German menace has been removed, what reasons has England for renewing the Alliance? A renewal under present conditions would bear too much the semblance of a combination to check the growing power of the United States. Nothing would promote the naval programme of the United States more than the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. For these reasons the discussions already in progress on the subject of the renewal are of great interest. Before a decision is reached, the Council of the League of Nations has to report on the question already submitted as to whether the Alliance is inconsistent with the Covenant of the League, and the matter has to be discussed at the British Imperial Conference, which meets in the early summer, for England dares not proceed in a matter of such vital importance to the Empire without conferring with her overseas dominions.

SHANGHAI, CHINA

One of the five "treaty ports" that were opened to the British as a result of the so-called "Opium War." The treaty of Nanking, signed at the conclusion of that war, opened to British trade the ports of Amoy, Foochoo, Ningpo, Canton, and Shanghai

© E. M. Newman

FLYING THE MAIL

REPORTED BY
DONALD WILHELM

The First Night-Flights, that Made it Possible to Carry the Mail from San Francisco to New York in Thirty-four Hours

This article is written largely upon the thought and background of Randolph Gilham Page, one of the oldest pilots in the mail service, who now is in charge of testing mail pilots chosen from a long waiting list before they are given pouches to carry. He began his training with one of the largest manufacturing companies about fifteen years ago and was an instructor in aviation both in America and France before being assigned to service on and over the German lines. But the conclusions regarding the science of aviation, the use of wireless and other instruments, and much of the substance of the article is the product of much reporting and interviewing of authorities in the Air Mail Service, the Army Air Service, and mail and Army pilots themselves. It has been checked and approved by some of these authorities.—THE EDITORS.

NOW, the conference that night late in February, there on the Omaha field, was critical. Strictly, it wasn't up to Knight to fly those 424 miles on to Chicago, over a course he had never flown. He was hungry, and he was sleepy, he said, after he circled the field, 'jazzing' his motor by way of greeting, as his habit is, and set down. "Bill" Votaw, field manager, let him drift over, across from the field, to get a bite to eat. Good "Mother" Andrew Bahm had coffee and sandwiches ready for him, at 1:15 in the morning.

Then "Bill" broached the big question very gently.

He didn't order, or even urge, Knight to go—night flying was voluntary!

But if he didn't go—if he failed to fly that gap in the run from sea to sea—if the service failed to get the mail across the Continent in twenty-five hours or so of flying time, at the rate of nearly two miles a minute—the next day Congress might renounce even the small appropriation it had been giving us to carry on the largest and most significant of all experiments in commercial aviation anywhere in the world.

We had, before that 23rd of February, when our appropriation was to come up before the House, flown the mail more than a million miles—more than forty times round the Equator, with a loss of life of eleven pilots—a loss of life smaller, you'll find, than has ever occurred in all the long history of transportation in any attempt to cover a distance so great. Yet, all through the progress of our experiment, which we have carried on with no more than absolutely necessary equipment,

some Congressmen and Senators have always been ready to damn us for our enthusiasm.

So you can see, when the next day was appropriation day, why Knight's trip and those others were so vital to a service whose loyalty and devotion some poet ought to sing.

But there was just one plane available, and that D-H 4 had flown nearly five hundred miles. And there was just one pilot, who had traveled half as far!

Knight had brought the mail—some 16,000 letters or so—from North Platte to Omaha, 248 miles in the air. But the two pilots who got to Chicago from Cleveland, bound west to Omaha and scheduled to return therefrom, could not leave Chicago—one went aloft to try! And Harry Smith, in an epic flight between 7 and 11:30 at night, had flown his lap, all the way from Cheyenne to Omaha, an air-line distance of 458 miles—enough for one night! So there was just one plane fit. There was just one fit pilot—Knight—and he had already flown from North Platte a distance greater by a third or so than the air-line trip from Boston to New York.

Then, that conference, with his wife waiting word that he had got that far through the night with not much more than the instincts of a bird to guide him.

JACK KNIGHT

The air-mail pilot, who, upon landing in Omaha after completing the flight from North Platte, Neb., on the record breaking air-mail trip from San Francisco to New York, determined to fly on through the night to Iowa City and Chicago, a route over which he had never before flown, rather than delay the mail, when Congress, on the following day, was to vote on the appropriation for this new service

THE HANGAR AT THE OMAHA FIELD

Every day the airplanes carrying the mail to and from Chicago can be seen passing over the city, flying on schedules that they keep with the utmost regularity

A NEW AIR-MAIL MODEL

There are a number of newly designed planes in use by the Air-Mail service, but most of those that are depended upon are the Army DH 4's, powered with Liberty motors

Outside, it was dark and cold. Up aloft the cloud packs were moving. The moon glowed through a moment, then disappeared.

Knight divined the situation after "Bill" had let him get a bite to eat. He considered that impending flight—424 miles at night, over a course he had never traveled even on a railroad train. He considered—about one minute! "Sure, I'll go," he volunteered.

And he knew the danger well.

Less than two weeks before he had crashed, in broad daylight. Read his routine explana-

Courtesy Manufacturers' Aircraft Ass'n

THE KEY WEST-HAVANA MAIL PLANE

The air-mail line to Cuba is operated by the West Indies Airways Company, which has contracted to carry mail. The transcontinental air-mail system and its branches to Washington, St. Louis, and Minneapolis, is operated by the Post Office Department

Courtesy Manufacturers' Aircraft Ass'n

A MARTIN MAIL PLANE

On a flight from New York to Cleveland. These planes are each capable of carrying 1,500 pounds of mail and are the largest planes in the Transcontinental air-mail fleets

tion to the department and you know the kind of man he is:

"On February 14th, I was scheduled to make the Cheyenne-Salt Lake trip. I was sitting in my ship warming it up at 6:30 in the morning.

"The motor was running smoothly on the ground and turning up exceptionally well (about 1520 R.P.M., on the ground). Oil pressure 35, temperature of 170, and air pressure of 3½.

"It was a clear morning with a 15-mile southwest wind blowing. I took off about twelve minutes before sun-up and headed west. Time of take-off 6:35.

"Climbing to 9,800 feet above sea level (about 3,500 feet above Cheyenne) I throttled to 1480 R.P.M., and headed west. Fifteen minutes out of Cheyenne at 6:50 my instruments read—R. P. M. 1480, oil 25, gas 3½, temperature 185, altitude 9,600.

"A down current of air always hits us about Horse Creek and drops us 600 to 800 feet. This is on the eastern edge of the Laramie Mountains. Then, when we get within a few miles of Telephone Canyon, we invariably hit a current of air that boosts us 1,200 to 1,600 feet. This is a singular condition that is experienced and vouched for by every pilot on this division.

"At the eastern edge of the Laramie Mountains I was flying at approximately 8,800 feet. For safety's sake I started to follow a telephone line that leads from Horse Creek to Laramie. When I got within fifteen miles of Laramie my oil pressure dropped to nine or ten, motor temperature ran 195 and suddenly my motor dropped to 1200 R. P. M. My only salvation was to attempt to land up the side of a steep mountain slope in a big snow drift.

"The shock of the impact knocked further details from my system, but when I came to, and looked around, I found myself lying several feet from the cockpit in a lot of blood. The motor, with the propellor attached, was sticking in the snow drift 75 to 80 feet up the slope and the fusilage had rolled down the slope, lodging up against a few trees and rocks.

"I must have crashed about seven o'clock, but when I woke it was 8:35. Outside of bad cuts on my face, a broken nose, and a

bad bust in the mouth, and numerous aches and pains all over my anatomy, I was O. K.

"Had a tough time, though, climbing mountains and trying to find civilization, but with the aid of the sun and good luck finally came to a ranch house about seven miles from the wreck, at 10:30. The rancher drove me five miles to Laramie, where I called up headquarters at Cheyenne, made arrangements for disposal of the mail with the postmaster, and then went to a doctor for medical treatment."

Now, less than two weeks later, Pilot Knight locked himself in a bare little room in the shack we use as office. What he thought of, of course I don't know. What he did, we know. He studied a map, a map quite like any other.

At Chicago, 424 miles away, lay victory, and the safety of the cause. If he could get those 16,000 letters there early next morning, the other pilots, Webster, a newcomer in the service, who had never flown the route to Cleveland, and Hopson and Allison, would get the pouches to New York.

He studied that map for exactly twenty minutes. Quite deliberately, then, by permission of "Bill," he tore out a part of it. "I'm on my way," said he.

He started out. "Wire my wife," he called back, "that I'm going to see this through."

He crawled into his ship and buckled himself in. He called "Off!" With the switches cut, the faithful mechanics turned the propellor over.

Then, "Clear!"

The blades spun.

He taxied out, swerved into the wind, waved a hand, was gone.

They saw him hover a moment overhead against the moon and clouds, then he was off like a homing pigeon, at 1:59 in the morning for Iowa City and Chicago.

A CALIFORNIA VALLEY

The air mail hurdles the mountains and valleys of the far West at a speed of a hundred miles an hour, and has brought mail from the Pacific to the Atlantic in 33 hours and 53 minutes. A hundred years ago the westward driving ox team would not have reached Easton, Penn., from New York in that time, and at the time of the Civil War a train, with good luck, might have gotten beyond Buffalo in a day and a half

ACROSS THE ROCKIES

Flying over mountains higher than the Alps, and over country where landing fields are hundred of miles apart, the planes have, necessarily, had accidents. But the million and more miles of flight that they have made have with a loss of life that compares favorably with other means of transportation ordinarily considered more safe

THE TYPE OF PLANE THAT KNIGHT USED

Photo by Louis R. Bostwick

A D-H 4 at the Omaha Flying Field. In a machine similar to this Jack Knight flew from North Platte, Nebraska, to Omaha, and finding no one to carry the mail on to Chicago volunteered to take it himself, at night over a course he had never before flown

IN THE MOUNTAINS OF THE WEST

Down below these clouds, in the fertile valleys, live the people who are served by the airplane mail, but the dangers of reaching flying fields below the cloud banks is apparent from this picture

And here now, is the rest of his story, quite as the department, duly urged, aided a bit in coaxing it from him, for exclusive use in this article:

"Well, I steered a compass course out of Omaha, crabbing into a 25-mile north wind. The visibility was fair until about Des Moines, where I encountered fog and snow flurries lasting to Iowa City.

"This first leg of the trip is not well landmarked with towns or railroads. Towns show at night; the business sections are lighted even when the people have gone to bed. I figured, though, that I could hit Des Moines, which is 140 air miles east of Omaha, by steering by compass, and I did—I hit it right on the nose!

"Altogether, the first half of the trip was all right. But I got pretty lonesome. At times the moon was totally obscured by a heavy black layer of clouds. It looked as if the whole blooming world was sleeping hard, and, Oh, man, I envied most of 'em. It was dark as hob up there. There's a sense of isolation that's hard to describe. But my faithful old Liberty roared out, fighting the wind and dragging my ship along at about a hundred miles per hour.

"I sighted Des Moines in an hour and five minutes. I could see the lighted dome of the Capitol plainly. And Fort Des Moines showed plainly under my right wing a bit later. I spotted it as a good place to land if my motor missed. The parade ground was illuminated by a light on each corner. But the engine was hitting on all twelve and I passed over the southern edge of the city fifteen minutes later.

"Beyond Des Moines, about ten miles, a layer of white clouds began to drift in under me. I didn't dare lose sight of the ground. So I dropped down from half a mile to fly at 100 feet. Flying was pretty bad at this altitude. The air was rough and the valleys were packed with fog. Next I began to get snow flurries,

THE AIR MAIL

Flying between widely scattered flying fields, and covering a thousand miles between sunrise and sunset or between evening and dawn, the air mail pilots are serving to bind the whole country more tightly together. The overland railroads that connect California with the East probably served to hold California in the union, and now San Francisco can be called from New York by phone, reached in an hour or two by telegraph, and probably before long a letter dropped in the mail box of one city Saturday noon will be delivered in the other on the following Monday morning

and by checking my compass course I knew with the wind shifting I was slowing to 85 miles an hour. Then I lost my horizon and got to wondering if I'd reach Iowa City.

"But I watched the landmarks carefully, stuck to the railroad all I could and wagged along, hoping soon to hit Iowa City. Well, I did hit it—right on the nose! But where in the world the landing field was I had no idea. I had to get down for gas and oil, I'd never seen the town before and there were no traffic cops handy. I flew all around, in and out the town, dodging steeples and looking for that field. For a good twelve minutes I ran around, then several red flares were lighted on the field. I judged as well as I could the general characteristics of the field and then more by luck than skill made a perfect landing at 4:45."

No. 172 was re-serviced while Knight phoned Chicago, and got a bite to eat, and had a smoke or two. Then, with a weather report justifying his idea that he could make Chicago, he took off again into the darkness and winged away, on the last 200 miles of his trip.

Now, as all pilots know, it's these last laps that tell the story. He had traveled a good 500 miles in the air—add a fourth or so more miles for land distance and you have the equivalent of a journey from London to Paris with a couple hundred miles to boot, from Berlin to Berne, New York to Cleveland, or half the distance from New Orleans to Buffalo.

He was tired, of course. And he was sleepy—later on he had to pinch and slap his cheeks to keep his eyes open.

But luck and the weather were with him; fog and bad weather couldn't jinx him now! He flew for an hour, he says.

"Then," he goes on, "a faint streak showed up off to the east. Down below, lights began to flash around farmhouses—the farmers were out with lanterns to feed their cattle. And in towns, too, people were stirring. The old world was waking and getting on the job again, and I guessed after all I'd have breakfast with my wife in Chicago.

"But at Clinton, Iowa, I hit into a fog that had been boosted up, I suppose, from down below. But daylight was breaking and I hopped it. I climbed up to 5,000 feet and ran on, trusting to drop down beyond the Mississippi. I ran for some time up there, then dropped down and began picking up landmarks in the suburbs of Chicago.

"I spotted the landing field in Maywood from a long way off.

"Then the motor missed.

"But as I was within gliding distance of the field, I said, 'Just spit, old boy, we're here!'

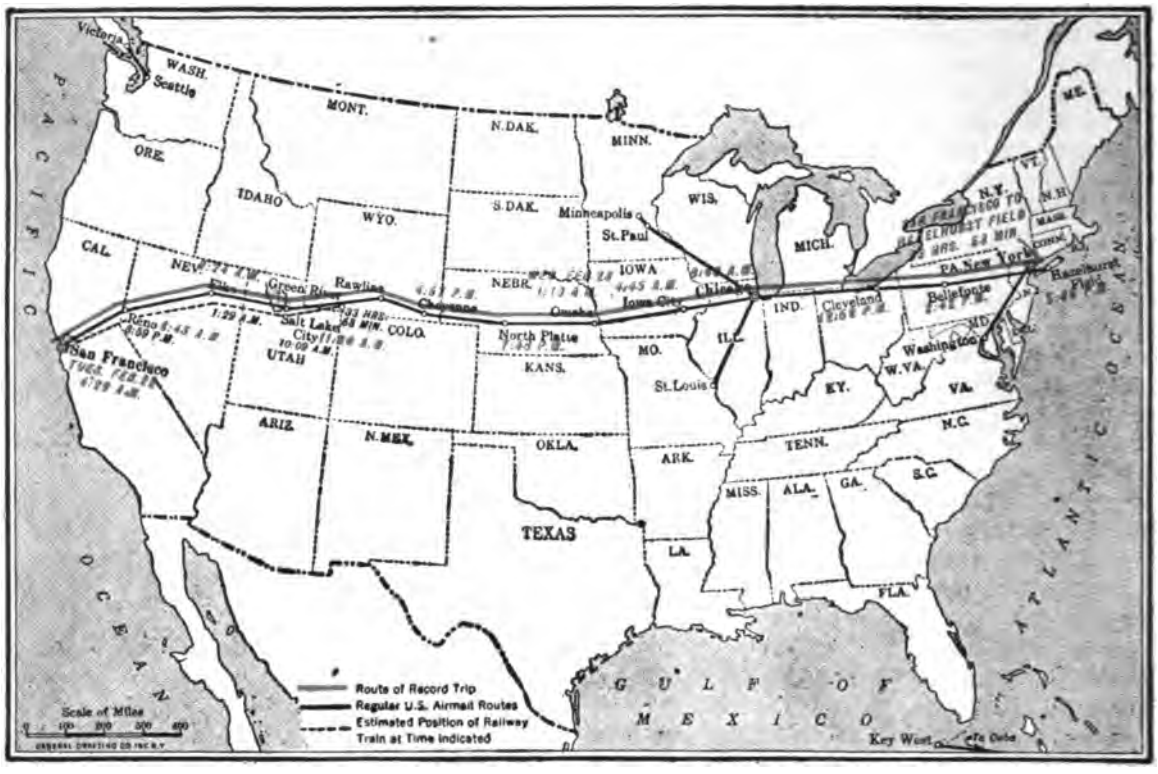
"My mail was transferred to another ship. In less than fifteen minutes Webster was piloting it on to Cleveland, flying low, under fog, doing one stretch of 104 miles in an hour, with Allison romping home at better than two miles a minute.

"They got it through, ahead of schedule, in a little over thirty-three hours out of San Francisco, in less than twenty-six of actual flying time.

"And I went to bed."

"P. S. It might be well to add that it was simply my good luck that gave me the chance at this trip, and that any other pilot in the Air Mail Service would have gladly tried the flight and probably gotten away with it as good or better."

Night travel, practically the only superiority in carrying the mails that the railways retain, is almost altogether new in aviation. It has its difficulties, and its advantages—like flying the mail, whose soul is regularity, it's different from any other kind of flying. The conditions are better in a way. The rising of the sun and the resulting change in the temperature of earth and sea raises winds, forms clouds, makes fog so thick perhaps you can't see your wing tips. And fog, of course, hanging on, sometimes, like the old man of the sea, is the airman's worst enemy. Migratory birds, you find, often fly at night and rest in the day. Instinctively they are their own direction-finders, and they can fly high accordingly. But even in daylight the mail pilots fly low. We can't as yet trust our altimeters—they're always a thousand feet or so behind when you're sliding down, so you are apt to hit the earth a wallop if there's no ceiling or clear air below. Compasses, too, as yet, can't quite keep pace with the tips and turns of a plane in a whirl. And we haven't funds for wireless equipment, with which even now planes can rise, no matter the weather, high above New York, say, and follow straight through, steered with absolute accuracy, hurdling fog and clouds and mountains, to one's destination, with the wireless there telling you the ceiling beneath. The Army has used such wireless equipment—when the Armistice was signed bombers were



THE TIME OF THE RECORD FLIGHT COMPARED WITH THE TIME OF A MAIL TRAIN

If a mail train had left San Francisco at the same time as did the air mail on February 22nd, it would have arrived at Green River, Wyoming at the time the air mail landed at Hazelhurst Field, Long Island. Traveling from New York the fastest train of the New York Central connecting with the fastest train west from Chicago, would have reached Omaha in the time the airplanes consumed between the Pacific and the Atlantic. Furthermore, the percentage of trips made on time is higher for airplanes than for trains

soon to cross the German lines at night, guided all the way by wireless. Regularly, too, the London to Paris daily air express reckons on the wireless.

From the very start, some Congressmen, like some others who can't believe that mail planes beat such trains as the Twentieth Century and the Empire State Express for regularity, have managed to keep the air mail working on a shoe-string. First, with slow and surplus Army training planes, beginning May 15, 1918, we flew the 180-mile run between Washington and New York and in the first year maintained better than 90 per cent. of perfect regularity, saved the department some money, and in response to insistent demands from business-men, found a way to advance one day the delivery of New England mail in Washington and southern mail in New York City. The success of that run justified the extension of the service over the Alleghany Mountains to Cleveland and Chicago, then from Chicago to St. Louis, to St. Paul, and to Minneapolis, where, by the way, the whistles of the entire city blew for three minutes when the first mail pilot rose—and then the chimes in the City Hall tower continued with "Nearer My God to Thee."

Then, on, at last, over the Rockies, which are higher than the Alps, the service was extended, to the Pacific Coast.

Then, through three years, we maintained an average of regularity favorably comparable with that of the railways and twice as fast. In the swamps along Lake Erie, I know from experience, hunters and punters, like rangers in the Sierras, set their watches by the passing of the air mail. Regularly, on schedule to the minute usually, all the way, no matter the weather, those precious pouches go forward. During the 1919 tornado that swept Ohio and Illinois, killing more than a hundred persons, a mail pilot plugged through. Again, during last year's blizzard, when not a wheel between New York and Washington was stirring, the mail by air came and went on schedule.

Nevertheless, some Congressmen had legitimate doubts. The immortal forty-niners, you know, only three generations ago took many weeks, in their Conestoga wagons, to cross, in frenzied thirst for gold. In June of the Centennial year, then, you remember, the Jarrett and Palmer theatrical company crossed in eighty-three hours and forty-five minutes over a roadbed costing about $20,000 every mile. That special train went those 3,311 miles at the unheard of speed of 39.5 miles an hour, and the record stood for thirty years, when, in successive tries, "Harriman specials" pulled the record down to seventy-two hours and twenty-seven minutes.

We planned to do it in a trifle more than a third of that flying time. Actually, our flying time across the Continent was twenty-five hours and twenty-one minutes.

Two relays, each way, were started.

Nutter had hopped off from San Francisco at 4:29 in the morning and in darkness had climbed three miles high over the Nevada Sierras. Eaton had taken up the relay at Reno at 6:45 A.M., and reached Salt Lake City, after a stop to change to another ship at Elko—437 air miles—at 11:30, Mountain time. Murray raced on, trying a non-stop flight of 381 air miles. He was forced to land at Rawlins for gas and oil, wait there forty-five minutes accordingly, yet swooped down on the Cheyenne field at 4:57. There Pilot Yager hopped off and ran on—into the night—flying seventy miles in total darkness with a hidden moon. He dropped down at North Platte at 7:48, and they cheered him for a perfect three-point landing.

Harry Smith had beat him in from Cheyenne and at 9:30 flew on.

Knight followed, five minutes after the motor of No. 172 had been restored to working order.

He hopped off, on what he thought was to be his only run that night, at 10:44.

Passing over the Platte River and running on toward Lexington, he says, he could see two large flares—bonfires! At Kearney, Nebraska, Grand Island and Central City there were flares—"to guide us and let us know that patriotic Americans watched and hoped for our success and the welfare of our undertaking."

Leaving North Platte, our course paralleled the Platte and the Union Pacific for 150 miles, on to Central City. "Along there," he goes on, "things began to get interesting. There was a broken cloud layer from behind which the moon broke through at intervals, while down below, 2,200 feet, the river glistened, a winding silver ribbon, like phosphorus in the dark. By the time I reached Lexington the clouds had completely obscured the moon. The earth looked like a dungeon and I hopped up to a height of 6,200 feet to learn the depth of the cloudbank."

The most beautiful sight in the world, he explains in his own way, is a cloud layer close-up, even in the daytime, when it looks like a sea of lovely suds! The sun plays on it. There are tints and colors, and you can spot the shadow of your plane. "At night, up there," he says, "the moon silvered that big sea—it was interesting—a good place to forget your troubles in the world, with not a sound except the old Liberty motor buzzing away. "You forget even that—till it misses!"

So he ran on, flying lower when the moon broke through below, checking his compass, spotting the lights of cities twenty to thirty miles away. Passing between David City and Wahoo, he says, he could see the lights of Lincoln. And over Wahoo, forty miles from Omaha, he could see the lights of his home town and even the red flares of the landing field.

He dropped down at Omaha at 1:10—the field was lighted so well, he says, landing was as easy as in the daytime. A crowd of two thousand people was waiting "to watch and pull."

He landed, and taxied up to the hangar. The rest of his story, and of the rest of that epoch-making flight I have already told. It foretells the day that is coming soon, when the mails, and many other things, will travel ordinarily, and with far more speed, by air than they have hitherto traveled by land or sea.

THE MEN WHO CREATED "COÖPERATIVE COMPETITION"

Automobile Manufacturers of Vision, and Their Agreement to Exchange Patents Which Has Imparted Growth to the Industry

By JOHN K. BARNES

AFTER the automobile had passed the "horseless carriage" age of the late nineties, and the pleasure of skimming over the roads without a slow-going horse ahead of one overcame the public ridicule that greeted the first cars, it became evident that this infant industry had been born with a silver, if not a gold spoon in its mouth. The making and selling of four thousand curved-dash Oldsmobiles in 1903 showed many people the possibilities in the business. The early dreams of Charles E. Duryea, Elwood Haynes, R. E. Olds, and other pioneers were coming true. Then began the great growth of the industry. The bicycle manufacturers followed Alexander Winton and E. R. Thomas into this new field. The wagon makers, led by the Studebakers and Mitchell, became interested. The Cadillac Company and the Ford Motor Company sprang up and became successful. Henry B. Joy, Buick, Marmon, and others, in addition to those who had been trained at the Olds Motor Works in Detroit, started with companies of their own. In the next few years many others entered the industry. And there was enough business for all, for the public demand for automobiles grew beyond all expectations. Companies which had good management, sufficient capital, and produced cars that the public liked made large profits.

But the industry was not without its failures —many of them. Young men of mechanical bent but little manufacturing ability got into it. Some were financed by rich fathers and then that backing was withdrawn before they had established a place for their cars. In fact one of the great drawbacks in the whole industry was the lack of capital. Bankers were almost unanimous in the belief that the "craze" for automobiles would die out. Then later they complained that there were already too many companies in the field; they would not risk their money in new ventures. If the industry had not been established on a cash basis at the start, and if the parts-makers had not extended liberal credit to the companies, this timidity of capital might have proven fatal to the young industry. It certainly would have retarded its marvelous growth. Fortunately there were a few rich men who had the vision of the future of the automobile and were willing to risk their money in it. This was particularly true in Michigan where there were men who had made fortunes in mining and lumbering in the Northern Peninsula and were at the time looking for other fields to go into. But when the 1907 money panic came a good many automobile companies went under. And in 1910 the death rate was as high as one a week.

Among the men with money who became interested in the business was Henry B. Joy, of Detroit, known by his friends as Harry Joy. He not only invested his money, but went into the industry himself and became an important element in its successful development. He had tried to buy one of Henry Ford's early experimental cars, but Mr. Ford had told him to wait for the next one, that it would be a better car. Meanwhile Mr. Joy heard of the phaeton Col. J. W. Packard was making in Warren, Ohio, and he went down there and got one. At that time, Mr. Joy and Mr. Emory W. Clark, now president of the First and Old Detroit National Bank, were making plans to start in the banking business. After Joy got his Packard phaeton, however, Clark saw little of him for a month or more. Joy was out on the roads around Detroit at all hours, in and under his new car, testing it and tinkering with it. His enthusiasm for the automobile grew rapidly and it was contagious enough to influence other Detroit men of means, including the Algers and the Newberrys, to put money into the building of a large factory in Detroit for the manufacture of the Packard

car in quantities. Col. Packard was to come on from Warren to run it. At the last minute, however, he could not come, and it devolved upon Joy to take charge of this four hundred thousand dollar plant. The first year the company lost two hundred thousand dollars. The factory became known around Detroit as the "millionaires' folly." But Joy increased the production schedule for the next year, and by his own untiring efforts, together with the financial backing of his directors, made the Packard Company a success.

MR. SELDEN AND HIS PATENT

FOR several years the Selden patent was a dominating influence in the industry. Mr. George B. Selden, a patent lawyer of Rochester, N. Y., with inclinations toward mechanics, invented the gasolene automobile in 1879. He immediately made application for a patent, but there followed repeated delays—apparently encouraged by Selden himself, who was trying to interest capital in his new invention—and it was not until 1895 that the patent was issued. Mr. Selden did not manufacture under it and in 1899 sold control of his patent to the Columbia & Electric Vehicle Company which soon afterward became the Electric Vehicle Company. William C. Whitney, Anthony F. Brady, P. A. B. Widener, Thomas F. Ryan, and other Eastern capitalists were interested in this company. They began a campaign of vigorous enforcement of the patent the next year. Suit was brought against the Winton Motor Carriage Company for infringement. This suit ran along until 1903 when the Association of Licensed Automobile Manufacturers was formed and ten companies signed an agreement recognizing the validity of the Selden patent and agreed to pay a royalty of 1¼ per cent. of the retail price of all cars sold by them. The Electric Vehicle Company had an arrangement with Mr. Selden as to amount of the royalty he was to get. Mr. James Rood Doolittle, who wrote "The Romance of the Automobile Industry," estimates that Mr. Selden realized about two hundred thousand dollars from his invention.

As the industry grew this 1¼ per cent. royalty soon began to run into large sums and the payments became burdensome on the industry. It was then that Henry B. Joy, president of the Packard Company, led a vigorous fight within the ranks of the Association of Licensed Automobile Manufacturers to have the royalty reduced, and was successful in first having it cut to 1 per cent. and then to ⅛ of 1 per cent.

It was in the fall of 1903 that the famous test suit against the Ford Motor Company was instituted by the Electric Vehicle Company at the request of the Association of Licensed Automobile Manufacturers. This case was in the courts eight years and the testimony taken fills thirty-six large volumes. In 1909, Judge Hough, in the United States District Court, rendered an opinion sustaining the Selden patent in every particular and granting an injunction and an accounting. Ford appealed the case to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals and gave bond to cover damages to the complainants while the case was pending. The other so-called "independents," who were interested with Ford in the fight, but were not as strong financially as the Ford Company, decided, after Judge Hough's sweeping decision, that they could no longer afford to run the risk of heavy penalties, and practically all of them went into the Association of Licensed Manufacturers. Ford continued the fight alone. In January, 1911, Judge Noyes delivered the opinion of the Circuit Court of Appeals that the patent was valid, but that Ford did not infringe it because Selden described an engine of the Brayton type while the defendents and almost all modern automobile makers used the Otto type. Mr. Ford said that the advertising his company got from this case was worth more than all it cost.

It was in this Association of Licensed Automobile Manufacturers, in the American Motor Car Manufacturers Association, formed to combat it, and in the National Association of Automobile Manufacturers, organized in 1900—before the other two—including both "licensed" and "independent" companies, that the leading figures in the automobile industry learned many lessons in coöperation. They also learned something regarding the costs of patent suits and the uncertain value of patents. But the full fruits of this knowledge would probably never have been realized if there had not been drawn into the industry at an early date a man who had seen at first hand the disastrous results of patent litigation in another field, and who had the perseverance to follow an ideal for many years, until he finally got practically all the automobile manufacturers of the country to accept it.

This man is Mr. Charles C. Hanch, who

started in the automobile business with the Nordyke & Marmon Company of Indianapolis. That company was, and still is, a large manufacturer of flour milling machinery. That industry had many points of similarity to the automobile industry. Just as there had been little improvement in the means of road transportation from the days of Babylon, when wheeled vehicles were used, until the automobile was invented; so for thousands of years flour was made by grinding grain between two stones, until rollers were invented in Hungary about 1883. That invention was immediately brought to this country and many improvements were made upon it. The making of this flour milling machinery was a highly profitable business. There were about forty-five companies engaged in it, and they were all so busy making money for the first ten years that they had little time to fight each other. But about 1893 the profits began to get smaller, and patent litigation became active. The resulting business feuds and bitter competition were so destructive that only about five out of the forty-five companies survived.

When the Nordyke & Marmon Company entered the automobile field, Mr. Hanch saw that there was likely to be the same rapid development as in the flour milling machinery business, and he foresaw that unless something was done to prevent it there would be even a worse tangle of patent litigation. He went to see Mr. Chester Bradford, of Indianapolis, who had been an attorney in much of the flour milling machinery litigation. Mr. Bradford suggested that a main corporation be formed to take over the patents of the various automobile companies, to issue stock to the different companies in proportion to the value of their patents, and to fix reasonable royalties to be charged for the use of the patents. Mr. Hanch talked to some of the automobile manufacturers about this. They all said, "Go to Detroit and see Harry Joy. If you can get him interested in the scheme, there is a chance of getting it adopted by the industry." So Hanch went to Detroit, but Mr. Joy could see no possibility of getting the automobile manufacturers to agree to such a plan. Mr. Hanch's hopes were checked, but he did not abandon his idea.

That was in 1909. In 1915, practically all the companies in the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce, the successor of all the earlier organizations of manufacturers, which includes all the leading automobile producers, except the Ford Motor Company, agreed to a plan of cross-licensing their patents which permits of their use by every other member *free of charge*. It is not surprising to find that C. C. Hanch was chairman of the patents committee that put this plan through. The other members were Wilfred C. Leland, Howard E. Coffin, Windsor T. White, and W. H. Van Dervoort. Frederick P. Fish, counsel for the N. A. C. C., helped to convince the members of the practical value of such a plan. The chief credit, however, belongs to Hanch. In the six years between the birth of the idea in his mind and 1915 he had not been idle. Upon every suitable occasion he had advocated a scheme that would eliminate patent litigation. He had the background of experience in the flour milling machinery industry to draw upon for horrible examples. But even he never dreamed at first that a plan could be effected that would permit of the free interchange of patents. It was when the committee started work on a definite plan and the difficulties of appraising the value of patents and fixing royalties for their use became apparent that it was suggested that no charge at all be made. As no manufacturer had patents worth as much as the aggregate value of the patents of all the others, there was a sound basis of fairness in this proposal. It was this argument that finally convinced the automobile manufacturers in the N. A. C. C. and induced them to adopt the plan. Each one had much more to gain from it than he was asked to contribute.

THE EXCHANGE OF PATENTS

THIS cross-licensing agreement does not cover radical patents, for it was felt that any company making inventions of a striking character, involving a radical departure from what is known, should be entitled to special compensation if such inventions proved valuable. At present there are no patents owned by the members of the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce that have been determined to be of this class. Nor are design patents which apply to the outward appearance of a car—its shape and lines—included in this agreement. But all other patents, such as improvements on the engine or on other parts of the car, come under the cross-licensing agreement and can be used by all the parties of this agreement free of charge. There are

about eight hundred such patents owned by the members of the N. A. C. C.

The practicability of this agreement is clearly evident when one stops to realize that a patent of this kind does not give the holder the right to manufacture a car. If it is an improvement on an engine, for instance, the holder of the patent must get licenses from the holders of all other patents on that engine before he can manufacture it. And none of these holders of other patents could make use of his improvement, which might be highly valuable, until they had gotten the right to do so from him. It is obvious that the development of an industry can be seriously retarded by patent conflict and litigation.

The nearest thing to this cross-licensing agreement that had existed up to that time was an agreement between the General Electric and the Westinghouse Electric companies covering an interchange of certain of their patents. But there a compensation was paid. The scheme has since been adopted by the aircraft industry, but never before had it been contemplated for an entire industry.

"COÖPERATIVE COMPETITION"

THUS did the automobile makers solve in a new and sensible way one of the most difficult problems that faces young manufacturing industries. It was the principal rock on which most of the companies in the flour milling machinery industry were wrecked. It was the rock that split the agricultural implement concerns into bitter competitors. The solution in that latter case was the old method of combining the companies. That was not brought about, however, until the bankers had given warning that they would no longer supply money unless the companies stopped their costly patent litigation. There is an interesting story of how the bitter antagonists in that field were brought on to New York, lodged in separate hotels—while the plans for the formation of the combination were being completed—and how each one signed the agreement for the formation of the combination not knowing whether he was the first to sign or not. There has never been keener competition than in the automobile field, and yet there is wholesome cöoperation. A phrase has been coined to describe this situation: "coöperative competition." By eliminating the rock on which manufacturers in other industries had been wrecked, or had been forced to combine for their own salvation, the automobile makers reaped some of the advantages of combination without losing any of the benefits of competition. The life of this agreement was fixed for its trial at ten years, but it has operated so successfully for the past six years that there is little doubt that when it expires in 1925 it will be extended.

The National Automobile Chamber of Commerce performs other valuable service for its members in connection with patents. It maintains a patent department under the management of Mr. Robert A. Brannigan, which studies every patent that relates to the automobile industry. As one of every four patents issued by the Patent Office in Washington does relate to the automobile, this keeps several men busy. When any patent is brought to the attention of a member of the Chamber, it is referred to this patents department. If it seems to be a valid patent and the invention is one that has merit, the patents department then undertakes the negotiation of a uniform license for the benefit of the members of the Automobile Chamber of Commerce and the industry as a whole.

An example shows how this works. A man named Wright invented a hinge for the engine hood that was protected from the rain by a fold in the upper part of the hood. He licensed one company to use his patent at twenty-five cents a car; then he licensed another at fifteen cents, and another at ten. This got him into trouble with the companies that were paying the higher royalties. When he died, leaving his patent to his wife, she was realizing practically nothing from it. Other companies had seen the hinge and started using it. Several members of the National Automobile Chamber were charged with infringement of the patent. Mr. Hanch, as chairman of the patents committee, saw Mrs. Wright. He explained to her that a small uniform royalty would not only be fairer to the industry, but also more profitable to her. Mrs. Wright fixed a five cent royalty. To-day she is receiving a handsome income from her husband's invention as it is being used on about eight hundred thousand cars a year.

A case of the opposite character, where it seems clear that the inventor is not getting anywhere near what he might, because he asked too much, is that of the Knight sliding sleeve valve motor. Mr. C. Y. Knight invented this type of engine in 1904 and pa-

tented it in 1910. At that time the poppet valve motor in general use was not entirely satisfactory. The Knight motor was apparently an improvement over it. But American manufacturers would not consider using the new invention at the high royalty Mr. Knight asked for it. He went to Europe and was successful in getting some foreign makers of high-priced cars to adopt it. They agreed to a royalty based on horse-power that averaged about sixty dollars a car. They stipulated that if manufacturers in any other country were licensed at a lower rate, they were to get the benefit of the lower rate. Then Mr. Knight came back to this country and found American manufacturers more interested in his motor. But when he told them his rate of royalty again they said it was too much. And to-day only four companies in this country use the Knight motor, and under an agreement which, without changing the rate of royalty, limits the amount of payment each year to a fixed maximum. This, in effect, greatly reduces the royalty per car for a large producing company. (If the foreign companies' production ever brings their royalties up to this maximum they will enjoy the same limit.) It is believed that if Mr. Knight had not demanded a royalty that was regarded as prohibitive, the automobile industry would have adopted the Knight motor and abandoned the other. Instead of that it went ahead in its efforts to improve the poppet valve motor and the result has been that now the poppet valve motor compares favorably with the Knight motor.

The National Automobile Chamber of Commerce defends its individual members against patent suits when it is considered in the interest of all the members to do so. This protects the industry from patent hold-ups which might gain headway by starting with small companies that could not afford to defend suits. Other coöperative work done by the Chamber is through its traffic department, which keeps in close touch and assists the railroads to supply cars where needed for shipments of its members and checks all their freight bills for them. Through this department the Chamber has a united voice in connection with the fixing of freight rates and in all other traffic matters. Through its legislative department its members are heard as a unit in regard to legislative matters. There are also good roads, commercial vehicle, foreign trade, and service departments, through which coöperative work is carried on in those various fields.

In the constitution of the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce is this clause: "Each manufacturing member shall render to the corporation [the N. A. C. C.] within the first fifteen days of January, April, July, and October of each year, written reports under oath setting forth the number and kinds of self-propelled vehicles made and sold, or otherwise disposed of, by such member, during the preceding three calendar months, and the aggregate net amount charged therefor. . . ." This clause is an inheritance from the old Licensed Association, as is much of the coöperative spirit in the industry. This information was necessary then in figuring the royalties under the Selden patent. To-day it is used as a basis for collection of dues in the Automobile Chamber of Commerce, but it is of much more value than that. These reports go out to each member. Each one, therefore, knows just what his competitors are producing. That places them all in much better position to make plans for the future. The cards in the automobile industry are on the table; the game is a friendly one.

Differences and misunderstandings arise among the members of the N. A. C. C. just as they do in every other industry, but four times a year representatives of the member companies are brought together in a general meeting—the Chamber pays the traveling and hotel expenses of these men—and their differences are brought out into the light of day and subjected to the views of all the members. The inevitable result is the correction of misunderstandings and usually the composition of differences. Friendly coöperation is thus maintained. Back of this is another man—Mr. Charles Clifton, chairman of the board of directors of the Pierce-Arrow Motor Car Company, who has been president of the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce since its organization. His great vision in regard to the industry, his remarkable personal charm and firm hold on the affections of its leaders have been largely responsible for the safe course that has been steered past the rocks of discord and dissension which have upset other industries.

Much could be learned by other industries from the "coöperative competition" in the automobile field.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S PRACTICE OF GOVERNMENT

Examples of His Methods in Making Government Work Effective, Told by a Friend and Assistant

By REGIS H. POST

ON MY first ceremonious visit of introduction to Senator Platt after my election to the New York Assembly, I used the expression "it did not hurt my conscience." The "Old Man," as he was affectionately called by his followers, threw up his hands in mock horror—"Oh, my dear Mr. Post, there are two things a member of the Legislature should never mention; one is his conscience and the other his constituents."

Throughout the two strenuous years of Mr. Roosevelt's occupancy of the Governor's office, those two words were probably the ones that the members of the Legislature most wished to forget, or never to hear, yet they were the two spectres that walked the halls of the Capitol by day and by night. Wars and rumors of wars between the Governor and the organization were constant and most disturbing to the peace of mind. In ordinary times all that was necessary was for the member to listen for the vote of his floor leader and follow his lead. The organization supplied all the conscience necessary, and his constituents had fulfilled their destiny when they had recorded themselves at the polls as being for the party. But during those two years matters were continually coming up in such a way as to demand individual thought, which was bad, or wakened outside interference by those same constituents, which was much worse. The average legislator is the most timid creature in the world, and to find himself between the upper millstone of the organization and the nether of an aroused public opinion at home, tended to take the joy out of life most effectually.

But if Roosevelt was teaching a lot of old dogs new tricks he was also educating himself even more thoroughly. Up till then, I think, he still had the feeling that the more educated people would naturally be behind him in his fights for reform, and it was during those two years that he learned that when a reform touched the pocket or the convenience of Fifth Avenue, the reactions, if more subtle, were just as adverse as those from Mulberry Bend. In fact they were more unpleasant as they were more painful, coming from a source that could reach him in a more intimate way. Once, when he was to make an address at a dinner of the Harvard Club in New York, he asked me to attend and find out what sort of an impression the address made. He had chosen as his subject: "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor," stressing the point that this was just as grievous a fault as that of the commandment "Thou shalt not steal," the general tenor of the address being an answer to his critics. At that time he was frantically busy in Albany, and when he did come to New York his time was very thoroughly occupied, being called upon generally to make two or three addresses each evening. We attended the Harvard Club dinner, and the impression that I got was that 90 per cent. of the men there regarded the Governor as a favorite son and had the feelings of a fond parent when his child is to make a commencement address, when their desire to see him do well made them perhaps supersensitive.

The other speakers at the dinner were President Eliot of Harvard, President Hadley of Yale, and Secretary of the Navy Long, all of whom preceded Governor Roosevelt with polished and finished addresses. Mr. Roosevelt followed them with a speech which he had not taken proper time to prepare and which was certainly not in his usual style; it fell pretty flat. He felt the coldness of the audience and on our return to Albany the next day he called me to the Executive Chamber and asked me if I had noticed that the speech did not receive a very cordial welcome, and if I thought it was because the sympathies of the

Harvard Club men were drifting away from him. Asked for my candid opinion, I said, "Governor, I think the secret of the reason of the failure of your address was that it was a darn poor speech. You had thought up a very good text, but you had not prepared it, you were thinking of your Press Club dinner which was to follow that of the Harvard Club, and you were in competition with three of the most graceful speakers in New England. I think the feeling of your audience was simply one of disappointment, growing out of their very fondness for you." Instead of being nettled, as a smaller man might have been, he was delighted to realize that the failure of his speech was owing to his own shortcomings and had no political significance.

ROOSEVELT "ELIMINATED?"

BUT those two years were training him thoroughly for the position of President, and there seemed to be a settled conviction that in 1904 nothing could stop his getting the nomination, until the master stroke of politics on the part of Platt and his friends shelved him with the nomination for Vice-President in 1900. I do not think that I have ever seen such wide-spread relief and joy as pervaded the Capitol in 1901. I visited the Legislature just after it assembled in January and there was a most distinct feeling that life was a simpler affair since Roosevelt had been eliminated—"See what we've done to your proud Teddy, we've got him, all right, all right. I tell you that you can't beat the Old Man in this state and get away with it for long."

And if anything in connection with the tragedy that put him into the White House in 1901 can be described as ludicrous, the dismay of the New York organization was really funny; by their efforts to eliminate him they had only brought about the very thing they feared. As one gentleman remarked at the time—"You cannot fight against God."

My own experience in receiving my appointment to Porto Rico is fairly typical, I think, of his memory, or faculty of cataloguing his available men for positions. On the night of the election in 1900 I telegraphed him, as a joke; "Make me Governor-General of Guam," and in due course received an engraved card from Mr. Loeb thanking me for my telegram of congratulation. The next time I saw him I laughingly told him that I was not to be put off; as the only member extant of the Roosevelt machine I demanded an island for myself. Of course at this time he had nothing whatsoever in his gift, and we could joke with perfect freedom, and we did talk over the colonial service on several occasions with much interest.

Then came his accession to the Presidency and I did not see him or hear from him until February, when I was asked by telegram to come to Washington. Reporting at his office he said with a smile; "You have wanted an island—I am going to make you Immigration Commissioner at Ellis Island." I protested that I did not want it and was not fitted for it, but he merely remarked; "I am not arguing—I am telling you that if I wish you to be Immigration Commissioner—Immigration Commissioner you are going to be." Fortunately he found a better man, and I was let out, and again I heard nothing from him until once more I was sent for, and told that on the completion of the treaty with Denmark for the sale of the Virgin Islands I should be sent down as Secretary under Jacob Riis as Governor, or, if Riis continued to refuse, some other American of Danish blood.

The treaty for the sale of the islands failed, but as I had made my plans to go down there, I thought I might as well see what the islands were like in case the sale should happen to be completed, and so spent the winter in Santa Cruz. While there a cable reached me, instructing me to go over to Porto Rico and take the position of Auditor of the Island. On these occasions, without any reminder from me or any of my friends, he had fitted me in where he thought I would be of use.

AN OPINION OF THE CONSTITUTION

JUST before leaving for Santa Cruz I saw him for a few minutes under circumstances that were most characteristic of his mental and physical courage. The White House was being renovated and he was occupying a private house in Washington. The weather was very hot and he had recently suffered a wound in the leg from an accident. The great anthracite coal strike had come to a crisis and he was using every effort to bring the opposing forces together to arbitrate. He was tired and suffering, but indomitable in his purpose; "This matter has got to be settled—I am going to give them every chance to settle it themselves, but if they don't, then I shall have to settle it for them. I know that they all say that it is unconstitutional for me to

interfere. There are people who consider the Constitution as designed to prevent things from being done; claim that nothing can be done unless the Constitution specifically provides that it shall be done. But I believe that when the welfare of the nation requires that I take action I must take that action *unless the Constitution specifically provides that I shall not.*" Without discussing the merits of this opinion of the Constitution, the fact that he held it explains his readiness to act when more timid men would have been glad of an excuse for inaction. I could see this thought working continually in his relations with the Central American countries and West Indian Islands, the echoes of which reached to our own shores through Spanish-American sources. For, coupled with two other principles he had laid down for dealing with our American neighbors, it explained clearly his attitude toward them. These two were well expressed in what was at the time described as the Roosevelt corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, and the other in a remark made to me in connection with the Porto Ricans. The corollary to the Monroe Doctrine was that if we held that European powers were to be prevented from any interference in American affairs by the United States, and that the American nations were to be safe-guarded against foreign aggression, that it was equally incumbent upon us to see that European nations were not given just cause to interfere, or that weak American nations should not invite European aggression through their own unjust or aggressive acts. The remark to me was: "In dealing with the Porto Ricans, give them absolute justice and even more than justice—generosity, but in return demand justice to the United States. We have the responsibility of their welfare, and we must give all that we can and demand nothing in return that is in the slightest degree selfish, but we must have their respect, and we cannot have their respect unless we exact the same spirit of coöperation from them that we give."

It was this spirit, I think, that actuated the Porto Rican Government throughout Mr. Roosevelt's entire Administration.

In Santo Domingo, he gave us the best example of the application of his three principles. The little republic in our neighboring island had been for years in a state of political chaos—revolution was the normal state of affairs and president succeeded president with bewildering frequency. Each administration as it came into power would issue bonds either for the financing of the revolution that put them in, or merely to get the money. Naturally these bonds were issued at absurd discounts and at ruinous interest, and were almost as regularly repudiated or ignored by the succeeding administration. Finally the condition of the republic both internally and externally became so serious that international complications seemed inevitable. The whole Republic was in a state of anarchy, with two separate governments claiming authority and revolutions and counter-revolutions going on in every part of the island. Foreign creditors were bringing pressure to bear on their governments to intervene in their behalf. We faced a situation that either would lead European powers to coerce the Republic with grave menace to the Monroe Doctrine, or force us to refuse to allow any interference with the Santo Dominicans' divine right of self-slaughter and to prevent the collection of their debts.

COLONIAL MANAGEMENT

MR. ROOSEVELT was not content to do either. By simple negotiations, backed by a fleet of small naval vessels, the warring factions were brought to terms with each other and an agreement was reached whereby the customs houses, the chief and only prize of successful revolution, were to be taken over and administered by Americans named from Washington, but employed by Santo Domingo, and the receipts divided on a basis of 45 per cent. for the current expenses of the republic and 55 per cent. for a sinking fund to pay off the indebtedness. A commission headed by Professor Hollander of Johns Hopkins, who had been the first Treasurer of Porto Rico and the organizer of the Porto Rican fiscal system, overhauled the outstanding claims and was able to reduce the amount by a very great percentage. Mr. Colton, who later succeeded me as Governor of Porto Rico, and who had been trained in the Philippine customs service, took charge of the collection of the customs, and under his management the republic received more money from the 45 per cent. of the revenues than they had previously received from the total. The foreign creditors were more than satisfied, and, best of all, revolutionary attempts were reduced to a minimum, as the inducement to revolution was lacking with the customs revenues unattainable.

As in so many cases, the Navy men proved to be the best of diplomats in the handling of the whole situation, and as the fleet was based on San Juan we could get fragments of news when different ships dropped in for coal. One commander of a converted yacht had been sent to round up a bunch of "generals" in the northern part of the island, and, a Southerner by birth, had been obliged to entertain a luncheon party of some ten or a dozen sable "generals." There was one in particular, a splendid specimen of manhood, six feet four and broad in proportion, who had been silent during the conference and lagged behind as the others went on deck. Approaching the Commander he said in perfectly good American: "Say, Boss, you ain't got an old pair of shoes, has you? I ain't no Spanish nigger; I'se American, I is."

I also had a chance on a small scale to apply Mr. Roosevelt's theory when word reached me of a shipment of ammunition from a small port in Porto Rico, to be used by revolutionists. I ordered the local Chief of Police to seize the ammunition, which he did and then wired me to ask what law he was to act under. I wired him to ship the ammunition to San Juan while I thought up some law to cover the case. I have forgotten just what we did present to the court, and I think we were eventually beaten and the shipment returned to its nominal owner, but as the whole revolution depended upon the supplies arriving on the scheduled minute, our object was attained.

On another occasion I received word that an ex-president of Santo Domingo, with a number of his followers, was going on a yachting party, and I requested the Collector of the Port of San Juan to have the revenue cutter take a little cruise in the Mona Straits. As there were invitations out for a tea on board the cutter for the following afternoon, the Commander refused to follow the suggestion of the Collector. A cable to Washington brought a positive order that he should take the Governor's orders or they would find a commander who would. The tea was postponed, and so was the revolution, and some weeks afterward I had the satisfaction of showing the Commander of the cutter an intercepted letter from the ex-president, in which he stated that everything had been going splendidly until the last minute when the activity of the U. S. Government and the sudden despatch of the revenue cutter convinced them that it was impossible to proceed. I have often wondered what the cutter would have done if they had met the yachting party in the Mona Straits—nothing that I know of, but the bluff worked and the picnic failed again.

THE ROOSEVELT SPIRIT

THE whole little group of figures, the naval officer placating the Santo Dominican general with a pair of old shoes; the Porto Rican policeman "swiping" the revolutionist's ammunition first and asking as a mere matter of curiosity what law he was to apply to the case; the enraged ladies deprived of their tea on the cutter, all somehow seem to combine to typify the Roosevelt spirit—do it, and do it quickly, and discuss it afterward.

Just before leaving the White House in 1909, after many months of struggle and criticism, responding, I think, to a feeling of temporary discouragement, he said to me: "I have had to be a pioneer, a blazer of trails. Much of my work has been to overcome and overthrow the obstacles in the path of progress. Perhaps too much of my efforts have been exerted in tearing down and clearing away. After me will come, I hope, a period of constructive work made possible by the clearing I have made."

It is too soon to say which will be considered his greatest service to his country. The destruction of evil conditions and the curbing of selfish powers existing prior to his time, or the constructive work, both material and spiritual, conceived, initiated, and started on its way by himself and his aids. But whether in ripping out the old or the building of the new it was as the leader of men more than as the holder of office that he succeeded. The work he laid down will not live so much in Washington as in the factories, the offices, and the homes of America. The written laws on the statute books are mostly the crystalization of the sentiments he aroused in the consciences of Americans, and the vision he gave to American eyes; old truths revivified, old principles reestablished, old virtues restored to American life and business.

A Week in the White House with Harding

An Intimate Picture of the President at Work and Play

By WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD

Photographs taken especially for the World's Work by Roger B. Whitman

AMERICANS are interested in knowing just what kind of a man they have selected to govern them for the next four years. I have known President Harding as editor, lieutenant-governor, senator, President-elect, and now as President and will attempt to draw a word picture of my impressions of the man. Previous to his nomination, my study of him was superficial, for, to be perfectly frank, I had never considered that he was sufficiently important as a national figure to merit a closer scrutiny.

Since his nomination, during the time between his election and the inauguration, and since he has been elevated to the Presidency, I have made a closer and more accurate study of Harding, the man. I have had the privilege of several hours' conversation with him in the White House since the inauguration, as well as the opportunity to watch him at work in the executive office during several days, and to talk with him while we played golf together at Chevy Chase. I have also had two long conversations with Mrs. Harding at the White House. Altogether, I put in all the time the President could spare me—part of every day but one—of the week of March 6th to 14th, with him, at work and at play. This article is the product of that personal study.

Here is how I made the engagements for interviewing Mr. Harding. Will Hays, the new Postmaster-General and an old friend of mine, was in New York a few days before the inauguration. I told him I wanted the first authentic story about Harding the President. "Sure, old man, I'll help you; he is going to be devilish busy for a few days, but you come on down to Washington and I'll fix it up."

The day after the inauguration he telephoned to George Christian, the President's private secretary, saying, "Crawford is down here at my office and wants to get an interview with the President at once; can you fix it up?" Christian threw up his hands in holy horror, at least I imagine he did, I couldn't see him over the telephone, but he did say that it was absolutely impossible; that the President was so busy talking to senators and congressmen and prospective ambassadors that it would really be a physical impossibility for me to see him now. "You know he can't do but one thing at a time and he is booked up solid for a week for every minute. I'll make the date as soon as possible; maybe next Monday." Then I went to see my old friend Harry Daugherty, the Attorney-General. He picked up a piece of scratch paper from his desk and wrote with a pencil on it to Christian: "Dear George, this interview for Crawford just must be arranged, do your best." I presented the note to Christian and reminded him of Will Hays's request and promised him that I would not take up the President's time, but would watch him at work, go with him to play, and be just as quiet and unobtrusive as a little mouse. Christian was very friendly, but adamantine on the idea of taking the President's time for an interview within two days after the inauguration, and repeated that he would make the engagement for me next week.

Now I had promised the editor, on Will Hays's say-so, that I would have this story in time for the next issue. So I went back to Will Hays and told him it just had to be done. He arose to the occasion like a man and said he would take up the matter with the President himself, because his word was out. So at the Cabinet meeting that day Will Hays brought the subject up, seconded by Daugherty and Christian. It was the first time the President had heard of my request, but he was most gracious and telephoned to me at the hotel to come and play golf with him at three o'clock. I had gone out when the message arrived and usually do not return to the hotel until supper time, so

there was great scurrying by the hotel management, the Postmaster-General, the Attorney-General, and the White House staff to find me. However, by great good fortune, I happened to be near the hotel about 2:30, and went in to get a bite to eat. I was immediately besieged by the hotel folk, handed a bunch of telephone numbers to call up, and told I was wanted at the White House. These telephone calls were from Hays, Daugherty, and Pat McKenna, the connecting link between the President and the outside world. Each message bore the same refrain, "the President has consented to the interview and the first appointment is to play golf at the Chevy Chase Club, you had better hurry." I rushed down stairs, hailed a passing taxi, and reached my destination just as the clock was striking three. The President received me very cordially and was kind enough not to comment on my coming to play golf dressed in my street clothes, and without any clubs, balls, and other paraphernalia. He did better than that, he borrowed the necessary accoutrement for me from some club friend. This was the beginning of my week with him.

In this story there will be no direct quotations because one of the terms on which the President gave me this opportunity to study him at close range in the White House was that he was not expected to send any message to the American people. It was to be an opportunity for me to form my own opinion based upon his methods of work, his conversation, his home life, and his attitude toward his office as Chief Executive.

Before I begin to describe my impressions of him let me add this additional statement so that my readers may understand that this is in no wise a partisan description of him. I am a life-long Democrat. As an admirer of Wilson I was more than exasperated at what I consider the unjust calumny heaped upon him during the campaign for partisan political purposes and was inclined to attribute it partly to the nominee of the Republican Party; consequently, I came to my task certainly with no prejudice favorable to the new President. On the other hand, I came with a determination to deal out even justice as far as my powers would admit and to tell the story without any prejudice.

The pictures of Mr. Harding never do him justice. The deep lines separating his cheeks from his chin cast a shadow that is increased by the camera. This prevents the people who only know him by photographs from appreciating his remarkably strong face. The President is tall, well over six feet; his head is covered with iron-gray hair beginning to get thin on top, and he has a remarkably large leonine head cast on Roman lines. His eyes are large, light blue, and well shaped, and he looks at you directly in the face—a look that is rather disconcerting when he is listening to you, especially when you know that the owner of those eyes is the President of the United States. His head is set upon a remarkable pair of broad shoulders and, as is the case with most tall men, his shoulders are slightly rounded. His body is well knit, with no superfluous flesh. His limbs are sinewy, indicating great physical strength, and his vitality is something amazing. I consider myself quite a good walker, yet on the golf course I frequently found myself eight or ten paces behind him because of my physical inability to keep up with him.

There is a certain engaging frankness about the man that usually goes with the possession of superb physical powers, a something that subconsciously says that he is more than a physical match for the men that he meets and therefore does not need subterfuge.

His head has not been turned in the least by his elevation. While he feels the responsibilities that have been placed upon him, it has not given him any stiffness or hauteur, any sense of importance, or any demand upon the people for recognition of his executive position. This was shown very distinctly in several instances on the golf course at Chevy Chase. There were several parties ahead of us. On account of the rapidity with which the President walks and the quickness of his play we caught up with them. They invariably stepped aside and requested that we precede them. He always refused their proffered courtesy and with a most pleasing smile requested that they continue, nor was there with this any evidence of condescension on his part or of affected humility.

We were playing winter rules and on one occasion the President forgot his rubber tee, leaving it on the field. A young man recognizing that it was the President's, ran up behind him and rather timidly, as if he were afraid that he would offend by addressing the President, said: "Excuse me, Mr. President, but you left this." He accepted it so graciously and so unassumingly that he completely placed the young man at his ease, but as he walked off he said to me rather seriously, "Crawford, I wish

the folks would forget once in a while that I am President."

A rain came up while we were playing, but the President trudged on, saying, "If you boys don't mind this, I don't." His sturdy shoulders, pushed a little forward with determination, showed the only evidence of the discomforts of the rain. Mud on this particular course forms quickly and his low-cut shoes were soon covered, but this made no difference to him.

ON THE GOLF COURSE

HIS humanness was indicated in another manner very pleasing to me. By pressing too hard he had made a bad drive, his ball landing in a deep ditch which the rain had converted into a running stream with the water up to his shoe tops. The President muttered an expletive as any good golfer does, but when I suggested that he lift it out, taking the penalty, he smiled at me rather scornfully and waded into the stream. Using his niblick he made a very clean shot from this unfortunate position and landed on the green. Then he looked at me triumphantly as if he had accomplished some wonderful feat. He was as proud as a country boy used to be with his first pair of red top boots. You may be sure that you have a really human man as President.

Mr. Harding is a neat dresser. His clothes are, in Shakespeare's phraseology, "rich, not gaudy." They are well cut, well pressed, and of good material, but his tastes are inclined to black and sombre colors. He eats his breakfast in a well-quilted wine colored jacket. In his morning hours he wears a sack suit, usually of dark gray, almost black. If he goes golfing in the afternoon he puts on the regulation togs —plaid, a light cap, dark red golf stockings and brown shoes. Underneath his Norfolk jacket he wears a white woolen sweater. But as he grows warm from the exercise off comes his coat, which he sticks under his arm. The President does not dress for dinner unless he is going out or has company.

President Harding, to his subordinates at the White House, is thoughtfulness and kindness personified. I learned this from observation and also by conversation with the members of his personal staff. It matters not how busy he is; if he passes one of them he has a cheery "Good morning: how are you feeling to-day?" He is more considerate of them than he is of himself, saying "that's enough for you to-day. Send someone else to assist me." His two young lady stenographers are loud in his praise. Hoover, whom everybody knows has been chief of the White House staff for several administrations, is very frank in his admiration. Pat McKenna, the old reliable Pat, whom everybody must interview before they see the President or Mr. Christian, confidentially informed me that the new President was a "peach."

His daily routine proves that the President's job is no cinch. I am sure that he is not a union man, because he violates the eight-hour law twice every day, his usual day lasting about seventeen hours. He arises every morning before seven o'clock, shaves himself, takes his morning exercise, and then reads the papers, especially the editorials touching upon national and international affairs, until Mrs. Harding is ready for breakfast, which, she mournfully assures me, he insists shall be at the unearthly hour of eight o'clock, regardless of the fact that they have been up until the wee small hours of the night before. More important still to her, she is supposed to be present at this meal. As soon as breakfast is over he hurries to the executive offices. Only stopping long enough to pat the Airedale, Laddie Boy, on the head, he immediately proceeds to work and is busily engaged in reading and signing state papers until the hour for his appointments to begin, usually at nine-forty-five. He works with great rapidity, determines quickly on the papers submitted to him, signs those that he has already prepared the night before, and makes pencil notations in the margins of letters to be answered by his secretary. This early morning work is absolutely essential because long before the hour that he has set to receive visitors, the executive offices are crowded with men bent on one of two missions—or more usually both—to congratulate him as the new President and to whisper in his ear their perfect willingness to serve him as United States District Attorney at Kalamazoo, or Ambassador to Timbuktu. I almost believe that every other man who voted the Republican ticket at the last election has sought some political appointment, and am reasonably certain that I am the only man who, having had an opportunity, has not asked him for some political favor.

To this vast throng are added Senators and Congressmen who are interested in special bills or who desire to learn the executive wishes concerning pending legislation; or possibly it is more correct to say, "to discuss with the President the pending legislation."

The President's reception of his visitors is cordial. He either has a remarkable memory for names and faces, or has been secretly informed by his ever faithful secretary, Christian, as to the who, what, and why of his next visitor. He has a warm hand clasp of evident sincerity, and they leave him with pleasant tastes in their mouths regardless of the fact that he has been particularly careful to make no promises that he cannot fulfill, the usual formula being something like this: "I assure you, Senator, that the application of Mr. Jones will have due consideration and you may be assured that your recommendation will be given due weight." I felt like suggesting that it would be an excellent idea to have a phonographic record made of this statement; it would save time. I do not wish to give the impression that Mr. Harding is practising deception, only that his natural kindliness and thoughtfulness prevent him from being blunt and inconsiderate of his callers, and his natural carefulness, from making positive promises that he may not be able to keep, for there aren't enough offices to go around. Let me remark that the President is no sychopant. He receives with equal cordiality Senator Lodge, Speaker Gillett, ex-speaker Cannon, and Squire Jones of Cross Roads, Ohio, the only difference is that he addresses the squire as Bill if he knew him as such back in the old home state. These visits continue at about ten minute intervals throughout the morning.

LUNCHEON AT THE WHITE HOUSE

LUNCHEON is served at the White House at one o'clock, and the President almost always has invited some visitor with whom he wishes to discuss further than was possible during the limited time of the interview of that morning the questions which he had submitted. Therefore, his luncheon hour is really one of the busiest times of the day. After he has eaten he returns to the executive offices where he signs more papers until the next appointments begin. While he works hard he works good naturedly; looking up at me, he would say with a quizzical smile, "Kind of dull, isn't it Crawford, sitting there watching me work?" or, "I never had to write my name so many times in my life." When Christian came in and told him of the arrival of another lot of visitors he remarked, "I never knew I had so many friends." We made the picture on page 74 to illustrate this story at one of these supposed rest periods at which he said, "Can you make these pictures while I am signing these papers, because I haven't time to stop?"

On the instruction and advice of his physicians, who recognize that the President has a hard and strenuous time before him and that it will be necessary for him to have some recreation if he is to be able to withstand the stress, he usually tries to play golf two or three afternoons a week. Unless he plays golf his appointments continue until nearly six o'clock, when his real work begins. He calls his stenographers and begins to answer the voluminous correspondence of the day, after which he spends his evening and far into the night (Mrs. Harding says it is not night but two and three in the morning) in thoroughly familiarizing himself with the questions which are to come before him on the following day.

No description of life at the White House would be complete unless it included an account of Mrs. Harding, because she is an integral part of her husband's life. She has a graciousness all her own that makes you feel at home if you are visiting the White House. When you apologize for causing her so much annoyance and taking up so much of her time she replies, "You must remember that I am an editor's wife, and therefore have a deep sympathy and fellow feeling for newspaper men. I know how Warren used to delight in getting a good story and I am glad to help other newspaper men do the same thing." When it came to making pictures to illustrate this story, Mrs. Harding was perfectly willing to follow the advice and instructions of the photographer. While their photographs were being made she was discussing with me with great vivaciousness the particular virtues of the new household pet, Laddie Boy, and laughingly assured me that the publicity given to this new acquisition of the White House seems liable to produce an inundation of the White House by dogs of high and low degree; also by cats, monkeys, bears, and alligators, and threatens to convert the White House grounds into one monster zoo, for people all over the country are writing and telegraphing that they are sending the President a new pet and companion for his Airedale.

Mrs. Harding is a gracious hostess. She makes her guests comfortable and makes them feel at home. You forget, indeed, that you are conversing with the First Lady of the Land and with the mistress of the White House, until you suddenly remember that the dignity

of the place demands more decorum and that it is hardly becoming in you to be laughing with so much abandon in the presence of so august a person. Mrs. Harding has a particularly bright and intelligent face; a voice that is soft and mellifluous. She dresses becomingly, is never a bit over-dressed, yet she is always properly gowned. Her carriage is graceful, but her principal charm is in her conversation, which shows that she is abreast of the times. There is evidence everywhere that she has been a helpmate and advisor to the President in his upward climb. There is a different atmosphere in the house since she has been its chatelaine; the guards have been removed from the gates and any one who can produce credentials satisfactory to the secret service to prove that they are not anarchists or have no bombs stored in their overcoat pockets can inspect the interior of the White House. This introduction usually, but not necessarily, comes from their senator or congressman. The whole house is open for inspection, save President and Mrs. Harding's own personal rooms. Mrs. Harding often passes, going from one section of her home to the other, through the throngs that are looking over the building. Few of the visitors will recognize as the President's wife the gracious lady who smiles at them. I'll give them a clue; as this is her home she wears no hat and is not dressed for the street. She possesses the happy faculty of being friendly and gracious without familiarity and loss of dignity.

"The President is tall, well over six feet; his head is covered with iron-gray hair beginning to get thin on top, and he has a remarkably large leonine head cast on Roman lines"

Incidentally, while speaking of the White House being open for inspection, it may be well to state that the President objects very seriously to the seclusion and exclusiveness that have heretofore been the atmosphere surrounding his person and the White House. He has no desire to make his term of office into a four year jail sentence. He wants to be free to come and go as he pleases. I expect any day to see him slip away entirely from the secret service men and go strolling down Pennsylvania Avenue with Laddie Boy as his only companion, possibly stopping at the Capitol for a short visit with some of his Senatorial friends. The motion pictures and the illustrated magazines have made his likeness too well known for him to go over the country incognito as did George I, but, were it possible, nothing would delight him more. On his trip to the golf course there was no second automobile with secret service men, while only one accompanied him on the links, and he was so far back that it would have been impossible for him to have acted as a protector for the President had he been needed.

The President is an outdoor man. A doer rather than a student. He has studied men more than books. I do not mean by this that he has not kept abreast of the times; he spends many long hours in the study of political and economic questions. Housewives will be interested in knowing what he eats, and to know on what Mrs. Harding feeds him to make him so healthy. The President has an excellent appetite. A typical menu for the day follows: For breakfast he has half of a grape fruit, bacon and eggs, the bacon cooked to a golden brown; buttered toast and coffee, followed by waffles, such as Mrs. Harding has made famous. His luncheon is a substantial meal, usually including a meat and two or three vegetables, but the dinner is the principal meal. It is complete,

PRESIDENT HARDING AT HIS DESK

With his secretary, Christian, at his side. "He works with great rapidity, determining quickly on the papers submitted to him, signs those that he has already prepared . . . and makes pencil notations in the margins of letters to be answered by his secretary"

from soup to nuts. He enjoys his meals and mixes with them a full amount of laughter and light-heartedness. He throws off what little official manner he has at other times. He is no longer the President, but is just Warren, and his wife is Lou. Incidentally there is the most complete sympathy and understanding between them. However bad form it may be these days, she openly shows her admiration for the big husky man who has risen so high. She reminds me very much of a humorous skit which I saw in vaudeville recently, in which, after every phenomenal stunt that her husband did, the wife would announce, among peals of laughter from the audience, "this is my husband." On the other hand, his treatment of her is full of tenderness and affection.

THE PRESIDENT IN THE WHITE HOUSE GROUNDS
"When we needed him at some other pose he got up readily, stood by the window for us, went out in the yard and played with Laddie Boy, and did whatever else we asked him in order to assure good pictures"

Now we come to the serious discussion of his capabilities, characteristics, and mental make-up. Unfortunately the impression has gone out that President Harding will be a tool in the hands of the master minds of the Republican Party, an alter ego for Lodge and Penrose and Smoot. I myself, had this impression before I had an opportunity closely to observe the man. This, probably, is due to his natural friendliness of disposition, to his lack of desire for domination, and his willingness to listen to advice. His friendliness and politeness have been misconstrued to be subservience and a lack of a will of his own. In my opinion there has never been a greater misjudgment of a man in political life. Mr. Harding does not believe that he is a superman, or that his judgments are in a way superior to hundreds of other men who have made a careful study of political situations. Consequently he is open to advice and consultation, but he recognizes that his oath binds him to administer his office according to his best judgment. He has inborn courage, consequently he will neither be afraid for political reasons to refuse a suggestion of the leaders of his party, nor will he curry favor with any powerful faction of his party by actions which his conscience and judgment will not approve. He may be influenced in the formation of his judgment by cogent reasoning, but his final decision will be the opinion of Warren G. Harding after he has carefully weighed the pros and cons of the matter. Mr. Harding, by his willingness to accept advice, will be a second Henry Clay, the great compromiser in American politics. Each side will feel that they have had a chance to add something to the constructive management of our national affairs, because it is highly probable that a final decision on each point will be the result of the taking of the best and the discarding of the worst from all the plans submitted.

Furthermore, Mr. Harding has no desire or intention to dominate the entire government. This will mean the restoring to their normal functions of the three heads of our system, namely, the executive, the judicial, and the

THE PRESIDENT BEING PHOTOGRAPHED WITH A DELEGATION

A typical scene on the White House grounds. "The Executive Offices are crowded with men bent on one of two missions, or more usually both—to congratulate him as the new President and to whisper in his ear their perfect willingness to serve as United States District Attorney at Kalamazoo, or Ambassador to Timbuktu"

legislative branches. Mr. Harding is willing to be the Executive. He recognizes that as the supreme head of our Government he will be held responsible by the people for the success or failure of his Administration and, further, that its success or failure will depend upon the passage of wise laws and their proper interpretation. Consequently he is deeply interested in both Congress and the Courts, and will be ever ready with advice and counsel and influence to assist Congress with his judgment and experience. But his keen sense of justice and fairness and his recognition of their personal responsibility will prevent him from attempting with his wonderful political power and influence to dominate or coerce them. We will have for the first time in many years three separate, distinct, and independent branches of the Government.

"His head has not been turned in the least by his elevation. While he feels the responsibilities that have been placed upon him, it has not given him any stiffness or hauteur, any sense of importance, or any demand upon the people for recognition of his executive position"

My readers doubtless are interested to know what concrete impressions I gained of Mr. Harding's convictions upon the issues of the day that confront his Administration. As a result of his frank discussion of these subjects with me, I came away with the following conclusions, which I have phrased in carefully weighed language to convey the most accurate reflection that is within my power.

Mr. Harding believes in a strong national sovereignty in direct contrast to internationalism. This is the keynote of his doctrine, and his slogan is "America first." Second only to this is his great desire to see universal peace and justice established. And he is willing to take part in any plan that will further these ends provided that it does not in any way infringe on our national sovereignty. If the League of Nations can be so amended that by no possible interpretation it could mean any diminution of our right to determine our own course of action, I am persuaded that Mr. Harding would be its firm supporter.

He is deeply interested in the improvement of our international relationships, especially with the Latin-American countries, and will utilize his influence to remove every possible cause of distrust of the United States and of her intentions toward her sister American Republics. This will probably mean the speedy passage of the Colombian Treaty, a revision of policy concerning Haiti and Costa Rica, and an understanding with the new Government of Mexico. Mr. Harding's aim appears to be to convince Central and South America that the United States has no ulterior motive, no desire for domination, no intention of absorption; that all that she demands is that they establish stable governments that will not be a menace to the peace of America. He wishes to impress upon them that America is their friend, and desires to live with them in close political and commercial relationship that will be beneficial to both.

On all questions of international import Mr. Harding's mind is open, willing to listen to all propositions, and hoping to select the wisest to further our international position. Mr. Harding's very frank preelection statement that he had not formulated definite and concrete policies, I now believe was the sincere and unafraid statement of a brave man, willing to admit that he was not omniscient or a superman,

THE PRESIDENT IN THE MIDST OF A DELEGATION

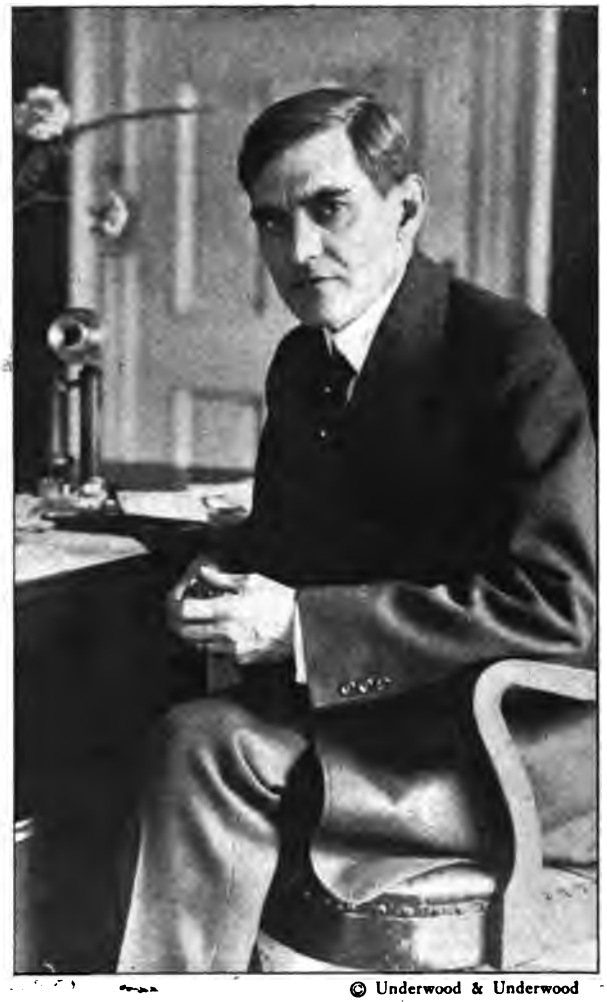
"There is a certain engaging frankness about the man that usually goes with the possession of superb physical powers, a something that subconsciously says that he is more than a physical match for the men that he meets and therefore does not need subterfuge to protect him"

MRS. HARDING AND LADDIE BOY

"No description of life at the White House would be complete unless it included an account of Mrs. Harding, because she is an integral part of her husband's life. She has a graciousness all her own that makes you feel at home if you are visiting the White House"

willing to admit that his judgment might not be right, and unwilling, for the sake of office to tie himself to any particular theory that more mature reflection and changing conditions might prove to be unwise.

Mr. Harding is particularly interested in the economic questions of the day. He recognizes that we are passing through a transition period, consequent to the reconstruction period following the war, and that this condition has thrown three million American men out of work. He is particularly anxious that the period of reconstruction and readjustment be quickly brought to a happy conclusion, and that the wisest measure to produce this result be speedily found. He is particularly pleased to have the constructive assistance of Herbert Hoover in his Cabinet to assist in this reconstruction. Mr. Harding has been accused of being a representative of the Old Guard and a strict partisan of big business. Mr. Harding's position is that he is interested in the return of prosperity to America and he believes that concessions must be made by both Labor and Capital to secure this desired end. He does not believe that Labor should be discriminated against, nor on the other hand that business should be harassed as a demagogic measure to secure popular support. He recognizes that prosperity cannot come as long as there is a feeling of insecurity for Capital, and consequently is opposed to measures tending to destroy confidence in the stability of investments. His position, then, upon Capital and Labor is that both must be protected in their rights, and that neither shall be discriminated against. He is opposed to measures that have a socialistic import, as tending to destroy vested rights.



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MR. CHRISTIAN, PRESIDENT HARDING'S SECRETARY
"President Harding, to his subordinates at the White House, is thoughtfulness and kindness personified. . . . He is more considerate of them than he is of himself"

Here then, is the final picture of Harding. A large upstanding man. A man of great virility. A man of undoubted courage. A man of no transcendent genius, and, very strange to say, one who clearly recognizes this fact, and is willing to accept advice and counsel of men perhaps abler than he. A man conscious of his present power, but who has no desire to force his will upon his fellow workers on whose shoulders coequally rest the responsibilities of government. An honest man, honest with himself and with the public. A man of good judgment and entire practicality. A generous, kind-hearted, and thoughtful man. Thoughtful of his subordinates, generous to his adversaries, and cordial to his equals. A man whose head has not been turned by the honors thrust upon him. A plain, every-day, practical man without illusions or visionary ideas. A man that is a supporter of stable government. A man intensely American in his instinct. A man under whom the power of the executive will voluntarily fall lower than it has for the last twenty-five years. Incidentally there are many who believe with Mr. Harding that the reduction of Presidential authority is urgently necessary for the preservation of our democratic form of government.

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THE PRESIDENT

The Men of the Cabinet

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THE VICE-PRESIDENT

One of the Strongest Groups of Presidential Advisers and Department Heads in a Generation. Their Personal Talents and Peculiarities

By MARK SULLIVAN

YOU can state it either way: You can say that Charles E. Hughes is the cornerstone of the Cabinet because he is in the State Department, and the State Department is the post that must bear the greatest load. Or you can say that Mr. Hughes would be a cornerstone anywhere you put him, and that he was put in the State Department because that is the place where a cornerstone is most needed. As it happens, Hughes is the cornerstone of the Cabinet in even a further sense, for to those who followed the Cabinet-making closely it seemed fairly evident that Hughes was the first member chosen and that the rest of the Cabinet was built from him upward.

After Harding had been elected, after he had cleared his desk at Marion, after he had taken the rather disastrous vacation trip to Texas which turned out much too tumultuous for any quiet thinking, and after he had boarded a ship to go to Panama—then occurred probably the earliest moment when he was able to put an undistracted mind on the first and biggest of his new tasks. Those who accompanied him think it was just at that time that the name of Hughes occurred to him, and that when it did occur to him he had the air of relief of a man who sees an opening through his troubles.

The filling of the State Department threatened Harding with many difficulties. Many of his old associates in the Senate, and most of the men who had served with him on the Committee on Foreign Affairs, had strong ideas of their own as to who should conduct our diplomatic relations. It was a time when the angry emotions of the campaign and of the League of Nations fight had not yet quieted down; and the irreconcilable Senators, still in the mood of a victorious dog that continues to chew at his victim, wanted a Secretary of State who should be of their own thought in thoroughgoing opposition to the League. Some of them, indeed, thought that one of their own number—one who had fought shoulder to shoulder with them against the League—should be chosen, and there was much public and pointed suggestion to the effect that Senator Knox should be the one.

On the other hand, there was a large group of Republican leaders, and important Republicans in private life, who deplored the thought that the work of constructing a new bridge from America to Europe should be put in the hands of any one who had been publicly and avowedly unfriendly to all that Europe has been doing for two years past. This group wanted Mr. Elihu Root, and in this wish they were reënforced by large numbers of thoughtful and disinterested people, who based their argument on the sound ground that our foreign affairs should be entrusted to the hands of the one American who has had the largest experience with them.

Temperamentally, Senator Harding is a man

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES
Secretary of State, who, according to many of those who watched Harding's Cabinet-making as it progressed, was the first member chosen. Senator Knox and Elihu Root were both suggested for the place in opposing political circles

whom it would always pain to do a thing that savors of truculence. Sympathetic understanding of the feeling of others and consideration for them is almost a guiding trait with him; and unquestionably there would have been the flavor of truculence toward foreign statesmen, already justly sensitive about our diplomatic manners, in appointing, as the official who must have personal relations with them, any one of the irreconcilable Senators. Such a choice could not avoid having the effect of added injury to the feelings of our late Allies, who had fought with us during the war, who had at our official solicitation joined with us in forming a league of nations, and had then seen that league repudiated by the Senate group.

On the other hand, it was clear that Harding hesitated about naming Root, probably almost wholly for reasons that "just happened." Harding and Root have qualities of personality markedly dissimilar, and of the sort of dissimilarity which might have made one or both ill at ease in the kind of close association that must exist between a President and his Secretary of State.

To a mind so troubled, when the thought of Hughes

came up on a quiet afternoon on the Gulf of Mexico, it must have had the flavor of the beginning of tranquillity. It must have had the lift of inspiration. From a party point of view, the thing that gave complete and obvious qualification to Hughes was the fact that he had been the candidate of his party for President of the United States and had received the approval of practically every voter in the party. On the broader grounds, Hughes had a substantially perfect availability. In one respect only was he inferior to any other man. The quantity of his diplomatic experience was less than Mr. Root's, but no one doubted that it was only in this accidental lack of a specific kind of experience that he was inferior. The quality of his mind was just as good, he was fifteen years younger, and he was in fact, just in process of supplanting the place that Mr. Root, by virtue of his years and his natural wish for ease at the end of his honors, was more or less abdicating as leader of the bar of his country.

I have said that those who followed Harding's Cabinet-making closely, surmise that he chose Hughes first and built the rest of his Cabinet around him. That is not literally true. From the day Harding first gave thought to his Cabinet, or even to the then distant possibility that he might some day be called on to make a Cabinet, there were a few men whom he had in mind. These were chiefly old political friends and associates. Ultimately, not all of them landed. If Harding had chosen his Cabinet the day after his election, it would have been much more nearly a Cabinet of politicians than it now is. Harding, as his position grew upon him, and as he rose to it, went through a process of growth readily apparent to those about him. He realized in-

ANDREW W. MELLON, OF THE TREASURY

In the opinion of Mr. Sullivan "By every way of estimating, Mellon ought to be, for present conditions, the best Secretary of the Treasury we have had for a generation." Secretary Mellon has had most of his financial connections in Pittsburgh

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WILL H. HAYS

The new Postmaster-General. While in the eyes of many people Hays is too much of a politician, he is, in the eyes of many politiians, too much of an amateur. He is the youngest man in the cabinet, and owes his present position directly to the fact that he was Chairman of the Republican National Committee. However, he is a man of great energy and considerable ability

creasingly that his responsibility was less and less to his party and more to something broader. Out of that four months of growth there are at least two casualties, two men who, by every warm impulse of Harding's heart, were destined for the intimacy of his official family, but who fell outside as sacrifice to a newly elected President's increasing responsiveness to considerations other than personal.

In the end, three men landed in the Cabinet of whom the basis of choice was largely political. The most obvious was the National Committee Chairman who managed the campaign, Will Hays. The naming of Hays to be Postmaster-General was designed to fulfil two precedents of practical politics—one, that a successful National Chairman shall be given the ribbon of a Cabinet post, and the other, that the Postmaster-Generalship shall be a political appointment. Wilson, it is true, did not give his national chairman, the late William McCombs, a Cabinet post; but Wilson's absent-mindedness about political obligations of this kind was one of the traits which lost him support among the politicians and failed to gain for him an equivalent compensation from as much of the public as might have been expected to give him praise rather than blame for his frequent —and yet not uniform failure—to pay his political debts. Even

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so, Wilson's appointment of Burleson to be Postmaster-General was purely political, and the precedent was fully observed by Taft in selecting Frank Hitchcock, and Roosevelt in choosing Cortelyou.

Superficially, Harding's selection of Hays to be Postmaster-General seems a mere following of the precedent. But the fact is, it is one of those unhappy whims of fate which occasionally pursue a prominent man that, if to the public Will Hays is too much of a politician, to the politicians he is too much an amateur. Not all the old-time politicians completely approve of Hays. He isn't "hard-boiled" enough. They sometimes think of him as the boy scout in practical politics, or as a Y.M.C.A. secretary or a college cheer-leader. It is true, Hays's public experience has been wholly within the field of political organization, coming up through the county committee. the state committee, and the national committee. A good deal of it is pretty rough work; and, in the hands of some men, a good deal of it is pretty smooth work—"smooth" in the wrong sense; but through it all Hays carries the faintly trailing aura of an elder in the First Presbyterian Church in a Middle West town of ten thousand, a quality that ever so slightly marks him apart when you see him in any group of sophisticated politicians or business men, or in any city drawing room.

Hays is young. He is the youngest man in the Cabinet and one of the youngest in any Cabinet. His character and personality are not fully crystallized yet. If he continues to avoid the corroding influence of an older and more sordid school of politics, keeps free of that practice of compromise between principle and expediency, which is so frequently the heart of party management, and avoids

HERBERT HOOVER

Secretary of Commerce. "He has indisputably the touch of genius," in Mr. Sullivan's estimation and, too, in the estimation of most Americans. Newspaper men in Washington think that he is likely to be "the pace-maker of the Administration"

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EDWIN DENBY

Of the Navy Department. A last minute choice and a man recommended to the President by Secretary Weeks who had known Denby in Congress. During the war Secretary Denby served as a marine, enlisting as a private although nearly fifty years of age

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JOHN W. WEEKS

Of the War Department. Before going into political life Weeks was a successful banker and business man, and his record in Congress is excellent. According to Mr. Sullivan, he is to be classed as one of the strongest men of the cabinet

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JAMES J. DAVIS

Of the Department of Labor. Until 1913 the Department of Labor was combined with that of Commerce, and since then labor leaders have grown to expect one of their number as its head. However, Sec. Davis is less a labor leader than was his predecessor

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HENRY C. WALLACE

Of the Department of Agriculture. Secretary Wallace's experience as editor of a farm paper of wide circulation in the Middle West has brought him into close contact with agriculture and has well fitted him to fill his present position

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ATTORNEY-GENERAL DAUGHERTY (AT LEFT) AND SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR FALL

Attorney-General Daugherty owes his appointment to the fact that he has been for many years a close political friend of the President. Secretary Fall, who was formerly in the Senate, has also long been intimately acquainted with the President

the temptation, very strong in politics, to count on politicial art rather than on the strength of men's convictions, he may go a long way.

It was Will Hays who devised the rule that solicitations of contributions to the Republican campaign fund should be limited to one thousand dollars. That rule fretted the older politicians a good deal, for they were accustomed to the easier practice of dropping in along Wall Street in New York, and along State Street in Chicago, and collecting the money in sums of ten and twenty and fifty thousand dollars. Hays encountered a good deal of opposition in initiating his innovation and making it stick. But when the Democratic candidate made his charge that a little oligarchy of wealthy men were putting up big checks to "buy a stranglehold on the Government," a charge which turned out to be the most sensational aspect of the campaign, it was Will Hays's rule of small contributions that furnished a complete answer before the investigating committee and saved his fellow-Republican leaders from what threatened to be the most nearly serious menace to success that they had.

Undeniably, so far as the public knows, the elevation of Hays to the Cabinet rests solely on his political experience and services. But those who followed the campaign closely know he has unusual qualities. His motto is "things don't happen; they are brought about." He has almost abnormal energy. He carries about in his pocket a curious tubular instrument of rubber and metal like a doctor's stethoscope, devised to augment the sound on the long-distance telephone. He will interrupt luncheon to tell the waiter to call St. Louis or Minneapolis and in a moment he will pull his little tube from his pocket and transact a few thousand miles of business between corned beef and pumpkin pie. Hays has a compelling ambition to do a good job, and a real talent for organization, which is the one quality most needed to get efficiency out of an enormously complex department of about three hundred thousand workers. It is not merely that Hays has the capacity for laying out efficient organization in the abstract; he has also that personal magnetic equipment for leadership that causes an employee to "work his head off" for his chief and do it with happy enthusiasm. Hays was deeply shocked when one of the outgoing officials who had direct contact with the labor of the department, in turning his bureau over to the new Postmaster-General, remarked that "of course, labor is a commodity like any other kind of supplies, to be bought in the market on the lowest possible basis." That is sound enough political economy of the generation of Adam Smith, but Hays's reaction expressed itself in saying, in his first utterance, that he regarded the department as three hundred thousand hearts and that he proposed to humanize it. The phrasing was crude, but the meaning was not likely to be lost to the workers.

What Hays will be able to do in measuring up to the ultimate test of a more efficient service to the public remains to be seen. One thing should be said in justice both to the new incumbent and the retiring one: Hays as Postmaster-General will not be able to contribute anything to the promised Republican achievement of a less costly government. Neither Hays nor any one else can run the Post-Office Department at less cost than Burleson did. It may well be it was Burleson's rigid holding down of wages, during a period of rising costs of living, that caused most of his troubles. In any event, let it be said for Burleson that he was one of the few government officials who managed the public business as he manages his own, with the hard work, the same intentness on the owner's interest, and the same perhaps too rigid insistence about wages and hours.

A POLITICAL APPOINTMENT

THE other appointment that was obviously political, and to even a greater degree, personal, was that of Harry M. Daugherty to be Attorney-General. This was the appointment which, together with that of Andrew Mellon as Secretary of the Treasury, met outspoken opposition and criticism. By common consent, that criticism is now silent, in a clearly obvious spirit of generous fair play, a spirit which includes not only the public at large, but also the Democratic leaders, who have more or less formally adopted a definitely affirmative policy that in a difficult time Harding and his Cabinet must have sympathetic support in their chance to make good. A portion of the criticism of Daugherty as the chief law officer of the Government was based on the theory that his private practice had not been sufficiently within the field of what is commonly looked upon as formal legal work. The critics counted up the hours Daugherty had actually spent in the courts, and found

the number small. There is a fair, even though only partial, reply to this criticism in that the Attorney-General of the United States is not expected to appear much in court. The strictly legal work of the Government is done by one who, although a subordinate in the Attorney-General's office, has duties of an importance greater than those of some of the other Cabinet members. The Solicitor-General during the next four years will represent the Government, either as plaintiff or defendant, in suits aggregating not less than ten billion dollars in contested taxes, contested payments on war contracts, and the like. It is not too much to say that the difference to the Treasury, in the preparation and conduct of these cases, between a first-class lawyer and one not first-class, will be fully two billion dollars, or half of the taxes that the public pays a year. In the quality of the men selected for this and other posts under him, as well as in the determining of policies (in which presumably he will to a large extent be guided by the President and the Cabinet as a whole), and by his measuring up to the standards of a good administrator, will lie Daugherty's real test. He has great ability—let no one doubt that. And without any ungenerous discounting of judgment now, in advance of performance, (a judgment which Harding and Daugherty's other friends sincerely expect to be distinguished) let it also be said that any President will be conceded the right to name one tenth of his official family on the basis of having near him, for countless services that are of high importance and at the same time by their nature intimate and personal, at least one man who is so faithful a *fidus Achates* as Daugherty is to Harding.

THE SECRETARY OF WAR

THE third man whose selection is occasionally described as political is Weeks. The implication is quite inaccurate. Weeks is a politician in the sense that as national committeeman he is the official head of the party in his home state of Massachusetts; and calling his appointment political may be to some degree due to the fact that all last summer he, with Hays and Daugherty and Hert and a few others, was among those who gave all their time to the work of the party headquarters. But Weeks had had an extremely successful career as banker and business man before he came to Congress and the Senate. Here in Washington the outstanding thing we know about him is that during his service he made himself master of three of the biggest and most intricate departments of the nation's business. In one term or another he knew, and was responsible in Congress for, the Post Office Department, the banking and currency part of the government business, and the War Department. Weeks mastered these departments as few congressmen or senators in a generation master them. It took prodigious energy, a head for business, a capacity for organizing details, and most of all it took that plain quality that is of all others the most indispensable in a public man, the will to work.

There is much in Week's appearance that suggests the War Department. Not dashing attack, not cavalry charges, nor anything like that, but the warfare of impregnable defense. His figure, and his big and shining dome, look like a fortress. He has the massiveness of one, and his features have the inscrutable impassiveness of a ruddy Gibraltar. But if Weeks's face is impassive, his less easily disciplined eyes show the qualities of alertness, bright and quick moving. A just estimate of Weeks's ability would class him high up toward Hughes and Hoover and Mellon as the strong men of the Cabinet.

A MAN APART

HOOVER, of course, is a man apart. In a Cabinet, in politics, or in his profession he falls into no conventional category. He has indisputably the touch of genius, the quality that dominates whatever mind it chooses for its lodging place, drives its possessor on and on, and ignores most of the conventionalities that keep ordinary men in the track that in time becomes a rut. Hoover has the temperament of genius and its occasional moody variableness. It is a good thing for Hoover that his early career gave him the severest possible self-discipline in the combination of a poverty that imposed hard and continuous work, the kind of education that dealt with mathematics and physical science, and the career that dealt with such hard material substances as mines and metals. Otherwise he might have been as visionary as those who follow poetry and music, which are not without kinship to the kind of genius Hoover has. It is only his engineering career, the steady experience for years of compelling his imagination to make good in facts and figures, that saves Hoover from being what the world often terms a dreamer. Even as it is, Hoover not

unfrequently frets himself into nervousness over the impossibility of dragging the material world as it is organized up to where he believes he could organize it more beneficently.

In the Cabinet-making Harding had to overcome more opposition to Hoover on the part of the politicians than to any other choice. The politicians were uneasy about Hoover. At best they thought of him as a political maverick. They feared his unexpectednesses. They feared both the rapidity and the unevenness of his gait. They said he would always be getting over the traces, and might some time break away and run off with the whole machine—or even smash it up. The truth is, Hoover in the Cabinet is well placed for his maximum effectiveness. It is true, he will occasionally pull at the reins and chafe at the bit; but Hoover's imagination and energy, checked and steadied by such even-gaited sure-footed old Percherons as Weeks and Fall and Mellon, will make an admirable team. Hoover may have the occasional impatience inseparable from the greater reach of his imagination; but he has been engaged in highly organized businesses too long not to know the value of team-work. Incidentally, it amused many of us to notice that the first subject which the Cabinet as a whole was drawn to put its collective mind upon, the first department that engaged the attention of practically an entire Cabinet session, was not the State Department with its unsurpassed problems, nor the Treasury, but Hoover's hitherto neglected and, under any man but him, almost despised Department of Commerce. The Commerce Department used to issue bulletins about new varieties of fish and send out printed slips about the demand for eight-day clocks in Peru. Under Hoover it will become as the place at the table where MacGregor sits. Newspapermen, whose descrimination in such matters is part of their professional equipment look forward to a time when they will watch the Commerce Department quite as closely as the State Department or the Treasury, Hoover is likely to be the pace-maker of the Administration.

AN IDEAL TREASURY HEAD

BY EVERY way of estimating, Mellon ought to be, for present conditions, the best Secretary of the Treasury we have had for a generation. There is a great deal in the adaptation of men to times and conditions. McAdoo was a good war-time Secretary of the Treasury. He was good because of the expansiveness of his temperament and the touch of the plunger that was in him. Lavishness and aggressiveness was what we needed in a war-time Secretary of the Treasury. What was most to be desired was a man who never counted the cost and to whom it never occurred that under any conceivable circumstances the country could go broke. McAdoo was the man to scorn a billion dollar bond issue —although that was twice as much as had ever before been floated—and to say "make it three billions," and by his energy and genius for publicity get the public to take them. In peace, time and money are equivalent; but in war, time is everything and money not to be counted. A man who didn't think there could be such a thing as the bottom of the barrel was an ideal Secretary of the Treasury for war conditions. By the same token, Mellon, with his directly opposite temperament and training, is the ideal Secretary of the Treasury for a time when the barrel must be slowly and painstakingly filled again, when the need is to restore a limping organization, unravel the tangled threads, and stop the straggling wastes.

The public criticism of the choice of Mellon was based chiefly on the fact that he is a very rich man whose associations, point-of-view, and natural sympathies are on the side of organized business. It is true that Mr. Mellon is one of the richest men in America; but he is of a school of rich men who differ slightly from what is commonly meant by "big business," in the sense in which this phrase is used as a political epithet. Mr. Mellon is a Pittsburgh banker who, so to speak, grew up with the town. He and his family were Pittsburgh's leading bankers when he was a boy, fifty years ago; and his fortune is the result of his native ability as a banker and business man, coupled with the natural growth of the city. From being a banker in the strict sense, Mellon took on, as incidents of his banking, large interests in various business enterprises of the sort that centre around Pittsburgh. If the share he took in a business enterprise ultimately became the directing interest, that was as much because of the confidence his associates had in his ability, as because of the leverage his wealth gave him. It is said of him that he has never sold anything. He was never a mere broker and never sold securities to the public. He merely invested his money in various enterprises, and then by

his ability made the enterprises extraordinarily successful and profited greatly by them.

The difference between the kind of big business man Mr. Mellon is, and the kind of "big business" that is the object of political suspicion, while real, is nevertheless slight. If we should return to the mood in which the dominant political issues of the country are again what they were when Roosevelt was in his prime and when Wilson came into power, that is, the contest for economic freedom between big business and the unorganized individual, then in that event undoubtedly such distinction as there is between Mr. Mellon and "big business" in the political sense would not be enough to save him, and he and the Administration would be on the defensive.

The net of any consideration which is both thorough and fair of Mr. Mellon's adaptation to the Treasury Department in the problems that Department now has, must conclude that he is a strikingly good choice. The confidence of those who know Mr. Mellon's past successes is based on the assumption that he can be as effective with a limping national treasury as he uniformally was with the limping private corporations that he took up and set on their way to extraordinary success. It must be remembered that, ordinarily, no man can be as easily and quickly effective in getting his will carried out in a public institution, in which the minor personnel is to a considerable extent determined by the Civil Service and in which, ordinarily, a certain amount of deference must be paid to political and personal considerations, as in a private corporation in which the owner has merely to say "do it" and it is done. But in these respects, in the present instance, Mr. Mellon will be facilitated by the universal recognition of the necessities of the case, and by the disposition of everybody in the Administration to give him every assistance in his big task.

For the present tasks of the Treasury Department Mellon is a better man than McAdoo of Wilson's Cabinet, and on any grounds is as good a choice or better than MacVeagh of Taft's Cabinet or Cortelyou or Leslie M. Shaw of Roosevelt's Cabinet—secretaries who directed the Treasury at a time when its duties were largely routine.

It is this aspect, the nature of the problems and the adaptation of the men to the problems, that is fundamental in any judgment of the calibre of a Cabinet and in any comparison with previous Cabinets. With this in mind, man-for-man comparison of Harding's Cabinet with previous Cabinets during the past twenty years, will usually result in the judgment that this is the best Cabinet we have had in that time. The only other period during the present century when there were as many strong men in the Cabinet, was during the comparatively few months when Roosevelt had Hay, Root, and Taft, together with one or two other almost equally outstanding figures.

It is in the Treasury Department and in the State Department that the problems that are new and big in the present Administration will arise. The Department of Commerce will be important because Hoover will make it so. The War and Navy Departments, in normal expectation, will have merely the problems of cleaning up débris and readjustment to peacetime basis. The Post Office Department's call is for ordinary business organization on a large scale. The Interior Department ought not to develop any unusual problem. Harding's choice of Senator Fall for that post probably had no basis more important than the fact that a Western man was desired for managing our Western resources of lands and minerals from a point-of-view sympathetic to the people of the West; and the fact that Harding knew Fall intimately through their common service in the Senate.

THE SECRETARY OF LABOR

THE Department of Labor should have no problems more novel or more difficult than those which came up during the last four years when labor made the unpreventably chaotic transition, trying both to itself and to the rest of the community, from peace to war conditions. Harding's choice of James J. Davis for the Labor post was a compromise which expressed his solution of one of the chief embarrassments that beset his Cabinet-making. The Labor Department was started only eight years ago. and the recent Secretary, William B. Wilson, is the only man who ever filled it. Secretary Wilson was a union labor official. For this and other reasons, union labor demanded from Harding a union man officially recognized as part of the union labor hierarchy.

On the other hand there was a group, including many, but by no means all, of the powerful manufacturing and business interests of the country who demanded that Harding ignore the unions and appoint to the Labor Department some recognized and popular captain of industry.

The sort of man this group had in mind is illustrated by the fact that they suggested Charles M. Schwab. Harding steered between the two views by appointing a man who in his youth had been a member of an iron workers union, and who has carried his union card during a subsequent period when he is really a business man and banker rather than a laborer. Davis is enough of a business man not to be utterly disapproved by business; and, because of his connection with a popular fraternal order, and because he is sufficiently sympathetic to union labor he gives them, if not as much satisfaction as some official of the American Federation of Labor would have given, at least a sense of sympathetic understanding.

WALLACE'S TASK

AGRICULTURE in this country will face big problems during the coming four years. In truth, it is facing big problems now, but these problems, so far as they can be solved by government at all, will be met by legislation on the part of Congress rather than by any specific thing the Secretary of Agriculture in his official capacity can do. For the new secretary, Mr. Henry Wallace, of Des Moines, there should be no tasks noticeably greater than those that faced the other two Iowa men who have filled that Department in recent years, Meredith and Wilson. Wallace is the editor of a progressive farm paper, who advocates many innovations in the relation of farming to the rest of the community, but who stops far short of the kind of radicalism that has swept parts of the agricultural Northwest during recent years.

Denby was a last minute emergency choice. He didn't even know enough about Harding's thought of him to be a sad Cinderella. The appointment came to him with the unexpected suddenness of a midnight telephone call. Lowden had declined the Navy portfolio, the declination became publicly known, the other places were nearly all gone, and the friends of about two score men who had had hopes and been disappointed, began to bring pressure on Harding. The newspaper men who were on the scene felt that Harding suddenly chose Denby to end the embarrassment and importunity. Denby without his knowing it, had been strongly recommended to Harding by Weeks, who had learned his quality when they sat in Congress together and had been further impressed by Denby's joining the marines during the war at a time when he was close to fifty, and by the unique and useful service he performed in the navy.

One such case as this generally happens in every Cabinet-making. It nearly always occurs during the closing five or six days of excitement that some perfectly contented and unambitious man in a distant city, who has never entertained a thought of the Cabinet, is suddenly struck by the lightning. In Wilson's Cabinet-making, Franklin K. Lane was such a case. One day during the latter part of February, 1913, when Wilson was at Princeton putting the finishing touches on his Cabinet, I happened to meet Mr. Lane in Washington, walking along Pennsylvania Avenue toward the building of the Interstate Commerce Commission, of which body he was at that time a Republican member. We stopped and chatted for a few minutes about Wilson's Cabinet as so far known and about Wilson's personality; and the conversation closed with Lane's remark that Wilson interested him greatly and that he was looking forward to a chance to get a first look at him when he should arrive in Washington for his inauguration. The next time I saw Lane his rotund form was filling one of the chairs in the Cabinet room, a last minute choice for the Department of the Interior.

Denby is a big, frank, friendly man, of direct mind and simple heart. The qualities that led him as a man of wealth and an ex-Congressman, and nearly fifty years of age, to enlist as a private in the marines as his idea of the best way he could help to win the war, are just the qualities that are best adapted to what is said to be the most important of the Navy's present needs, the need to restore morale and good feeling to a force that is a little restless and unhappy in the reaction from the high feeling of active war.

COOLIDGE

ONE unique personality who is in the Cabinet, and yet not of it, is Coolidge. Coolidge in many ways and under conditions that may readily arise is one of the two or three most promising figures in American politics. The thing that makes Coolidge unique is the fact that he is most preoccupied with Emersonian things. All the other leaders in the Republican Party are busy with material things, and the damaged economic organization of society makes that, for the moment, the immediate need. The other leaders are going to give us bread, but

PRESIDENT	Roosevelt	Taft	Wilson	Harding
SECRETARY OF STATE	John Hay Elihu Root Robert Bacon	Philander C. Knox	Wm. J. Bryan Robert Lansing Bainbridge Colby	Chas. E. Hughes
SECRETARY OF TREASURY	Lyman J. Gage Leslie M. Shaw Geo. B. Cortelyou	Frank MacVeagh	Wm. G. McAdoo Carter Glass David F. Houston	Andrew W. Mellon
SECRETARY OF WAR	Elihu Root Wm. H. Taft Luke E. Wright	Jacob M. Dickinson Henry L. Stimson	Lindley M. Garrison Newton D. Baker	John W. Weeks
SECRETARY OF NAVY	John D. Long Wm. H. Moody Paul Morton Chas. J. Bonaparte Victor H. Metcalf Truman H. Newberry	Geo. von L. Meyer	Josephus Daniels	Edwin Denby
SECRETARY OF COMMERCE	Geo. B. Cortelyou* Victor H. Metcalf* Oscar S. Strauss*	Chas. Nagel*	Wm. C. Redfield Josh. W. Alexander	Herbert Hoover
SECRETARY OF INTERIOR	Ethan A. Hitchcock James R. Garfield	Richard A. Ballinger Walter L. Fisher	Franklin K. Lane John B. Payne	Albert B. Fall
ATTORNEY GENERAL	Philander C. Knox Wm. H. Moody Chas. J. Bonaparte	Geo. W. Wickersham	James C. McReynolds Thomas W. Gregory A. Mitchell Palmer	H. M. Dougherty
POSTMASTER GENERAL	Chas. E. Smith Henry C. Payne Robert J. Wynne Geo. B. Cortelyou Geo. von L. Meyer	Frank H. Hitchcock	Albert S. Burleson	Will H. Hays
SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE	James Wilson	James Wilson	David F. Houston Edw. T. Meredith	Henry C. Wallace
SECRETARY OF LABOR	‡	‡	Wm. B. Wilson	James J. Davis

*Secretary of Commerce and Labor.
‡No Secretary of Labor, the Department of Labor being combined with the Department of Commerce.

THE CABINETS OF THE LAST FOUR ADMINISTRATIONS

Coolidge has it in him to give us the kind of sustenance that was meant when it was said that man does not live by bread alone. For the moment, superficially we all seem intent on material things; but if the time comes when the public mood demands what Roosevelt supplied, then Coolidge, different though his personality seems from Roosevelt's, is the leader who will supply us with that.

Coolidge is one of the original Puritans who came over on the *Mayflower* and has been preserved on ice for three hundred years. This hint of coldness which new acquaintances think they find in Coolidge's personality, disappears in the warmth of more complete understanding of him. It arises chiefly out of Coolidge's reticence of speech. He is the most un-loquacious man in public life. About this characteristic a whole anthology of Coolidge anecdotes has grown up. If Coolidge himself were asked to put his acutely analytical mind to explaining this trait of his he would probably say that it all comes down to two things: not speaking unless the circumstances call on him to speak, and not saying anything unless he has something to say.

Coolidge is the son of a Vermont country store keeper of the race of rural New Englanders who have preserved through ten generations many of the Puritan traits that originally started them off to found a new society in a strange country. He has most of the Puritan preoccupations, with the ethics of the relation of man to his fellow-man. He has also the Puritan doctrine of salvation through personal works.

STEMMING THE RED TIDE

II

Taking Over the Economic Control of Central and Southeastern Europe. The Encounter with Orlando. Karolyi Falls and Bela Kun and Bolshevism Overrun Hungary

By T. T. C. GREGORY

THE Interallied Food Mission, created by Herbert Hoover under authority of the Supreme Council of the Allies in Paris, was the agency charged with the task of succoring the desperately needy peoples of the new states of central and southeastern Europe after the Armistice, and the further, and certainly more vital, task of aiding those peoples to rehabilitate their social life and bring out of their economic chaos a semblance of order and efficiency. The Paris conference had, of course, a certain altruistic impulse, but the motive was primarily selfish: the two alternatives faced were, to let the new states go their own way, which would have led inevitably straight to Bolshevism, or to check the growing unrest and menacing disquiet within by supplying food and work. In theory a simple programme!

We who went to carry it out were not deceived in this respect, however; time disclosed to us complexities and difficulties that even those of us who had made a preliminary survey of the field of operations had not dreamed of encountering. The Mission, organized by Mr. Hoover in February, 1919, comprised the Hon. Cyril K. Butler for Great Britain; Commendatore Giuffrida, one of the strongest of the Liberal Italian group and assistant food minister in his country, for Italy; the French representative, M. Olivari, who had trained one of the American divisions in France; and myself. As the representative of the United States I was compelled to take the initiative and the responsibility for getting things done, both because our Government was the principal source of supplies and because, as Hoover's personal agent and head of the American Relief Administration in Central Europe, it was necessary for me to establish and maintain the leadership which Hoover held in Paris. His power at the time was steadily increasing; when we had perfected a communication system which kept him in touch with conditions, almost minute by minute, in our territory, it grew tremendous, bringing to him world responsibilities which, as far as operations in the field were concerned, automatically passed from him to myself. For weal or woe, in this crisis, we dominated central and southeastern Europe, for once we had set our hands to the plow there was no turning back!

Picture a population as great as that in the states east of the Mississippi, grouped in half a dozen states fighting amongst themselves; Washington no longer the capital; New York shorn of its financial supremacy—it's great banks, insurance companies, and transportation corporations with their properties sequestered under the control of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois, with nothing left them but stocks and bonds worthless or almost worthless because of the confiscation suggested above, and faced with discovery that stocks, bonds, or even gold will not do for breakfast; picture the New York Central, the Pennsylvania, and the Southern Railway broken into half a dozen bits and each state trying to run its share independently, each state trying to grab all of the cars and locomotives it could lay its hands on; the coal-miners hungry, sullen, and striking; all factories closed; the I. W. W. bold, fearless, and uncontrolled; Samuel Gompers a conservative back number shorn of all influence; the militia of the several states fighting bloodily for the control of production and distribution areas and centres; picture clouds of soap-box orators, dreadfully in earnest, provided with

innumerable texts and most of them secretly subsidized, each proposing to the public the panacea which would cure the ailing body politic—multiply all these factors of chaos by a coefficient representing a thousand years of national hatreds and with such a picture one can visualize something of what we found.

Hope lay only in a change. Salvation lay only in our Mission. We saw that—we should have been blind if we had not seen it.

We could not even begin our task without means of communication. Mr. Hoover had already established a courier system of American army officers carrying mail sacks across Europe when every other medium of international communication had faltered and broken down—but this, at best, was a makeshift, despite the fact that the courier "tortoise" did defeat the telegraphic "hare" of those countries, so disorganized was their telegraph and telephone service. We promptly seized control of the special military lines which had been used by the German and Austrian general staffs, and which radiated from Vienna, to which capital we went presently to establish headquarters because of its strategic and geographic central location. With this nucleus operated by forty of our signal corps and naval operators we finally connected up our offices, not only with the capitals and principal distributing centres of the entire territory, but also, by a special line through Coblenz, direct to the office of Hoover in Paris. I am convinced that what we were able later to accomplish would not have been possible without this speedy service. Five hundred messages a day went through our central exchange in Vienna in many of the hectic twenty-four hours we experienced; not only was Mr. Hoover in constant touch with every move on the board but also he knew what was going on forty-eight hours ahead of all the other Allied representatives. We Americans had the jump on the ball!

A SUDDEN INTERRUPTION

MEANTIME we had already seen the necessity for immediate restoration of railroad service, first for food movements and second for coal. To put men at work we had to open factories, to open factories we must have fuel, and to move fuel we had to have railroads. But political differences, as I have suggested in the picture above, had broken most of the lines at all border points; equipment was in appalling condition; bridges had been destroyed and tracks torn up in military movements preceding the Armistice; and finally there were still martial activities enough on every hand to make uncertain what few train service attempts were made and to fill most of those trains with supplies or soldiery. To complicate a situation already sufficiently complex the Italian military at Trieste—for the moment, our point of entry with supplies—were exceedingly arrogant and independent when our needs were presented to them; the Italian civilians in our Mission made noble efforts to get tracks cleared for our vital demands but found themselves immediately enmeshed in red-tape and halted by military circumlocution. At the moment Italy was involved in a wrangle with Jugo-Slavia and civilians of all sorts were relegated to the rear by the Italian fighting men.

The climax came when, because of a reported Jugo-Slavian insult to the Italian flag at a place called Ljubliana, in Slavonia, the Italians promptly closed the borders to all traffic, tying up the southern railway running up from Trieste to Vienna. In effect this meant the complete stoppage of our programme of food-movements and the summary end of relief measures. Seventy-five thousand tons of food-stuffs lay at Trieste, but now the thin line of relief to the starving in the interior was rudely broken.

The news of what we came to call the Ljubliana incident reached me when at Ragusa, south of Trieste, on the Dalmatian Coast, whither I had gone on an inspection trip in the U. S. destroyer *Stribling*, furnished us by the Navy. I knew that this meant a knock-down and drag-out row with the Italian military to determine at once, and once for all, whether or not we were to be interfered with in our future operations. It was no time for telegraphic or diplomatic parleys—my place was in Rome to have it out with Orlando, the Prime Minister, himself, using ammunition I knew I could count on from the indefatigable Hoover. For I had noticed in the press that the Italian Government was negotiating for a $75,000,000 loan with our treasury in Washington, and as we boiled down the mine-strewn Adriatic that night our wireless was sputtering to the chief in Paris a plan that, as he said later, kept him on the job twenty-four hours a day.

We floundered through that dangerous sea in the darkest night I have ever seen, headed

for Taranto, in the heel of the Italian boot—found ourselves in a regular London or San Francisco fog which, when it lifted, revealed the fact that we were in the middle of the mine field which protected that great naval rendezvous of the Italian and British Mediterranean fleets—were guided out of it by shouted admonitions to our cool-headed skipper, Van Auken, from the deck of a puffing and fussy tug sent to our aid—docked at last—made a rear-end connection, without tickets, with the Rome Express. And so to Rome.

Orlando at the moment was in a peck of trouble. The Italian military were on the bit and the country wild about the question which gave to d'Annunzio and Fiume their little time on the world's stage. But I had no choice but to confront him with our vital exigency. Our problem was to feed and rehabilitate countries inhabited by eight-five million people; Italian nationalistic sentiment was comparatively unimportant. Meantime we had not long to wait before Hoover, reënforced by Presidential authority cabled from America, where Mr. Wilson then was, on his trip home after the first Paris meetings, had given us all the desired backing. With it "up my sleeve" I went to Orlando and asked him to arrange an immediate opening of the railway lines from the Dalmatian Coast for the purposes of our relief work in central Europe.

A DIPLOMATIC STROKE

A PERFECT flurry of messages began to pass between Rome and Paris. Orlando fought for time, or for a modification of my demands. But there was too much at stake on our side. My telegraphic news from Vienna and Prague were distressing; meantime Mr. Hoover was under compulsion to turn his cargoes of relief stuffs into money at once in order to keep his big machine functioning and the wheels of his project revolving. I was patient as long as I could be and then I fixed a final and irrevocable hour at which the Prime Minister must give me his answer.

The matter hung fire. Would we not wait another day to meet the King? It was proposed to decorate us in recognition of our services! It was a matter of high honor! One more day—what was a day?

Some of our Allied associates, who had come meantime from Trieste at my request to sit in on this game, were keen for the fête and the decorations. But I had come to Central Europe to do a certain job—not to be decorated for coming—and I told them all that my declaration was in and that I stood pat on it. The appointed hour came without an answer. Despite protests on all hands we boarded the Venice Express for Trieste. I drafted and sent a note to M. Orlando stating my urgent reasons for departure, and adding that I confidently expected that he would have a telegram awaiting me at Trieste assuring me of the coöperation of the royal Italian Government, when I arrived there the following morning. Otherwise I assured him solemnly that I should ask Mr. Hoover to hold up the American loan to Italy indefinitely until another method of procedure in relief could be worked out.

A dashing Italian staff officer met our train at Trieste. He presented the compliments of the Prime Minister—in capitals!—and begged to be permitted to assure me of that renowned gentleman's gracious acceptance of my terms. Furthermore he was requested to inform me that the High Command at Trieste had been advised to favor us with prompt compliance in whatever request we chose to make regarding our work and its expedition. Undoubtedly this splendid officer would have concluded by kissing me on both cheeks. But I was more concerned with getting back on the job and I left him.

That night, trains began moving out of Trieste, laden with supplies for the starving!

A ROUTE THROUGH GERMANY

BUT we had not trusted the successful outcome of our transportation problems entirely to the whim and decision of the Italian Premier. Life was too short to have to plow through differences between the Italians and Jugo-Slavs, as well as the other sets of combatants who were brandishing military weapons to the detriment of commercial interchange. We were determined to take over the actual control of the railroads if necessary, and again Hoover as Director General of Relief became vested with a new authority. He was placed in charge of all the railways in central Europe. An Interallied Technical Commission was theoretically placed in charge to practically carry out our plans but plenary executive power was vested by the Supreme War Council in our Chief in charge of transportation of the American Mission, Col. W. B. Causey, while the other members had none but consulting powers. Causey is one of that rare type

of Southern gentlemen whose voice is soft and placid when he is quiet, but like that of a bellowing bull when he is aroused—he added to the natural loquacity of a Virginia birth the expressive vocabulary of a Western railroad man. The vigorous and impulsive Colonel has pounded the table in many languages clearing up international disputes which had reached an *impasse*, utterly unsolvable by the parties themselves without our disinterested intervention, and has been no small factor in keeping the wheels going around for he is still in Austria as the Government's Technical Advisor in Transportation.

Having in mind our trouble at Trieste and our desire to secure a route through Germany from Hamburg into the heart of central Europe by train and canal, Hoover found the opportunity of arranging it with the Germans. He had sold them some two hundred odd millions of dollars worth of American food for gold in hand paid, but made a condition for transportation across Germany of our food-stuffs. We used Hamburg as a base port, thence up the Elbe through the canals and across the border of Bohemia at Schandau. There we established another Interallied Commission consisting of one of our transportation men, Major Burke, of Boston, one German, and one Czechoslovak. Thus we ensured ourselves against being tied up by international troubles, relieved the congestion at Trieste, and improved our deliveries.

As time went on our men were spotted in the seaports, important railway centres, along boundary lines, and at national capitals, all hooked up to the central Vienna office by private wire, both telephone and telegraph. The wires hummed, for we had no time to write letters—the movements of everything were too fast, but every morning at his desk in Paris, Hoover knew to the ton the amount of foodstuffs imported or which we had bought in that great territory during the preceding day; he knew exactly what the starving people would get at five o'clock in the morning who lined up as early as four o'clock the evening before, and who fought at times like beasts for their places in those lines.

With our close knit and comprehensive organization well in hand, I at once lashed out for the commodity surpluses of each country, despatched an expedition to the Ukraine in southern Russia, and took stock in each of the several countries of the commodities which might be exchanged: potatoes in the twenty-five thousand ton lot, steel bridges, furniture by train loads, gasolene, oil, sugar, salt, pigs, arms, munitions, but principally wheat and maize.

Meanwhile we had been working over problems of finance. They were as badly complicated as those already referred to along other lines. Inter-state jealousies were so bitter that practically all financial relations had been broken off; more than that the various currencies of the several states had a depreciated and often uncertain value, and no state would receive the money of another on any terms. It must suffice in this space to say that there was a complete break-down of international exchange; yet, because there were commodities in every state useful to some other state, it was absolutely necessary to arrange some method by which exchanges could be effected. I resorted to the most primitive financial system of history—barter and trade. To take care of balances of credit I established clearing houses in Vienna and Zagreb and, with incredible difficulty finally managed to effect satisfactory bases of exchange on balances, so that in the end the tremendous business that we were shortly doing was conducted in an orderly fashion and every debt and obligation was eventually paid up.

Simple as it sounds to say that barter and trade was the basis for the conduct of the bulk of our business, it was astonishing and at times disheartening to encounter the difficulties we did. The plain fact was that all the economic machinery of the whole area was smashed. Again, a concrete example may serve to show the involved nature of our transactions.

RESTAMPED MONEY

I HAVE already indicated that large stores of wheat were held in the fertile Banat region, now divided between Greater Serbia and Rumania, and this food we early set about possessing for the relief work in other states that were without agricultural territories, primarily in Montenegro and along the Dalmatian coast. At the outset the Serbs were bitterly opposed to the exportation of any of this grain, though at the time they were so new at government that few of their amateur officials had any broad notion of policy whatsoever and none of them knew exactly what stores the country had. Several meetings with the ministry resulted finally in an agreement to release one thousand tons; these we began

moving at once by trucks. But for the large transaction I had in mind it became necessary to arrange a more complex deal: our first stumbling block was the absolute refusal of Serbia to accept payment for the grain in Austrian currency—between fifty and one hundred million kronen—because Serbia wanted no more of that money within her borders than she had. To meet this objection the American Relief Administration took over fifty million kronen from the Austro-Hungarian bank at Zagreb, sent it to Jugo-Slavia by a special train under the care of American officers—they were corporals and sergeants, by the way, but they wore the American uniform, so that, in practice, they were as imposing as generals—and delivered it to the Jugo-Slavs for stamping with their official Jugo-Slav imprint. Once stamped this money was turned over to an Austrian purchasing agent, who paid for the wheat.

In the meantime the Jugo-Slavs and the Austrians had gotten into one of their periodic bitter feuds over a boundary matter and military operations had started on both sides. But we could not permit one war, more or less, to interfere with the feeding of the starving: despite furious diplomatic interchanges we told both sides that we were going through with that wheat. It developed at this point that the Serbs needed salt; in a manner of speaking we coerced them with salt. Against all these obstacles train movements were started and food moved and the starving were fed. Over 80,000 tons of foodstuffs were transported in this transaction; 82,000 tons were purchased and ready to move, and cattle, pigs, and 3,000 head of horses were sent forward. The horses, I am compelled to say, were shipped and killed for meat. And, as though we had not difficulties enough, many of our stock trains were stopped and military inspectors of three or four states took turn and turn about, at the various borders, in commandeering horses for their military needs. It was only with the greatest effort that we succeeded in checking this insolence, but eventually the horses arrived.

BOLSHEVISM AT THE RAMPARTS

THIS was a sample of our experiences in attempting to restore these very peoples to a place where their governments could function, where they could get work and earn money for food, and where that food could be delivered to them. It was trying work. At this distance it may seem that Mr. Hoover was unnecessarily persistent in his thankless task; but it must be remembered that he was looking beyond the momentary needs of these countries—that he was feeding and succoring Balkanized central Europe only as an incident to the fight he was making to throw back the red wave of Bolshevism that, all this time, was threatening the puny and chaotic states. And even despite his efforts, and ours in the field, Bolshevism did, in the end, get a foothold, and the battle became a hand-to-hand conflict instead of a long distance economic war of prevention. Bolshevism stormed the ramparts at last, and we closed in for the death grapple!

The scene shifts from Vienna, whence all our activities were directed and from where they continued to be carried on, as regards food and the economic rehabilitation, during the succeeding weeks, to Budapest. Hungary had been a half-hearted adherent of the Prussian cause from the first; one of the men who brought about her final surrender and withdrawal was Count Michael Karolyi, a Hungarian aristocrat and a man of great wealth, cultured, traveled, and as proud and commanding a figure as there was in all central Europe. Karolyi, when Hungary could fight no longer and fell prostrate under the feet of the French, had spoken in behalf of his beloved land; he had been heard patiently because it was a well-known fact that he had always been anti-German. The Allies, through the French, assured Karolyi and the Hungarian people that, if he were put at the head of the Government, he would be given the moral support of the Allies and the proud Magyars would be enabled to save their national life. Boundaries were fixed after long arguments—Hungary lost much territory, but she retained enough to make existence possible.

Karolyi was chosen first President of the Hungarian Republic. His people believed in him; their hearts began to beat again with hope for the future. But their jealous and pugnacious neighbors began almost at once to slight and insult them. Jugo-Slavia crowded in from the south; on the north the Czechs made unwarranted advances; from the east, suddenly, came the Rumanians, boldly crossing the boundary line laid down by the Paris conference, and moving westward into rich Hungarian territory. Karolyi's power began to wane at once. He pleaded with his people for tolerance and patience, he appealed frantically to Paris for help—for the fulfillment

of its promises. Paris moved weakly in the matter; the Rumanians flouted its edicts and made still another advance. Karolyi, the friend of the Allies, could not hold Magyar territory inviolate from the despised Czechs—thus the word went about. Karolyi held on tenaciously, fighting for time, protesting to the Czech Government, calling frantically on Paris; seeking to arouse in his own people the fortitude and faith they had held throughout the bitter years of war. But no help came; no response was given from any quarter. The Hungarians were fascinated by the Bolshevist promises and pictures that were now flung openly before them in the very streets of Budapest. Labor joined the forces of the Reds in small, but increasing numbers. Secretly plans were made for the disruption of the Karolyi Government, and on the evening of March 21st, with the republican army going over to Bolshevism by battalions, Karolyi's grip relaxed and his administration fell. The Reds, who had been hard at work with money and propaganda, at once leaped into the saddle. Bela Kun, getting into instant wireless connection with Lenin in Moscow, promptly and effectively threw entire Hungary under the Bolshevist régime, and there began a new reign of terrorism and its attendant economic disintegration.

Next month, Mr. Gregory will describe his battle with Bela Kun and Bolshevism in Hungary.

WHAT RUSSIA THINKS OF THE BOLSHEVIKI

The Economic Struggle in Russia As Viewed By One Who Has Taken Part in It. Shall We Trade with Russia?

By SIR PAUL DUKES

Late Chief of British Secret Intelligence Service in Soviet Russia

"STOLEN GOLD," "Compromise with murder," "Degradation of our national dignity." Yes, this is all true—except that perhaps the last is only a half truth, for there is another side to the question, which I am going to put. Postulating the proposition that foreign enterprise is indispensable to the eventual reconstruction of Russia, the first essential in all matters relating to that country is a clear understanding of the present position and an accurate estimation of the principles of what is termed "Communism" and the degree to which those principles have actually been applied, successfully or unsuccessfully. That is what I want first to elucidate.

The fundamental principle of Communism, as interpreted by the Bolsheviki, is the forced suppression of private enterprise, individual initiative, and personal ambition based on hope of profit. Yet the only means the Bolsheviki ever possessed of persuading the Russian workers and peasants to support the Bolshevist régime was the promise of something for nothing. And this being contrary to Communist principle, it follows that Communism has not been established. Trouble began way back in 1918. Before Communism (a conception unintelligible to the peasantry who form four fifths of the Russian population) could be introduced, a means had to be devised to enlist the favor of a majority of the peasant class. So the poor peasants were promised enrichment at the expense of the well-to-do. For nearly a year provincial Russia was ruled by so-called "Committees of the Village Poor," bodies to which only the non-possessing peasants might be deputed, which were authorized to seize the property of the wealthier peasants and divide it among themselves. For this purpose the peasants were classified, as rich, middle, and poor. The first were such as by industry, enterprise, and thrift had raised themselves to positions of independence; the second consisted of those who were well on the way to attaining this position; while the third were such as by misfortune, incompetence, or idleness were possessed of nothing. The

third category coincided largely with the mass of stupid and illiterates, and included furthermore the class of tramps, slackers, and good-for-nothings.

The "Committees of the Village Poor," drawn exclusively from the third category, set to work with a will, dispossessed the rich, and distributed their goods amongst themselves, a portion going to the Government. The middle peasants at first sided with the poor in despoiling the rich, until it was their turn to be despoiled, when they became enemies of the Bolshevist system. The extraordinary phenomenon was eventually witnessed of the rich peasants being driven into the Bolshevist camp, because, the tables being turned, Bolshevist policy afforded them an opportunity of revenging themselves on those who had become rich at their expense. The imposition of a war tax at the end of 1918, however, finally alienated the sympathies of the entire peasantry, for the rich "poor" would not pay because they were technically poor, while the poor "rich" could not pay because they had nothing left. This was the end of Communism in the villages. Chaos reigned, the Committees were dissolved by the Government and replaced by new Soviets, while the latter, packed with Communist nominees, ceased to be "Soviets," becoming mere committees of the Communist Party. In view of peasant hostility the Government renounced the policy of socialization of the land, but the peasantry would still have broken into open revolt against what was called "Commissarocracy" (that is, the tyranny of local Commissars) were it not that the fear of the restoration of their newly acquired land to the landlords who supported Kolchak, Denikin, and Wrangel made them passively acquiesce in the present administration and even actively oppose the militarist counter-revolution.

Meanwhile, the chief measure of Bolshevist administration designed to establish Communism in the towns was the suppression of private trading. This took two forms: (1) the prohibition of trading by individual dealers, either wholesale or retail; and (2) the suppression of the coöperative organizations. The former measure has never succeeded. Private illicit trading, often carried on under conditions of extreme difficulty and even danger, continue in the teeth of the Bolshevist authorities to this day, and on such a scale that, although armed force is employed against it, it never could be completely suppressed. The most marked effect of the forced closing down of private business houses has been merely to transfer trade from the stores and shops to the sidewalks, streets, and market-places. It is estimated that tens of thousands of people daily turn out into the streets to dispose of wares in exchange for money or food, or to buy up food and goods, especially jewelry and other valuables, for purposes of speculation. While the workers in the factories were starving I have purchased on the market-places of Moscow the finest white flour, butter, sugar, eggs, tea, and even candy. Sellers and buyers alike are denounced by the Government as "counter-revolutionaries" and "enemies of the people," and periodically the market-places are raided by armed bands who seize the goods and arrest a few dozens of the thousands of traders. None the less this private commerce has continued on such a scale that only a small percentage of the "sack-carriers" (as private traders are called, carrying their goods in sacks) are arrested daily at the stations. The majority storm the platforms *en masse* regularly every morning, and despite their speculative prices they are regarded as heroes and benefactors by the harassed citizens.

SUPPRESSING THE COÖPERATIVES

IN SUPPRESSING the coöperative organizations the Bolshevist Government met with greater success. As little appears to be known on this side of the Atlantic regarding the Russian coöperatives, and as they are destined to play a conspicuous part in the reconstruction of Russia, I will dwell for a moment on their origin and development.

At the commencement of the Bolshevist régime there existed three distinct branches of coöperative organizations in Russia: the Coöperative Union of Consumers, the Credit Coöperative, and the Coöperative Union of Producers, all acting in close harmony with one another. The first of these originated just over twenty years ago with a capital of 800 roubles, representing 800 members, each contributing one rouble. In 1914 this union numbered 319,479 members, with a yearly turnover of more than ten million roubles, while a phenomenal growth during the war left it in 1917 with a membership of 10,269,757 with a turnover of more than two hundred million roubles. About fifty million people,

including members' families were served by this union alone. It possessed thirty factories and industrial concerns. It had its own flour mills, confectionery works, fisheries, tobacco, soap and boot factories, chemical works, and paper mills. The combined membership of all coöperative unions in Russia in 1917 amounted to one third of the total population.

The motives of the Bolshevist Government in suppressing free coöperation were obvious. Despite many defects, due to its mushroom growth, Russian coöperation represented a widespread popular democratic movement, under popular control, and embracing all classes without distinction. It was thus the antithesis of Bolshevism. It was obvious that if Bolshevist propaganda was to have any success the field must be kept absolutely clear of competition.

In January, 1920, the British Government made a proposal to trade with Russia, through the medium of the coöperative unions, independently of the Bolshevist Government. The Bolsheviki promptly arrested and imprisoned the last remaining coöperative leaders, deposed their accredited foreign representatives, and proclaimed that the coöperative unions had "voluntarily" amalgamated themselves with the Bolshevist Commissariat of Food and had become a state institution.

LENIN'S DECEITFUL TACTICS

SENSATIONAL rumors recently emanating from Moscow through Reval and Helsingfors now depict Lenin in the light of a leopard proclaiming his intention to the world at large of changing his spots. After four years of fulmination against society in general, of denunciation of capitalist and bourgeois "dictatorship," and advocation of a bloody world-revolution which shall open the sluices of lawlessness, pillage, and crime, Lenin suddenly appears in the guise of a peacemaker, extending an olive branch to the "vicious bloodsuckers" of the foreign capitalist class! "Communism," he says in effect, "cannot restore Russia. So we will get foreign capitalists to reconstruct Russian industry and make of Soviet Russia a garden."

We must not be misled by Lenin's strategical acrobatics. Lenin may swerve as regards tactics, but not in his goal. Indeed, he has constantly swerved in his tactics. Was it not Lenin who demanded universal suffrage? Yet free elections are now completely suppressed. Was it not Lenin who loudest of all clamored for the Constituent Assembly? Yet it was he who dispersed that gathering at the point of the bayonet. Did not Lenin socialize the land, but, finding the entire peasantry against him, made his first "concession to capitalism" by restoring private land ownership, "temporarily," hoping to be strong enough later to abolish it again? Was it not Lenin who advocated the establishment of workers' committees in the factories? Yet it was he who abandoned those committees, introduced "iron labor discipline," the ten and twelve hour working day, censored strikes as "counter-revolutionary," and deprived the workers of the right of free speech and free meeting. Did not Lenin also encourage the formation of army committees to disintegrate the former army, and subsequently abolished them to reinstate Czarist officers? Lenin it was who cried, in 1917, "All power to the Soviets!" But it was he who turned those "Soviets" into committees of the Communist Party, forbidding admission to any but Bolsheviki. For propagandist purposes Lenin now calls his Government the "Soviet Government," whereas according to his own definition of a "Soviet" as a "freely elected council representative of labor" there is today not a single Soviet from end to end of Russia. For propagandist purposes also Lenin adopts for his Government the title of "Government of Workers and Peasants," when in reality the country is ruled by a Communist camarilla, with a following (according to Lenin's own estimate) of not more than ½ of 1 per cent. of the Russian population, while the workers and peasants are mercilessly deprived of every vestige of participation in the administration of their affairs. "We will pay the peasants for their food in paper money," says Lenin, but privately he adds, "for paper money will soon be worthless, so we shall really get the peasants' produce without paying for it at all." These are all Leninist tactics—in other words, deliberate, calculated, and systematized deceit—and so is his olive branch to capitalism.

No. Tactics may change, but Lenin remains the same. We will not be deceived by his efforts to scrape off his red paint. The Bolsheviki have prophesied the world revolution daily since they came into power. I personally participated in huge demonstrations in Petrograd celebrating the outbreak of the world revolution on July 20, 1919. No one was so bewildered as the Bolshevist demonstrators when it was subse-

quently discovered that the world revolution had not broken out! I do not believe we need fear the world revolution. I believe it to have been as huge a miscalculation as Lenin's belief in the possibility of establishing Communism in Russia.

At the present moment Russia is separated from the rest of the world by artificial barriers, erected both by ourselves and by the Bolsheviki. To undermine the Bolshevist Government, let light into Russia! Force a breath of fresh atmosphere into a country polluted by pernicious propaganda and the calculated incubation of class hatred and malice!

Encourage anybody and everybody, therefore, to enter Russian territory for whatsoever purpose, be it for trade, journalism, investigation of conditions, study of economics, or any other motive! Not only should people of every class, especially labor representatives, not be dissuaded from traveling to the "Socialist paradise," but I should like to see the editors of every pro-Bolshevist paper and the entire class of faddist "parlor Bolsheviki" granted a free passage and all facilities. *Skaterti dorogal*—as the Russians say. It is not so much the Bolshevist Government that should cry "Welcome to Russia!", it is *our* Governments.

SHALL WE TRADE WITH RUSSIA?

BUT what about "dealings" with the Soviet Government? What are the pros and cons of trading? I fear that, as an Englishman, I may be misunderstood in speaking on this subject unless I explain that I have never discussed this subject with British ministers, neither have I had any part in determining the policy toward Russia which is now being followed by the British Government.

I do not believe that under present conditions in Russia any trade will be successful. The ruthless suppression of individual enterprise and commercial ambition has reduced Russian industry to almost complete stagnation. But one other thing is equally certain, we shall never get anything out of Russia until we begin trying.

It is universally maintained by every business man competent to judge of Russian affairs that the first essential for the restoration of normal conditions in Russia and the resumption of commerce is the reëstablishment of the principle of free trading between individuals, and between the towns and villages within Russia. This is a condition which any trade commission to Russia is bound to insist upon. Personal ambition, individual enterprise based on the hope of profit and advantage—in other words, human nature—must again be allowed play. At present the vitality of the intellectual classes has sunk so low as to affect them not only physically but mentally, but is it likely that a convalescent Russia will expel her foreign benefactors and prefer at some future date to be re-plunged into barbarism?

Moreover, the reëstablishment of free trading will inevitably be followed by the revival of the coöperative organizations, in whose hands the trade of Russia was rapidly becoming concentrated up to the time of the revolution. Free coöperation ended with the "amalgamation" of the coöperative unions into the Bolshevist Commissariat of Food. But this commissariat is so hopelessly incompetent that, despite the suppression of the coöperative societies, the Bolsheviki have frequently been compelled to fall back on the remnants of the latter, especially in direct dealings with the peasants. Thus the shell of the coöperative organization still exists, though its leaders pine in Bolshevist jails and are replaced by Communist Commissars with no interest beyond consolidating the political power of the Bolshevist Government. The memory of the coöperatives has always lived in the hearts of the people.

"STOLEN GOLD!"

BUT the Bolsheviki will pay at first with gold," it is objected, "—stolen gold." Yes, the gold is stolen. But, stolen or not, I personally would rather see it safely put away in western European banks than distributed to hooligans, malcontents, and professional agitators, glad to get a well-paid talking job in foreign countries. There is not much of this gold anyway, and it can never be restored to the rightful owners until Russia is reëstablished and its Government is changed. One step toward achieving that end is to deprive the Bolsheviki of the gold wherewith to pay for foreign propaganda. Besides, amongst *Russians*, who are the people who cry loudest against taking "stolen gold"? As far as Europe is concerned they coincide largely with those elements who have never done anything against Bolshevism except talk, who have learnt nothing and forgotten nothing, who dream of the restoration not only of lost goods but also of their landed estates, and who are blind to the fact that for Russia's weal it may be necessary to reconcile themselves to

the sacrifice both of their gold and of their land. But go and ask those anti-Bolshevist Russians who are nearer events and have kept in touch with the Russian people. Without exception they demand the restoration of intercourse between Russia and western Europe. The Mensheviki and the Right Socialist-Revolutionary parties, whose leaders lie in Bolshevist prisons, have consistently demanded it.

For some time past it has been observable that the Bolshevist Party is segregating on the question of intercourse with "bourgeois-capitalist" Europe into two opposing camps. The one section, led by Krassin and Lenin, favors this hateful but inevitable compromise. The other section, led by Apfelbaum-Zinoviev (of the so called Third International), Trotzky (War Minister), and Dzerzhinsky (of the Inquisitorial Extraordinary Commission), advocates world-revolution first and foremost. "No truck with bourgeois-capitalism!" they cry. These are the people who only "see red." They "see red" on a world-wide scale. To them Russia is nothing. They would rather have Russia torn asunder and utterly laid waste than see her weaned back to health and strength through the re-infusion of the "capitalist" spirit, by which they mean personal enterprise, industry, and ambition. How, I would ask, may we best combat the designs of these desperadoes—by the example of our own tried and tested methods, or by the artificial barrier which has kept the opposing factions together for more than three years and united them in a common bond of self-defence?

FREE INTERCOURSE THE ANTIDOTE

THERE are a number of territories, formerly integral parts of the Russian Empire, which have thrown off the yoke of revolution and established separate independent republics. These states seek to reëstablish normal relations with Russia because they realize that Bolshevist tyranny is consolidated by being warred against and by being dammed up by artificial barriers. Russia may well be healed gradually from the periphery toward the centre as knowledge of the western world percolates into the interior. That this is so has been demonstrated already by delegations of Russian peasants from the regions lying adjacent to the Baltic States, appealing to be annexed by or taken under the protection of the latter.

It may well be that the Bolshevist Government, which seized power by violence, which rules by violence, and which preaches violence, must also come to an end by violence. Personally, knowing the Bolsheviki as I do from prolonged experience, I believe this ultimately to be the case. Events, however, have proved that this must be a matter for the Russian people alone, without our intervention or participation. But if such a débâcle were suddenly to occur, will not Russia's welfare be best served and our own interests promoted by having representatives on the spot to set in immediate motion along free and unfettered lines the economic apparatus that is to develop Russia's limitless natural resources?

Many people are misled by the offer of trade originating from Moscow. They conclude that it must therefore be of advantage solely to the Bolsheviki. Besides protesting that the Soviet Government has nothing to trade with except a little stolen gold (which is very true), they fear the Bolsheviki will use the facilities of intercourse for intensified propaganda. Yes, of course they will! But they won't get much more propaganda across than they do already. A few more stolen jewels may be smuggled into England enveloped in chocolates, or a bit more literature glorifying the Russian paradise may be shipped to Norway or other places in bales marked "flax," but what will their efforts to maintain this fiction avail them when free intercourse permits the whole world to see for itself? If Lenin really believes the capitalists are going to reconstruct Russia in order to accelerate the world revolution it is only one more gigantic miscalculation on his part. His whole régime, his whole policy—except in one respect—has been a series of colossal miscalculations. The exception was his correct assumption that the forces of lawlessness, discontent, and crime would always support an effort to establish his system. The surest way to dissipate darkness is by introducing light. The greatest compliment we can pay to Lenin is to fear him. If we on our part believe that the antidote to vicious revolutionary ideas lies in the truth of our own principles, if we believe in democracy, good-will, and free coöperation between free individuals, then let us thrust those ideas upon the Russian people through natural channels, confident that these principles cannot be contraverted or withstood by a petty group of fanatical and violent doctrinaires.

The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

FRENCH STROTHER, MANAGING EDITOR BURTON J. HENDRICK, ASSOCIATE EDITOR

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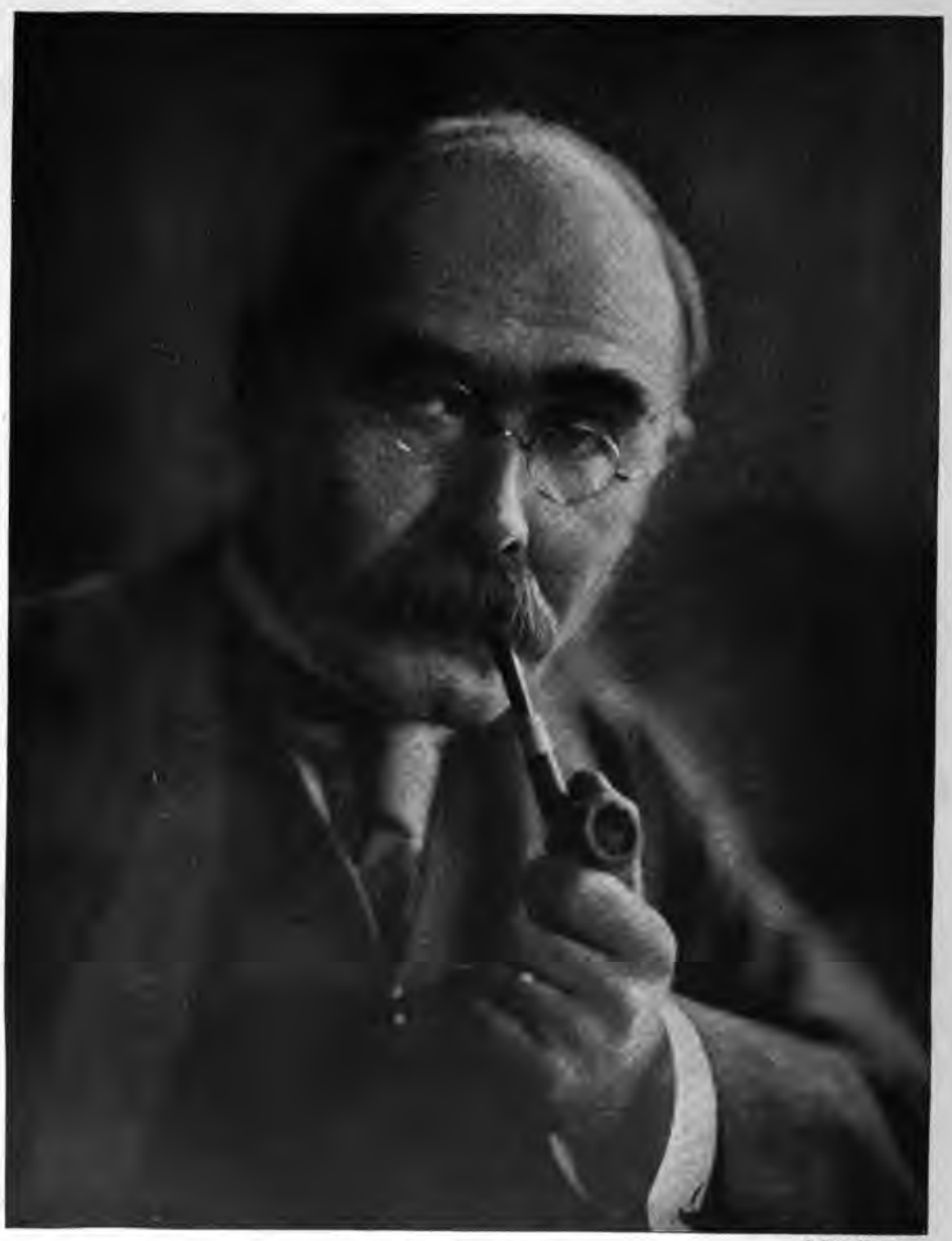

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RUDYARD KIPLING

A new photograph of the great English writer, whose popularity, both in England and America, has constantly grown since the publication of his first book in 1886 [See page 185]

THE WORLD'S WORK

JUNE, 1921

VOLUME XLII NUMBER 2

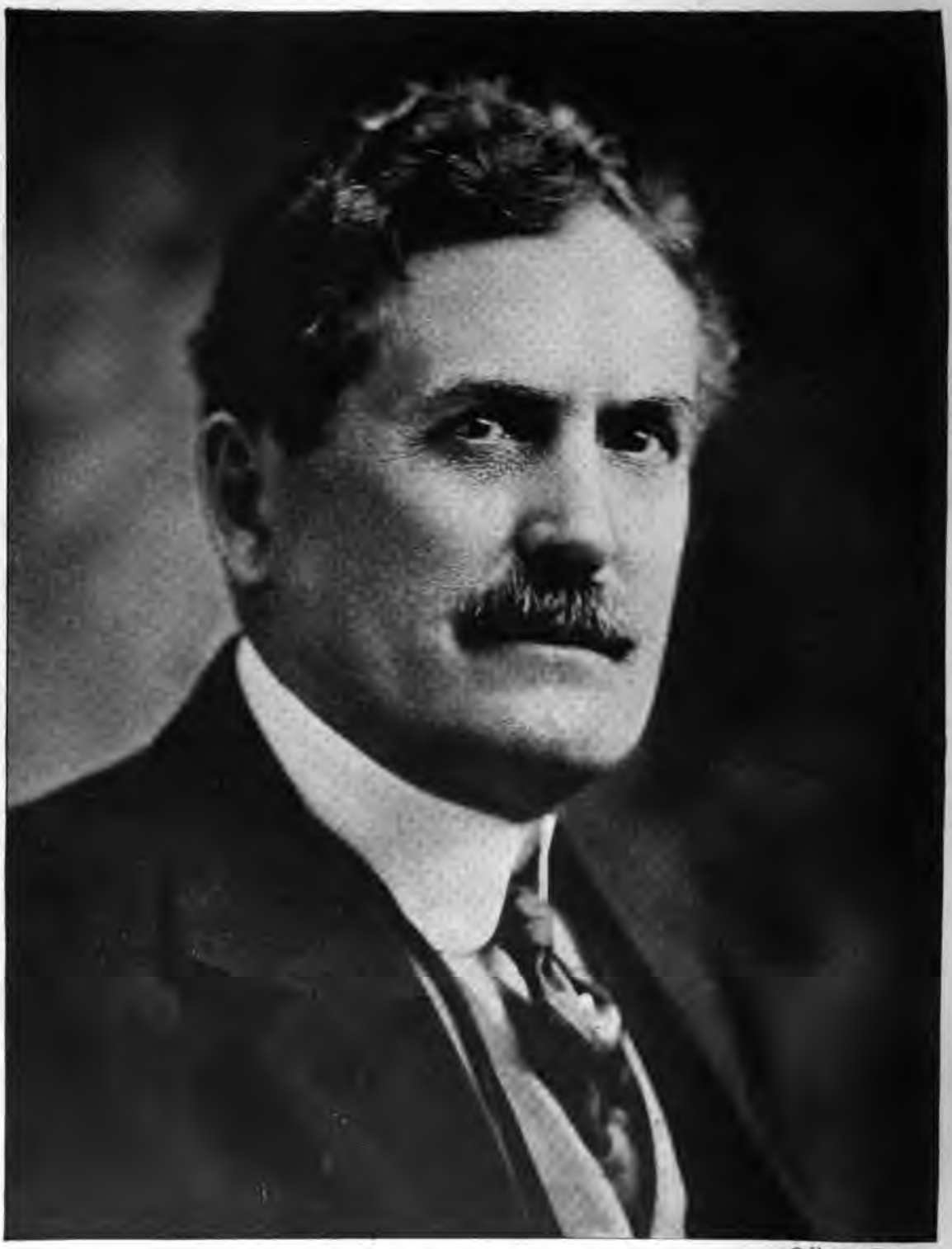
THE MARCH OF EVENTS

SHALL we expect better times immediately? Better times meaning more business, fewer men unemployed, fewer passed dividends to the many thousands of investors, and in general more assurance of comfort of mind and body to the great masses of our population. Of course, we shall expect better times, but how soon depends in large measure on our own frame of mind.

In the recent discussions of the probabilities of the approach of better times, it has usually been assumed that their approach depended upon a reconstruction of Europe so that we should have better markets abroad, better credit for foreign trade, more equitable taxation, and similar things for which the public is anxiously looking to the new Administration in Washington. It is hard to overestimate the importance of what the new Administration does in these matters, as its activities are felt by all of us they are multiplied 110 million times. But it is easy to overestimate the effect of the Government's activities on any one person. In a time like this the old American attribute of individual energy is at a premium. To be the captain of one's soul and the master of one's fate is a greater virtue in bad weather than at other times. The answer to most people's problems in the present depression is not to be found in Washington but in their own brains and in their own spirit. It may be impossible to add one cubit to one's stature by taking thought, but thought and energy will add to one's comfort and prosperity. It is because we have been an industrious people in the past that there has grown up what is well called the "American standard of living." It is by the same means that that standard of prosperity will be preserved.

We have come to look too much toward the Government to create ideal conditions for our activities and to settle our problems and ensure success. The men who made this country were of the hardy breed who counted upon their own efforts to bring success and who believed that the less government they had the better. It is that spirit which we need now. Depression or no depression there is more chance here and now for success than 90 per cent. of the world's population ever have. The thing to do is to summon up each one his energies and go at his own problem looking ahead and counting on himself.

If there were now, for instance, the spirit of endeavor that animated our population during the war, we could brush aside the difficulties which cloud our horizon and lend a real helping hand to Europe at the same time. A new infusion of individualism, confidence, and morale will do more for us as a nation than the Government can do.



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MYRON T. HERRICK

Who has been appointed a second time Ambassador to France, where he was exceptionally popular from 1912 to 1914, during his first incumbency

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JOHN J. ESCH

Recently appointed by President Harding to the Interstate Commerce Commission. Mr. Esch's study of the railroads during his term of service in the House of Representatives has been directly responsible for his appointment, and fits him better than most of the other members of the Commission for his new position. With Senator Cummins, Mr. Esch was responsible for the Transportation Act under which the railroads are now operating

ALBERT HONORÊ CHARLES, PRINCE OF MONACO

Who arrived in the United States in April to receive the Alexander Agassiz gold medal awarded him for his oceanographic researches. These have covered a long period of years and have resulted in the collection of scientific data on the plant and animal life of the sea, on ocean currents, and other marine phenomena

COKER F. CLARKSON

As general manager of the Society of Automotive Engineers, Mr. Clarkson has played an important part in the advance of the engineering art in the automobile industry. Under his management the S. A. E. has been responsible for "standardization" and other methods which have promoted the use of the gas engine in industry

[See page 204]

MELVILLE E. STONE

Who recently retired as general manager of the Associated Press after fifty years of newspaper work, thirty-five of which were spent in his last position, one of the country's most important journalistic posts

Coöperating with the Allies

THE firm touch with which Mr. Harding and Mr. Hughes have reëstablished our relations with Europe, the promptness with which Mr. Hughes handled the German communications, and the courtesy and propriety he exhibited in consulting the Allies before he sent his answers are highly gratifying. According to the President's statements we are to stand with the Allies under the Versailles Treaty (without the League); we are to coöperate in forcing the reparations question to a settlement so that the world can know what basis it is on again; we are, Mr. Harding intimated at the Bolivar statue unveiling, to call a disarmament conference and likewise to exert ourselves to form some piece of machinery to try to prevent war. This encouragement for the future is somewhat mitigated by Senator Lodge's intimation in the Senate that his and not the President's policies will be carried out. Mr. Lodge intends to abandon the Versailles Treaty altogether and if he prevails over the President it will mean that the United States will abandon its relationship with the Allies, which, taken together with other policies agreed on by Mr. Harding before election, will tend to leave us in the splendid isolation of our own friendship.

Mr. Harding realizes that upon the United States and Great Britain depends the continuance of the modern industrial system. It is doubtful if, with his present outlook, he would again advocate so questionable a policy in morality as the tolls act for the Panama Canal to which he committed himself during the campaign and which is advocated in his party platform.

This position was more in keeping with the political philosophy of Mr. Borah and Mr. McCormick than of Mr. Harding. It would be particularly inexplicable had Mr. Harding made this promise since the inauguration, for an administration which is eager to gain the good will of Colombia by the doubtful method of paying her $25,000,000 on a much disputed claim would hardly go out of its way to seek a cause to embarrass the British Government, particularly on a very questionable case, when the harmonious coöperation between the United States and the Allies is the one hope of a renewed prosperity here and elsewhere in the world.

The Colombian Treaty perhaps, and certainly the Canal toll bill and Colonel Harvey belong to the Senatorial Harding and not the Presidential Harding. The question is, which is to prevail in the future?

Germany Unchanged In Spirit

ONE of the objects which became more and more important during the course of the war was the necessity of beating the Germans sufficiently to bring their ideas of international relations into harmony with those prevailing elsewhere in the world. That object has not been achieved.

The Germans signed the Versailles Treaty, but evidently with reservations, for since then whenever it has suited them they have declined to carry out its provisions. They have signed various agreements since and looked upon each agreement not as the end but the opening of discussions. Finally, having exhausted the patience of the Allies, the German Government had the effrontery to suggest to President Harding that he act as arbiter between Germany and the Allies and set the figures for the reparations Germany was to pay "after examination and investigation."

This suggestion is illuminating in several ways. If acted upon it would have meant another long delay while an American commission investigated. When the investigation was done and the results were announced the Germans could then begin to argue the whole case again with a country 3,000 miles away. It is true that the Germans promised this time to sign without any reservations, but as they have not demonstrated that their word is worth much more since the war than during it, that promise is of little value.

Added to these advantages of delay, the Germans could reasonably hope that if we acted on their suggestion we should offend the Allies by so doing, which might lead to an estrangement between them and America.

The German Government had the effrontery to suggest this plan of repudiating the Versailles Treaty in the face of a note from Secretary Hughes, not a month old, to the effect that we stood *with the Allies* in demanding that Germany pay the full reparation of which she is capable, and in face of the statement of the President that the United States intended to engage under the existing Versailles Treaty to settle our European relations. Since the Armistice, as before, the German Government has not lived up to its promises, nor has it be-

lieved that other governments meant what they said. It has, as in the past, recognized only force as an argument.

This is a very disappointing result, and one of the principal reasons for the slow recovery of the world from the war.

It would probably have been better for the world, including Germany, if the Allied troops had gone to Berlin in 1918 and stayed there until the reparation arrangements were made, for then not only the Allied countries but Germany as well could have gone to work on a settled and certain basis, and the corroding influence of false hopes and expectations on all sides could have been obviated.

There are two questions involved, an economic question of how much it is to the Allies' and America's benefit to have Germany pay either in gold, work, or goods and how much it is to the Allies' and America's benefit to have Germany restored to full working capacity. The other question is the moral question of how far it is necessary to make Germany realize her wrong and begin to live up to her obligations, accepting truthful standards of international dealing.

The Germans have practically repudiated the existence of the second question and endeavored to prove that Europe could only recover under the leadership of German industry, and therefore the Allies and America had better let Germany pay only as much as Germany thought she could without interfering with her recovery to leadership in industry.

Germany has not yet grasped the fact that, in order to insist on the moral principle of her guilt, the rest of the world must and will make her pay, even if it is to their own economic disadvantage, and the more she evades the demand made on her the more she plays into the hands of the extremists who desire her vivisection and destruction. No nation in modern history ever was more guilty in its aims or its methods than Germany in this war. No beaten nation has ever been treated as easily. For comparison let Americans think back to the Civil War. The South had fought four years with every man and every resource and at the end was more exhausted physically than Germany, though there was no moral collapse that led to mutinies, etc. The basis of the South's industry was swept away. This was far more paralyzing than an indemnity. The country was occupied by the conquering troops, and when these left they placed the governments of the different states in the hands of the least competent. There was no relief from anywhere in the world sent to the suffering. There were no credit organizations formed to help the country produce and export. There was no helping hand of any kind extended. The country was left to pull itself out of helpless chaos under every imaginable handicap. Similarly, what happened to the French after 1871? In generosity to the conquered the world has progressed a far way since 1865 and 1871. But if generosity to the conquered is to be continued in practice, it must be workable, and that depends upon the conquered as well as the conqueror. If the Germans insist that there is no appeal but force, the world will have to prescribe that medicine.

The German programme of trying to create friction between England and France, and thereby delay the final settlement, and then trying to create friction between the Allies and the United States, and thereby still further delay, in the hopes of finally evading most of the obligation, will not work. Neither the Allies nor it is hoped the United States will fall into that trap.

The Leadership of the President

MR. HARDING is faced with the problem of reforming the Federal Government so that it will more nearly do the work that the nation thrusts upon it. The fundamental difficulty with the governing machinery at present is that the coördinate branches, the legislative and executive, do not coördinate. Each branch spends considerable time and effort in asserting its prerogatives against the other, while the full time and effort of each is none too much to attend to the public business. As it has worked fairly regularly for the last forty years each in-coming president with the prestige of his election, the mandate to carry out his election promises, and the power of patronage, has been able to dominate the situation for a year or two. By that time new questions not covered in his election platform come up, most of the offices have been filled, and the President no longer has the same power to lead Congress. By this time also, Congress is usually fairly tired of being led or driven and it takes the first opportunity to assert its authority and beat the President on any issue that can be found. If a President is sufficiently popular to ensure himself a second term, the Congressional attack is not likely to

become powerful until midway of the second term, as in the case of Mr. Roosevelt who did not meet appreciable opposition during his first five years in office.

If, however, the President's public support shows any weakness during his first term, as in the case of Mr. Taft, Congress will put an end to his leadership midway of his first term. Mr. Wilson was unmistakably the leader during the first two years of his Administration. War conditions which always strengthen the power of the executive continued his leadership until 1918. But as soon as the Armistice was signed Congress revolted. It is true that in this case the public sustained the grounds on which this revolt was made. But Congress did not gain the public support which this fact would presuppose. The public did not look for leadership from Congress except in a negative way. Experience has proved that if the President in office is stopped from carrying out his programme, there will be little or no constructive work done until the next President comes in. So for two vital years we drifted along with no effective coöperation between the two branches of the Government. In this case it was worse than usual, both because the times were so full of stress and because the breach between the President and Congress was widened by a bitter personal feeling and party opposition. Yet those who remember vividly the last two years of Mr. Roosevelt's Presidency will recall an almost similar bitterness between Congress and the President even though in that case the Congressional majority was of the same party as the executive.

Experience of the past teaches us that Congress will sooner or later attack the leadership of the President, and that when the attack succeeds the business of the Government will become more or less stationary, for Congress does not supply a leadership to take the place of the executive leadership it destroys.

In the present case, that part of the public which follows the symptoms of government was a good deal worried by the evident intention of Congress under Senatorial direction to contest the President's leadership immediately, in which case it seemed reasonable to fear that there would not be even the usual two years of effective work. The Senate was so elated over its success over Mr. Wilson and the election of one of its own members to the Presidency that it showed signs of believing that it could use the Presidency merely as an agent of the Senate. Mr. Penrose practically said as much concerning foreign affairs, and Mr. McCormick's activities added evidence to the belief.

The Senate Foreign Affairs Committee then held a formal meeting with M. Viviani and told him what the policy of the United States would be and let the story of their decision go out to the press. Prior to this occurrence dealing with the representatives of foreign nations had been exclusively an executive function. Regardless of whether the Senate's intentions were wise or unwise, these phenomena were disturbing because they indicated that the country was facing a four year period of Congressional dominance which in the past has always meant little or no constructive results. The Senate seemed bent upon the immediate realization of the only serious fear that the public had of Mr. Harding, namely, that he would be a puppet of a particular group of the Senate.

Mr. Harding's message to Congress dissipated this fear in a clarifying and cheering manner. With the tact and good humor for which he is noted, the President explained that he had a foreign policy. He evidently made it coincide with the desires of the Senate in so far as he could, but there was no mistaking his quiet intention that the executive should continue to negotiate treaties and carry on our foreign affairs, with the advice and consent of the Senate as the Constitution requires, but not under the direction of the Senate, for that the Constitution does not require.

Working Ability of the Government

THE effect of Mr. Lodge's notice that the Senate intends to supply the leadership rather than the President is extremely desquieting both because the kind of leadership which can be expected from a combination of Lodge, Penrose, and McCormick is not likely to be very enlightened either for the general prosperity of the country at home nor for its good name abroad. Moreover, such group leadership would not likely be effective even if Mr. Harding and his Cabinet should be willing to become its passive agents, a thing which is hardly conceivable.

The conflicting policies of the Senate and the President spell a condition which the Republican Party promised to obviate. One of the chief reasons for the great Republican vote

was the hope that the deadlock which had paralyzed the Government for two years would be broken by a party unified under the leadership of its Presidential candidate and therefore capable of constructive action.

The need of that action is painfully evident in every direction. Perhaps most important is the solution of our foreign relations which include our relations with Germany, with the European Allies, with Japan, and the settlement of the commercial rights and privileges on which the State Department is so actively concerning itself; the passage of an emergency tariff and the settlement of a somewhat more permanent tariff policy; the reform of taxation, and an immigration measure. All these things are immediately before the Government for action besides the passage of the appropriation measures upon a more closely scrutinized basis than has been customary in the past under the pork barrel method. It is necessary that the President's leadership last at least until these immediately important measures are passed.

Two Needed Reforms in Sight

THERE are two topics before Congress at the present time which affect the coöperation between Congress and the President vitally—the budget and the reform of the executive departments. The appropriation bills in the past have been devised by the committees of Congress after a set of hearings. The system had in it several glaring evils. In the first place, members of Congress who wanted pork for their districts bargained with the committee to have this pork provided. In the second place, the bills were reported so late in the session that there was no time for effective debate on them. And in the third place the executive branch which was to have the task of getting the desired result in spending the money had no opportunity to discuss the provisions of the bill.

Under the present budget bill these evils are in large measure corrected. In the first place it provides for the executive to present to Congress estimates for which he is prepared to be responsible, at the opening of the session. This will give Congress time to study and debate these all important measures and thereby greatly increase the intelligence with which it can act. In the second place, the executive budgets are not likely to contain local pork, as have the bills of the past, and it will be more difficult for a member to tack his pork to the bill in the general debate than it has been to get it incorporated in the privacy of the committee room. Of course if the majority of the members of Congress want to continue the largess of pork, even under the present times of heavy taxation, the budget bill will not prevent them. But if they desire to get out of the importunities of pork hunting constituencies, the budget provides a better opportunity than the old system.

Moreover, if it does relieve members of Congress from the necessity of getting pork in order to hold their jobs, they can devote more of their time and their abilities to the larger questions of public business which would develop among them a much larger proportion of statesmen than the present system produces. Under such conditions men in Congress who made reputations for their able discussion of the various bills might reasonably expect to go into the Cabinet as authorities with public confidence, whereas now those members of the Cabinet that inspire the most confidence are not from Congress nor from the ranks of politics in general.

II

WHEN Mr. Wilson picked his Cabinet he made three political appointments, Mr. Bryan, Mr. Burleson, and Mr. Daniels, and it was the general opinion that these were the weak spots of the Cabinet. In Mr. Harding's Cabinet Messrs. Hays, Daugherty, Weeks, and Fall are looked upon as political appointees, while Messrs. Hughes, Hoover, Mellon, and Wallace are not—Mr. Davis being counted a special representative of labor. Now logically the public should have more confidence in the ability of the political group to succeed in a business to which they have devoted their lives than to the non-political group. But the truth is otherwise. It is partly that the public is not so confident of the ability of the people who make politics a profession, but more that they are not confident of their disinterestedness; and this latter feeling comes as much as any thing else from the pork barrel and the undue stress members of Congress have been forced to give to feathering their nests to the exclusion of more statesmanlike effort.

Mr. Wilson's political appointments to the

Cabinet merely confirmed the public's previous impression. Mr. Harding's political appointments have ample opportunity to demonstrate the contrary, an opportunity in which they have his example to follow.

If they succeed in this, it may be that this is the beginning of an era in which a Congressional career would be a logical stepping stone to the Cabinet and the Presidency. If it is, this fact ought to give men who improved the opportunities of a career in the House or Senate a greater fitness for Cabinet positions than "able executives" who have not dealt with public affairs. Able executives are more plentiful than statesmen of vision. The United States now produces plenty of able executives; but of informed and experienced statesmen who have the public's confidence we have but few, and these mostly appear by chance, as it were, outside the political field.

The Cabinet Must Stop Growing

WHETHER it be chosen of politicians or non-politicians if the Cabinet is to function as a wise board of advisors for the President, its tendency to grow should be curtailed. It would be a distinct advantage if its present numbers were reduced. For some years now there has been a continual pressure to recognize one interest after another in the Cabinet. Agriculture got its representative in 1889, Commerce and Labor in 1903, and in 1913 Labor was given a place to itself. Such a situation would seem to be the normal and natural state of affairs. Especially is this true if the public has a proper perspective on the tasks of a Cabinet. The public has thought that it judged the Cabinet officers primarily as executives. It has often been said that the Secretary of Interior, for instance, needed only to be a good administrator. Mr. Wilson put this idea into practice. He allowed Mr. Lane to administer the Interior Department and it was administered well. But the public wasn't satisfied. They wanted Mr. Wilson to have the benefit of Mr. Lane's advice on all the important policies of the Administration. Is that, after all, not the major function of the Cabinet?

Now Mr. Harding proposes a Welfare Department with a woman as Secretary. Continuing in this way a Secretary of Shipping and Transportation might well come next, and there has already been much agitation for a Department of Mines.

To make an effective government this tendency will have to be checked in one way or another, either by consolidation or by the method which the war forced on several governments of creating an inner cabinet of a few members to really consider the serious questions of policy leaving the other cabinet members as administrative officers only.

In such a consolidated Cabinet there need only be one Secretary for National Defence under whom two able executives would administer the Army and Navy. The State Department and the Attorney-Generalship would remain as they are and likewise the Treasury. There is, however, no reason why the executive who runs the post-office should be a Presidential adviser. There is no great question of policy arising out of his work. The post-office, the agricultural department (another executive and not policy-making organization), commerce, labor, welfare, and the catch-all activities of the Interior Department could well be represented at the Cabinet table by three instead of six men, with as many specialists and executives and under-secretaries as the work necessitates.

The pressure on the Federal Government has increased very rapidly of late years, but its machinery has not been geared to meet the higher tension. Such a consolidation of the Cabinet would be one of the ways in which to help the gearing up process which some time soon must begin.

Mr. Harding and the Tariff

THE Republican Party is committed to the policy of protection as the safe bulwark of American prosperity. Up to the time of McKinley the leaders of the Republican Party had complete confidence in a high tariff as a general panacea. McKinley's last speech showed that he had begun to doubt the wisdom of the universal application of this stimulant. Mr. Roosevelt looked upon the tariff, not as a sacred principle but as an inherited fact in his party's programme to be used with such compromises as the occasion offered. Mr. Taft, whatever his beliefs, fell into the hands of the old high priests of protection and the Payne-Aldrich bill which he signed was one of the chief reasons for his downfall. Now the Republicans are back in power and the tariff is again in the foreground. Senator Penrose, Mr. Fordney, and Mr. Mondell are

old-fashioned believers in a high tariff as a fundamental tonic to business. It is doubtful if even the old Republican method of having the beneficiaries write the schedules would offend them if the public had not so violently objected to it. But they are not on the firm ground that used to support them. Many of the people who used to want a high tariff now object to it. There is a large and growing conviction that the United States must export to be prosperous and that a tariff which kept foreign articles out of the United States would likewise help keep American articles inside the United States. The President, who is an old-fashioned protectionist, is evidently puzzled by the somewhat obvious faults in the ancient faith. In his message to Congress the paragraphs devoted to the tariff were hesitant and confused. He said:

"The maturer revision of our tariff laws should be based on the policy of protection, resisting that selfishness which turns to greed, but ever concerned with that productivity at home which is the source of all good fortune. It is agreed that we can not sell unless we buy, but ability to sell is based on home development and the fostering of home markets."

Just exactly what kind of a tariff this calls for is not clear. It is chiefly a matter of opinion whether for example a 50 per cent. tariff on cotton goods, is "resisting that selfishness which turns to greed" or merely accepting a stimulus to "that productivity . . . which is the source of all good fortune." Mr. Harding agrees that we can not sell abroad unless we buy, but he goes on to say that "ability to sell abroad is based on home development and the fostering of home markets."

That reasoning hardly seems to cover the whole case. The first criterion of the ability to sell is the ability to produce cheaply enough to meet foreign competition in foreign markets. Whether you buy or not, unless you produce cheaply enough you can not sell abroad. If a tariff protects American manufacturers in the home market so that they produce at higher prices than their foreign competitors, it is clear that they can not sell abroad. The only way that the tariff could justify Mr. Harding's theory is that in restricting the home market to home manufacturers in a certain industry until that industry is established on a quantity production basis, the industry might then be able to produce at a lower cost than its foreign competitors and then enter foreign fields. This is merely the old infant industry theory carried into modern manufacturing conditions. But in the iron, steel, cotton, automobile, and most other trades, the United States is already on a quantity production basis and that excuse for a high tariff is not valid.

Mr. Harding must realize that the country is in desperate need of foreign markets and that anything he does that limits our foreign trade will be held against him. He must realize that the strength of the old tariff interests is much less even than it was when Mr. Taft signed the Payne-Aldrich bill. He must realize that there was no mandate in his election for a high tariff and that if he allows the tariff bill of his Administration to be the product of the brains of Messrs. Penrose, Fordney, and Mondell, whose ideas were fixed in a previous period of history, he will be running the same risk which Mr. Taft ran to his undoing.

Mr. Hoover before the Chamber of Commerce of the United States also advocated a higher tariff. The public undoubtedly would trust his opinion on the dividing line between a selfish and softening tariff and a productive and uplifting one, and yet, even with his knowledge, the unfairness of a policy of closing our markets to others while trying to open their markets to us is likely to confront us with many difficulties.

Government Stimulation of Trade

SOME time ago Mr. Eugene Meyer, head of the War Finance Corporation, and Secretary Hoover, of the Department of Commerce, met with representatives of the cotton industry to organize for exports. This is one sign of several that under the Harding Administration the United States has entered a new era. Heretofore, in peace-times, the United States Government has not as a general policy coöperated with private individuals or groups to encourage foreign trade or to acquire opportunities for American investments or opportunities for Americans to locate industries abroad. The American attitude has generally been that such activity would be lending the power of the Government to special interests and that beyond the usual consular services and the protection of the lives and properties of Americans—and not always that—the Government should not go.

Eight years ago when Mr. Bryan asked the

American oil men if they had not gone to Mexico to make money, he meant to imply that any one who went outside the United States to make money was engaged in a pursuit in which the United States Government could take no interest. A very large part of the American public were inclined to feel that way. Mr. Knox's attempt at government coöperation with American industry in foreign fields was dubbed "dollar diplomacy" and was not popular. We held as one of our grievances against the Germans during the war that the German Foreign Office with the army and navy behind it were too close behind the German traveling salesman. There has in the past been a fairly wide feeling in the United States that the British Government, through its Foreign Office and Board of Trade, took a sufficient interest in foreign trade to justify calling Great Britain a selfish and imperialistic country. There was a distinct moral difference in the American's mind between having a department actively stimulating foreign trade, which was Britain's main industry, and in having a department stimulating agriculture, which was our largest industry. But since the war American interest in foreign trade, in oil supplies in other lands, and so forth, have changed the American point of view.

President Harding in his speech to Congress, for example, seemed to turn to the Knox point of view or the British point of view—that the Government stimulation of trade was not only proper but also highly advisable. He said:

"There is little sentiment in the trade of the world. Trade can and ought to be honorable, but it knows no sympathy. While the delegates of the nations at war were debating peace terms at Paris, and while later we debated our part in completing the peace, commercial agents of other nations were opening their lines and establishing their outposts with a forward look to the morrow's trade. It was wholly proper and has been advantageous to them."

Under his Administration we are beginning a new era in which American foreign trade is to have government stimulation and coöperation. This is somewhat of a new game for us, and it behooves us to study very carefully the rules and implications of this new game.

For example, let us take the Consortium for China. The Consortium is a loan by private bankers of six different nations to the Government of China. The American bankers headed by J. P. Morgan & Company refused to enter this negotiation unless it had the approval of the State Department. In this case the State Department not only approved it, because it was the one method which seemed likely to save China's integrity, but, with the British, carried on a long correspondence with Japan to enable American bankers to have equal advantages with the Japanese. What does all this imply? If the Chinese Government should wilfully break the terms of the loan, is the American Government morally committed by its approval and insistence on the loan to try to get the Chinese Government to keep its bargain? In such an effort if diplomacy failed should force be used? Does government aid in obtaining contracts imply government aid in seeing that they are carried out?

Is it proper for the diplomatic offices of a country to try and arrange trade contracts for American firms? If so, how much effort or pressure is it proper to use? If it is proper for a government to help raise a loan for a foreign country on condition that the money so raised be spent in buying American manufactures, would it be proper for a minister through the State Department to prevent such a loan if American trade were not flourishing in such a country?

Honorable Trade

AS MR. HARDING said, trade should be honorable. Likewise government aid to trade should be honorable and proper.

But exactly what is honorable and proper in foreign trade in our estimation? Certainly our point of view is different than it used to be. But do we know exactly where we stand, and if so, do we have the same conceptions as our neighbors?

Already certain problems of this kind have come up. For example, in the correspondence between the United States and Great Britain in regard to the oil resources of Mesopotamia the American Government contended that in mandate countries equal opportunity should be offered to all peoples—that the subjects or citizens of the mandatory powers should have no preference. The British agreed to this principle, but pointed out that in the Philippines under our control a law was passed pre-

venting any one except a citizen or corporation of the United States from the developing of oil properties. This Philippine law still stands, while Mr. Hughes sends a "firm note" to the Dutch protesting against a similar law of theirs in Sumatra.

There are a good many questions of this kind which the American public must face with fairness if the United States is to succeed in entering the field of foreign trade, development, and investment with the respect and good-will of all competitors.

Trends of Socialism

EIGHT years ago when Mr. Wilson was beginning his Presidency, foreign affairs were of negligible interest—except, perhaps, Mexico. Now practically every problem that comes before the Harding Administration is directly or indirectly dependent on our foreign relations. Our fiscal policy depends on whether Europe is to pay us or not; our prosperity depends on whether Europe will buy or not. We can not look at economic questions from a Continental point of view. We must take a world view. It is necessary not only that we reach a new normal activity, but that Europe gets off a convalescing-from-war basis.

One of the chief characteristics of war is that it is unprofitable and that it is waged with little regard to money cost.

The fundamental and limiting consideration in modern business is that it must be profitable to continue, and it is therefore conducted with great regard for money cost.

In war every ounce of energy must be centralized on one direction regardless of cost.

In reconstruction every ounce of energy must be utilized with regard to cost and profit regardless of the direction of its utilization.

Consequently the methods and arrangements most useful in winning the war are fundamentally opposed to success in reconstruction. Centralization and socialization were necessary in the war. Decentralization and the return to individual initiative are in order now.

Socialization got its greatest, although by no means its first, great stimulus during the war. In Germany, which had long been organized for war, centralized-socialism had made great advances prior to 1914. Theoretically government ownership or direction in any industry means that the industry would be run to serve all the people, and that service to the public and not profit to the individual would be its aim. This is why socialization continues to make a strong appeal. But in practice there have developed two difficulties. The first is that without the incentive of private profit and surrounded by the necessary restrictions of government work the workers and managers of industry lapse into a "government gait" which produces poor results. The second trouble is that well-organized groups are apt to use various forms of government ownership and control as cloaks under which they can mulct the rest of the public. The leaders of German industry before the war were quite as content as the German workingman with the degree of state socialism under the Kaiser because the Government's help to the worker was sufficient to keep him satisfied, while the Government's help to the favored industrial magnates went far to ensure them great wealth. The war has not changed the conception in Germany. Hugo Stinnes's ideas are not essentially different from Albert Ballin's, or the Deutsche Bank.

In Great Britain before the war the Government never stood behind an interlocking trust system such as the cartel system of Germany, but during the war it took under its centralized control most of the great activities of the country. It is getting rid of them as fast as it can—but not without difficulty. The coal miners, for example, with the same idea that actuated the German industrial magnate —namely, that if the Government controlled their industry they could control the Government's action toward them—tried to drive the British Government to nationalize the mines. This effort to stop the processes of decentralization failed. In the United States the battleground was the railroads instead of the coal-mines. The railroad workers tried first to perpetuate Government operation, failing that, they made a stand in favor of government operation to the extent of having the Government fix the items of operation that affected them—i. e. wages, hours, conditions of work, etc. In that they also failed to the extent that the government railroad labor boards refused to go farther than to announce certain general principles. This result in the railroad field is indicative of the trend of affairs in the United States away from war socialization.

The United States, Great Britain, and Germany are the three largest industrial

countries in the world. In the first two the trend of events is at present very strongly toward the reliance upon the stimulus of individual profit to make industry successful without government operation or ownership. The progress of this tendency in Great Britain as well as here is of the greatest importance to our prosperity.

The United States Willing to Disarm

THERE are three big navies in the world, the American, the British, and the Japanese. The cost of maintaining them is an extremely onerous burden in every case. There is no reason for any one of the three navies being as large as they are except that the navies of the other two are as large as they are. Mr. Harding has said that the United States is willing to meet the other nations half way in any reduction of armaments. There is evidence that the British are of the same mind, and it is presumed that Japan would likewise be willing. The situation resolves itself into which one of the three will invite the coöperation of the others. Mr. Harding has intimated also that he might call a conference to discuss the limitation of armament. It would be most fitting that the United States, the most powerful and least threatened, should take this step.

A naval rivalry between the United States and Great Britain can hardly be founded on any reasoned set of facts. No conceivable British navy could prevent the United States from attacking Canada or could blockade the long coast of the United States sufficiently to keep American cruisers from interrupting the flow of commerce to England in the Atlantic. On the other hand no conceivable American Navy could control the narrow waters around Great Britain and prevent her getting food from the Continent. Such being the case both sides might as well reduce their costs and continue in the assumption of the last hundred years that there would be no quarrel, an assumption to which Great Britain testified by maintaining an undefended Canadian border and to which the United States testified by building her fleet without reference to Great Britain. If, as happened, we had other reasons for enlarging our Navy from the old standard there is no reason why Great Britain should distrust us any more than we distrusted her. The simplest method for both is to fix some parity which will not overtax either treasury and maintain that.

If that were done it would be reasonable to expect the Japanese to limit their building to maintaining the relation they now hold to the other two navies. If they should refuse they would be in the unenviable position which Germany put herself in when she refused the naval holiday suggested by Great Britain. She would, moreover, inevitably arouse the people of Australia, Canada, and the United States, if not the British as well, to a grave suspicion of her intentions. As the Japanese have no hostile design, such an alienation of the English-speaking people merely to satisfy the expensive vanity of a competition with them in naval armament would seem an impossibility on the part of a shrewd nation like Japan.

There have been many speeches of late in Congress concerning a reduction in naval armament, most of them reasonable in spirit and calculated to aid the cause they advocate. There are some, however, notably one of Representative W. Bourke Cockran which will tend in the other direction. Mr. Cockran and his followers plan to have the United States notify the world that it must disarm on penalty of having the United States "outarm" any other nation, and in the further penalty of having us demand full payment for all money owed us immediately from any country that will not surrender its sovereignty to us in this matter. If Mr. Cockran thinks we lent the Allies money during the war like a crooked money lender in order to foreclose our advantage immediately afterward, he is very wrong. Nor does the United States wish to announce as a national policy that we are prepared to whip the world singly or all combined. Mr. Cockran's proposal comes down to having the United States take the place of international bully that Germany recently relinquished.

If we put fair and friendly proposals to Great Britain and Japan we shall get results. There is no other way to attack the problem consistent either with our own character or with any prospect of success.

Labor Policies in England and America

IN THE United States the miners' unions in both the anthracite and bituminous fields have been strong and vigorous bodies, but they have never gotten the grip on the American coal industry which the British

miners achieved over the British industry. In Great Britain the miners have been strong enough to carry into practice their schemes of limitation of output while in the United States they have lacked either the strength or desire to do this.

With this contrast in mind it is interesting to compare the way in which these two coal industries survived the particularly difficult conditions following the war. In 1913, the British coal exports were more than 73 million tons. In 1920, the exports were a little less than 25 million tons—about one third the prewar tonnage. In 1914, American coal exports were less than one million tons. In 1920, they were about eight million tons.

The explanation of this contrast is given very lucidly in an article by J. Ellis Barker in the English *World's Work:*

The cost of coal, as of most commodities, consists chiefly of the wages paid to the workers. British coal is more than twice as dear as American coal.

It is a well-known fact that both general wages and miners' wages are far higher in America than in England. It seems, therefore, anomalous that the wage cost of coal per ton should be much higher in England than in America. This apparent anomaly is due to the comparatively low productivity of English labor.

Some months ago Sir John Cadman, the president of the British Institute of Mining Engineers, gave in an address before that body the following most interesting figures:

Between 1900 and 1916 the coal production in the United Kingdom dropped from 298 tons per worker to 263 tons. During the same period in Australia it rose from 457 tons to 471 tons, and in the United States from 494 tons to 731 tons.

Since 1916 British coal production per person per year has declined to less than 200 tons. It is, therefore, only natural that, notwithstanding higher wages, coal is far cheaper in the United States, Canada, and Australia than it is in England.

The American miner's superiority in coal production is even greater than it appears from these figures. If we wish to compare with scientific exactness coal production in England and in America, we should not look at production per worker per year, as is usually done, but should take note of output per worker per day. This comparison is as follows:—In 1918 the British miner produced per day 0.80, the American miner (bituminous) 3.78 tons and (anthracite) 2.29 tons. . . .

The science of coal-mining has mightily advanced during the last few decades. Coal production per worker has rapidly increased in the United States and elsewhere through the introduction of labor-saving machinery, such as coal-cutting machines which have abolished much manual labor.

The third volume of the Coal Industry Commission Report, published in London in 1919, gave the following extraordinary result: Between 1903 and 1916 the output of coal per cutting machine in the United Kingdom *decreased* from 8,159 tons to 7,601 tons. During the same period the yearly output of the American machines *increased* from 10,457 to 15,638 tons.

ENGLAND 1903: 8,159 tons — UNITED STATES 10,457 tons — ENGLAND 1916: 7,601 tons — UNITED STATES 15,638 tons

The output per coal-cutting machine has declined in the United Kingdom while it has increased in the United States

In studying the reaction against unionism which is so evident in the United States at present, union leaders might well consider such contrasts as these. Has not the ability of the

British miners' unions to carry out their policies been one of the chief causes of ruining the chance for a decent living of the very men whom it strove to protect? Has not limitation of output so weakened the industry in its ability to compete as to threaten its ability to employ all the workers at any wage? Has not the fact that the American unions were not strong enough to weaken similarly the American coal industry been a great advantage to the American coal-miner by giving him seven million tons of coal to mine for export?

This is not an argument for the abolition of the unions but an argument for the definite practice of a policy of stimulating production. Mr. Gompers some months ago announced such a policy for the A. F. of L. in these words:

> In order to obtain increased operating efficiency I should call in the union heads just as I should call in an industrial engineer, but even more frequently and on a more intimate basis. This would prevent dissatisfaction among my men by making wages always the last reduction instead of the first. *I should know as an employer that high wages do not mean increased cost of production but, on the contrary, are the greatest possible incentive toward the invention of better machinery and tools in order that the worker's power may be extended to an almost indefinite degree.* I should know that cheap men do not mean a cheap output. Wherever the human element is cheap you will find the methods and means of production in the most backward condition. I should pay high wages and I should endeavor by every possible means to eliminate the wastes from my plant, and to gain the maximum of efficiency without brutal driving.
>
> *There is an impression that the unions are against machinery, are against the better ways of doing business, are against scientific management, and in favor of stringing out every job to the greatest possible extent. That, it is true, was the attitude of the old country. It is not the attitude of the American Labor movement.*
>
> The unions at the time opposed the introduction of machinery because both the workers and the employers saw labor-saving machines not as aids to production but as substitutes for men. I am in favor of every possible mechanical device that can substitute for human labor, but if the employer looks at the machine solely as an instrument to take employment from men, he is bound to fail just as are the workers who oppose the machinery because apparently it is going to cost them their jobs. That is the short-sighted view. The workers can break the machines, and they can destroy the blue-prints but the idea remains, and if it is a good idea it will be put into force. Otherwise we bar the economic progress of the world and encourage instead of prevent waste.

The unions of the A. F. of L. have not made as much progress in action as Mr. Gompers has in theory, but none the less, their leadership is better than that abroad.

If the workers and the employers both strive for production, there will be profits to divide. If then the employers do not divide fairly, there is room for a fighting union to try to force them to do so. But when there are no profits, as is the case with the British coal-mines and with the American and Canadian railroads, labor is forced either to change its policy toward greater production or else advocate the nationalization of the industry in order that the losses may be paid out of taxation.

An Oil Rush to the Canadian Arctic

A WELL advertised rush has started to a new oil field in the Mackenzie River country in Canada, close to the Arctic Circle, and seems likely to have many characteristics and result in many experiences similar to those of the gold rush to the Klondike in 1898 and 1899. But this latest oil rush has characteristics unique in the history of such stampedes. For one thing, airplanes are playing a part in it and modern tractors are being used to haul flat boats over the portages that are necessary in the two thousand mile journey by river from the railway at Peace River Landing, Alberta.

The immediate cause of this rush was the "discovery" of oil last summer by the Imperial Oil Company of Canada, a subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. During the last two summers this company has had geologists and drillers searching for the source of the natural oil springs noted by Sir Alexander Mackenzie nearly a century and a half ago, when he discovered the river which bears his name. Last August a "gusher" was brought in by these hardy Argonauts forty miles south of Fort Norman on the river, about 450 miles from its mouth at the Arctic Ocean and only 150 miles south of the Arctic Circle. A new oil field had been discovered to help meet the world's growing demand for petroleum products.

That a Standard Oil Company went in search of this oil is a good indication that some way will be found to get it out, provided the size of the field justifies the expenditure necessary to build a pipe line or establish other means of transporting it. Herein is an im-

portant difference between a gold rush beyond the frontiers of civilization and an oil rush that goes farther than the well established lines of transportation. An unlimited quantity of oil at the Arctic Circle is of no value to any one, unless it can be brought to the markets of the world, and it is of no value to the owner unless it can be carried at a cost that leaves him a profit when sold in competition with oil from more accessible fields. That is why the development of many foreign oil fields waits upon the advance in price of petroleum products.

But these considerations do not retard adventurous souls from booking up many months ahead all the available passage space on the Peace River and Mackenzie River paddle-wheel steamers for the two or three short months of river traffic which opened in May. This rush for oil into the frozen North is likely to be a centre of interest for some time to come. It has more romance and adventure in it than any other oil boom we have had yet. Use by the Standard Oil Company of airplanes to transport men and materials into this North country adds a distinctly modern flavor to it that stirs the imagination.

What 3 Per Cent. Immigration Means

THE Immigration Bill of this Congress bases its restrictions upon the theory of allowing from each foreign country only 3 per cent. of the people of that nationality already in the country. The first result of the passage of such a bill would be the limitation of the total immigration into the country to a maximum of about 1,200,000 people, or 3 per cent. of the 40,000,000 of foreign origin already here. But not every nation in Europe would send its 3 per cent. so the total would certainly be less than 1,200,000 even though more than that number as a whole wished to come.

Because the 3 per cent. restriction works by countries and not as a total it controls the future by a certain relation to the past. For example, under the 3 per cent. clause the numbers which could legally come from the different countries of Europe, on a pre-war basis, next year would be as follows:

United Kingdom	77,206
Germany	75,040
Russia	51,974
Austria	50,117
Italy	40,294
Sweden	19,956
Norway	12,116
Denmark	5,449
Switzerland	3,745
Netherlands	3,624
France	3,523
Greece	3,038
Rumania	1,978
Turkey in Asia	1,792
Portugal	1,781
Belgium	1,482
Turkey in Europe	967
Spain	663
Bulgaria	345
Montenegro	161
Serbia	139

While the system may not be especially sound from a theoretical point of view, the results according to these figures would be good, for of the least valuable immigrants for us, such as the Polish Jews and certain slavs from the states which used to be the Austrian Empire, the numbers would be fairly small. While from those countries from which our best immigration has come the number allowed would in most cases cover all who want to come.

Perhaps a larger number of Germans might want to come than we should like, considering their separatist and hyphenated tendencies, but that danger will be met by the fact that the German Government has restricted emigration more effectively than we have restricted immigration. Also, for the good of the United States, it would be better not to have a heavy Irish immigration now, for the people leaving that unhappy country now leave it with a grievance which will probably be permanent in their minds, regardless of what happens in Ireland. This grievance in the Irish mind modifies and often overcomes the feeling of full and undivided loyalty to the United States.

The general objections which have been raised to this bill are that:

1. The present law restricts immigration sufficiently.

2. There is no flood of immigration threatening us to warrant so drastic a measure.

3. Restriction in general violates the conception of the United States as an asylum for the downtrodden and unhappy of the world.

4. That further restriction will produce an embarrassment in the raw labor market.

Those in favor of it contend that the mission of the United States is not to be an asylum in either sense of the word; that all men are not born free and with equal rights to a place in the United States, but that it is the right and

duty of the United States to welcome only those whom it believes capable of fulfiling acceptably the duties of its citizenship.

There is a very wide-spread feeling that our processes of assimilation were not adequate to the immigration that came in and that even if we lag a little in the rush of developing the country it were better to stand this rather than continue to fail in the assimilation process. It is not likely that the 3 per cent. law would remain unchanged indefinitely, but for the time being it seems a sensible and effective plan to meet a present and pressing situation.

Our Needs with Respect to an Army

THE war demonstrated certain things about our Army:

1. Under a skeletonized peace strength system we have no units properly equipped to fight—witness the period necessary for training the 1st Division for active combat;

2. To raise a large army, conscription is the only fair and effective method;

3. A large army can be raised and trained very quickly if the officers and equipment are ready;

4. To equip a large army quickly a plan for the mobilization of industry to war affairs must be prepared beforehand.

Since the Civil War our Army has engaged in the Indian Campaigns, the Spanish War, the Relief of Peking, the Peace Expedition into Mexico, and the World War. In all of these but the World War well-equipped expeditionary forces were all that were required. For anything in the future of similar character four divisions of infantry (80,000 men) with the proper other arms would in all probability be sufficient, but we should have at least four divisions at full strength and in perfect condition ready at all times. If we should get into another large war we should have to rely on conscription as we did in the World War to provide the men. At present there is no law granting to the President the power to apply conscription in case of war. There certainly should be such a law on the statute books so that the War Department might know its provisions and have plans ready for carrying them out.

Before the United States entered the World War the Council of National Defense drew up a plan for a census of all plants capable of war work and a system for keeping these plants informed and prepared for what they would have to do in case of war. This plan called for very little expense. Had it been in operation it would have saved millions of dollars and months of delay. Some such plan should be inaugurated now.

We can have a small but highly trained and completely ready force for expeditionary work, and the plans for the mobilization of men and industry for a national war for very little if any more than the cost of the system of skeleton units which are not immediately ready for any service and no provision at all for a great struggle.

The Secretary of War has announced that, General Pershing is to be the head of an "expeditionary" staff ready for instant action. For possible small expeditions this would imply at least the four prepared full strength divisions mentioned. For the possibility of a larger war it would imply that a plan for the mobilization of men and material will be on the statute books, for not even General Pershing can make preparations to lead an army unless he knows what resources he can count on and that can only be fixed in advance by law.

The President is committed to a voluntary training policy similar to that which Mr. Garrison suggested when he was Secretary of War. How much value this will be to the national defence depends upon how many young men volunteer for the training. The theory that the support of the country by taxes is compulsory but that the defence thereof is optional, is hardly tenable, but nevertheless if some young men realize the obligation to prepare for the possible necessity of fighting for their country it will be that much gain.

The Farmer's Choice

THERE has been a continuous agitation for many years in the United States to arrest the drift of population from the country to the city and to reinstate the good old days when the bulk of the population lived on the land. The slogan "back to the farm" has been a part of almost every campaign for the betterment of the country for the last twenty years.

Good roads have been built, the rural schools improved, the farmer has been taught better methods, has been urged to buy more machinery, and has been comforted by the telephone and the automobile, while his

wife has been given the blessings of running water. Yet despite all these the drift from farm to town still goes on.

It is usually considered that the farmer boy leaves the farm despite the improvements offered him there. Perhaps, on the other hand, it is because of them. In the good old days when the farmer had no modern implements to work with he could not raise any great surplus beyond the wants of his family and himself. Seventy or eighty per cent. of the population had to stay on the farm to raise the food and clothing for themselves and the other twenty or thirty per cent.

If anything like that proportion were on the farms now and properly equipped, they would produce two or three times as much as the market demands. At present every time one boy goes back to the land two others have got to go to town to make a market for the farm boy's products.

In France, where the production per man on the land is low, the bulk of the population is still on the land. In the United States, where the per capita production of the farmer is high, the bulk of the population is in the towns and cities, and the more American farmers produce per capita the larger proportion of our population will go into the cities. In one sense the farmer may look upon every man who leaves the land as vanishing as a competitor to appear in town as a customer.

It is at least a tenable theory that the competition of industry for labor has been the chief cause of making the American farmer one of the best producers per capita in the world. He has had, it is true, the advantages of constantly using new and fertile land and he has often abused that advantage. But he has also had the advantage of constantly improved methods of getting more results per hour of work, and he has made good use of these advantages. If labor had been continuously plentiful and cheap, he would not have been forced to try so hard to get so much done with little labor. But as the competition of industry forced him to get on with little labor he had to devise ways and means to make farm labor effective.

As a matter of fact, despite the drift away from the farms there has been no decrease in the farming population. There are as many farmers in the United States as there ever were —more than ever before in fact. It is only the proportion of farmers to the other parts of the population that has shrunk, and this phenomenon, whether it be good or bad, is the inevitable result of the improved labor-saving methods and appliances by which the modern American farmer works as well as the attraction of the high wages of organized industry.

The apprehension with which the relative shrinkage of our farming population to the whole has been viewed by many people is based upon two conceptions. The first is that the small landowner, being an independent producer, most nearly fits the picture of an ideal citizen of this Republic and consequently any even relative shrinkage in his numbers and influence is a detriment to the body politic. The second conception is based upon the belief that this country should run no risk of having to depend on any outside sources for food. The country instinctively feels that it should be independent of the rest of the world in all the essential raw products, both agricultural and industrial.

If we are content to merely make sure of raising our own food, we can accomplish that, although at considerable expense to the general population, by putting on a sufficient tariff to practically stop food imports. That would tend to curtail the foreign markets for our produce, leave no room for farmer's activities beyond supplying the domestic market.

The other alternative is to continue to improve our methods of production and to begin to improve our costs of handling, marketing, and shipping so that the American farmer can not only raise food here below the price at which any other people can deliver it here, but also that he can raise it and ship it on a favorable competitive basis to the markets of the world. The only way to increase the proportion of our agricultural population is to have an agricultural industry that is exporting more and more each year.

As a part of such a programme the farm organizations are now urging lower rail rates and so eminent an authority as Mr. Hoover agrees that they are necessary, not only to admit of our exporting but even to prevent foreign staples from coming here in large quantities. As soon as lower rates can be granted with safety to the railroads they should be granted. The true path to greatness is not to shrink behind protection into production for domestic purposes only, but to make the best effort of which we are capable to increase our agricultural exports.

BUYING SECURITIES ON THE INSTALMENT PLAN

Every month in this part of the magazine the WORLD'S WORK *prints an article on investments and the lessons to be learned therefrom*

MORE and more frequently the Investment Editor is being asked if he approves of the purchase of securities on the instalment plan. He does, provided they are good securities and purchased through reliable houses. If purchased through unreliable houses the investor may lose money even though the securities be good. So the first consideration is the character of the house.

These frequent inquiries regarding the partial payment method of buying stocks and bonds come largely from those who made their first investments in Liberty Bonds that way during the war. These people have been surprised to see how much they saved and invested during the war. They now want to do the same thing again.

Unfortunately for them a good many of the houses that are now advertising to sell securities on the partial payment plan are not reliable houses. This plan affords an easy way to operate a "bucket-shop"—that is to take orders and not execute them; or if they are executed, to immediately sell the securities for a dummy account. There is reason to believe that several houses are carrying on the partial payment business in this way. They are betting against their customers that they will be able to buy the securities in the market at lower prices than their customers are paying for them before they have to make delivery of them to their customers. Meanwhile these houses charge the customer interest on his unpaid balance although they have employed none of their capital in the operation at all. That is what makes this business so profitable to such houses and explains why so many of them of doubtful reputation have gone into it. It is true that some of them have considerable capital back of them and are able to make good on their deliveries even though the market goes against them. But the danger to the investor is that such houses influence him to buy securities which they believe are going down or which are of such speculative character that they fluctuate widely in the market.

There is a partial payment house in Chicago dealing largely in New York Stock Exchange securities, which loads the customer with a fee that adds 4 per cent. to the market value of the securities. With this large profit, this house is able to employ accomplished advertising writers and to do extensive advertising wherever its advertising account is acceptable. It is reported to be doing a large business, which is another evidence of the growing desire on the part of the public to purchase securities on the instalment plan. It recommends stocks that are highly speculative and not suitable for purchase as investments under any consideration, certainly not on the instalment plan. At the head of the house is a man who was previously engaged in the get-rich-quick promotion field.

Reputable houses which have gone out after partial payment business in the past and have handled it on a basis which they considered fair to the investor, or in accordance with the rules of the New York Stock Exchange governing this class of business, have made little or no profit on it. The detail work in connection with the instalment accounts has absorbed all the commission. But to-day more and more investment houses are seeing the need of this kind of service for our new investors, and the reliable channels through which good securities can be bought in this way are steadily growing in number. This is one of the important developments in the investment business. There are to-day not only reputable houses that will sell securities on the instalment plan if a customer asks them to do so—most of them will do that—but there are reliable houses handling practically every class of investment security that are now making a feature of this method of selling and are inviting investors to buy that way.

The importance of this can hardly be over-

estimated. It is a way of bringing good securities to our new investors. It is one of the most effective means of combating the get-rich-quick promotion evil. The average man or woman starts buying the plausible promoter's offerings because they think they have not enough money to make a real investment. If good investments are made as easy for them to buy as Liberty Bonds, they will not have as much money for the promoter. The head of a large investment house which has sold bonds on the instalment plan for some years says that in his opinion, if the partial payment plan were used by all reputable investment bankers and banks with bond departments, to the utmost of their ability regardless of cost, the field left for the "Blue Sky" promoter would be very small.

In addition to the reliable houses that are now offering to sell bonds, farm mortgages, real estate mortgages, and investment stocks on the partial payment plan, there are also the local banks throughout the country through which the investor can buy good marketable securities in the same way he bought Liberty Bonds. Most banks are willing to buy good securities for their customers on small initial payments, advance the balance themselves and take the customer's note for it, holding the security as collateral until the note is paid off.

It is an excellent thing for an investor who has been attracted by the advertisement of a partial payment house about which he knows nothing to consult with his local banker. Let him take the plan of the partial payment house to his banker to be analyzed. The banker may know the reputation of the house. An analysis of the plan may show that the investor is paying more than he should for his securities. He may be entering into a speculative operation in the stock market under the belief that he is investing. A country banker in Pennsylvania says, "We have been approached many times by men asking how to buy stocks on margin and in some cases customers have come with advertisements outlining beautiful partial payment plans. Of every one of these customers we inquired why they desired to buy on margin, and in every particular instance we have finally purchased sound securities to the amount desired, and the customers have placed them as collateral for notes and have gradually paid off these notes from month to month or from quarter to quarter until they were paid."

HOW THE COUNTRY BANKER CAN HELP

THE country banker can become an important element in the investment business in this way. He already has the machinery in his loan department to handle these partial payment accounts. He can render this service for the new investors of his community much easier and cheaper than the investment house can handle it over a widely distributed field. He can interest people in this method of investing where the large city banking house can not reach them. He is on the ground where he can talk to the people, and they know him. He is in the best position to fight the "Blue Sky" promoter. This Pennsylvania banker tells of a farmer in his community who wanted to invest $2,000. A neighbor had been talking to him about a certain oil stock that had been painted in glowing colors. The farmer came to see the banker. Before he left he had been persuaded to buy $500 Third Liberty Loan bonds, $500 Dominion of Canada bonds, 5 shares of Standard Oil of New Jersey preferred stock, and 5 shares of Northern Pacific stock. Within less than a year this small country bank purchased for its customers $90,550 worth of bonds and $176,000 par value of good grade stocks. This was rendering a valuable service to the community. The country banks can be the advance agents of the reliable investment banking houses. In the years to come we are going to see a larger investment business done in this country than ever before, and the country banks should be an important means to gathering together small savings for conservative investment. They are the best friends that a small investor can appeal to in connection with partial payment purchases.

A PERSONAL INTERVIEW WITH CHARLES E. HUGHES

Showing the Character and Manners of the Secretary of State with Definite Conclusions about His Attitude on Great Issues of the Day

By WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD

"GOOD morning, Crawford, I am glad to see you again," said Charles Evans Hughes, rising from his desk and extending his hand to me in friendly greeting. "Just wait a minute, I have some very important matters to take up with Secretary Fletcher, and then I'll be with you." While he was talking with the Assistant Secretary I busied myself looking around the room to see if any changes indicating his personality had been made in the office since Secretary Colby's departure. Everything seemed as Colby had left it. I could get no clue here as to the man. Then I gazed into the serious, intelligent face of the new Secretary, attempting to solve the mystery of his mind, and the probable impression that his personality would make on the State Department. Would he bring its work up to the standard set by Jefferson and Hay and Root and other distinguished men who had held this portfolio? I observed the intentness and alertness with which he listened to Secretary Fletcher. I caught the covert smile that played momentarily on his face as he listened to Secretary Fletcher's statement. I observed the determined set of his jaw, the gestures that he made with his hands, and his entire grasp of the situation, though he had been in office only three days.

Several things were indicated to me during this brief period of observation. Incidentally these observations, made while he was talking to Secretary Fletcher and lasting during our entire interview, only corroborated previous opinions of the man, based on an acquaintance begun when he was conducting the gas inquiry in New York many years ago, and I was a reporter, covering the assignment. First, it was evident that he was quick at making decisions. Secretary Fletcher took five minutes to outline his plan to Secretary Hughes. On its conclusion Secretary Hughes rested his head upon his hand for a moment, incidentally, a characteristic movement of his; a far-away look came in his eyes as if he was deeply thinking, then, turning to Fletcher, he told him with conciseness and clearness his conclusion upon the subject that had been presented. It took him just one minute and a half to outline his plan.

Second, I determined that Hughes would be *the* Secretary of State. Small things frequently give evidence of the character of the man, and the certain finality in the tone of his voice indicated that he had reached a final de-

cision and that the decision arrived at was that of Charles Evans Hughes.

Third, I determined that he is not a cold, metal machine, scintillating with brightness, but devoid of humanness as he is popularly supposed to be. After he had finished with Secretary Fletcher, with real boyishness in his manner, he turned to me and said, "Well, Crawford, old man, what can I do for you?"

"Mr. Secretary, I came to see you on a dual mission: to congratulate you upon your well-deserved appointment to the premiership of our Cabinet, and to ask you for the courtesy of an interview for the WORLD'S WORK. I want to mix it with some biography and some character study, but I do not need to ask you about these last two, as I have known you for so many years, and as your record is so well known to the American people; I do, however, want to ask you about some of the things that will come before you for decision, in which the American people are very much interested."

"I am very busy now, Crawford, I have just been sworn in, and there are a thousand things waiting for me to do; besides, I have not had time to formulate or determine my plans yet. Can't you wait for a week or two and I may have something definite to tell you."

"I can, Mr. Secretary, but I am particularly anxious to be the first magazine writer to interview you as Secretary of State. Later on, if there are other things that you desire to tell me, the opinions of the Secretary of State are so important that the magazine will be pleased, at any time, to have a second story."

At this the Secretary smiled, and the expression of his face indicated that he thought that I must have recently "kissed the blarney stone," but he replied, "All right, go ahead, what do you want to know?"

"Mr. Secretary, recognizing that the opinions you express will be heralded over the country as our future foreign policy, I thought perhaps you might prefer to have time to carefully weigh these questions and write out your answers, therefore, I have prepared them in advance to submit to you, and I can call within a day or two at your convenience for your reply," said I, as I handed him the questions.

He took the list, glanced over it hurriedly, and smilingly replied, "There are two reasons why I do not think this is a good plan; in the first place, I am giving you this time now which I cannot spare, and I do not know when I would have time to write out formal replies to your questions. If you want to get an interview, you had better get it while you have the opportunity. Besides, I note that you have asked some very pertinent questions that I cannot answer specifically at present, and I would prefer to tell you in person my reasons for not doing so. You can readily understand that I cannot discuss questions involving international affairs in advance of their coming up for decision, and, further, it is highly probable that some of it would be dead news before the story would be published in the magazine. I would prefer to outline to you my general conception of the work and scope of the State Department, and how I would like to improve the service."

"Mr. Secretary, there are some points in these questions that you may be able to answer. Let me read them to you one at a time, and, of course, you can refuse to answer those that you do not deem wise to discuss."

He looked at the list again, then smiled and said, "I will discuss informally these questions with you, but would prefer not to be quoted. Your questions are so pertinent that it will be impossible to give you satisfactory answers. Let me suggest that we talk about some things that I can tell you."

And in the conversation that ensued he expressed himself as follows:

DIPLOMATIC CAREERS

OUR Diplomatic and Consular Service, their duties, importance, and possible methods of improvement. Their work is not understood and appreciated by the American people. The general opinion is that an appointment to a diplomatic post means an opportunity to wear a gold-braided uniform and attend society functions. In reality, the State Department is charged with a very important task of preserving the friendly relations between the United States and the rest of the world, and with furthering through our Consular Service our foreign trade. An American Ambassador is the *alter ego* of the United States Government at the court to which he is assigned. His duties are multifarious, engrossing, and extremely important. Errors and indiscretions on his part may involve us in war, and good judgment and diplomatic adroitness may prevent grave and serious misunderstanding. He explains America's position and shows her in her true light. He feels the popular pulse of the country to

which he is assigned, and by a judicious interpretation of this sentiment, may prevent the home government from taking unfortunate steps that would result in prejudice against America—no, I cannot give you specific instances because they are state secrets. Such being the case, it is necessary to select able and well-trained men for such important work, men particularly trained in the field of diplomacy. No business corporation makes a man its sales manager because he has succeeded as an engineer. He reaches this important position because he has shown through many years of successful endeavor, in the successive steps that lead up to it, his ability to fill the position with credit to himself and to the company. A man must be thoroughly trained in order to succeed in any line; this applies no less to diplomacy than it does to other work. The tasks to be accomplished are too important to be left to inexperienced hands, or to men chosen as a reward for political obligations. We need trained men in the Diplomatic and Consular Service and also in the State Department. An effort has been made in recent years to secure this end, something similar to the Civil Service, but the plan needs to be further elaborated and more definitely worked out in order to secure the best results and to secure the best men to fill these positions diplomatic careers must be made possible. The Service should be made so attractive and with such certain opportunity to rise that young men fitted for the work will choose this as their life profession just as they do the Army and Navy. It should be made certain that if he attends to his duties and shows the proper intelligence and adaptability, he will rise to the top. His past record and reputation may give him a prestige that will be of service to his country, but changes should not be made solely for political purposes. This also applies to the workers in the State Department in Washington. I have made practically no changes in the Department, certainly none for political reasons.

THE QUESTION OF DIPLOMATIC SALARIES

BY a process of eliminating the unfit and advancing the more capable as rapidly as their training and ability will justify, and by paying salaries commensurate with the necessary expense, it should be possible to secure within a few years a greatly improved diplomatic and consular service.

One of the things that militate against their improvement is the salary and allowances made to our foreign representatives. The expenses attached to these positions so far exceed the necessary expenditures that it makes it almost impossible for any one to accept a diplomatic post who does not possess independent means. In the early years of our Government when we were the first republic among a world of monarchies, when we represented republican simplicity in contrast to the pomp and ceremony of the Old World Courts, it was entirely feasible for our chiefs of missions to dwell in humble lodgings and to forego the usual expenditures attached to ambassadorial positions. But times have changed. We are now recognized as one of the most powerful and the richest nation of the world. As such the world expects our representatives to live in keeping with the dignity and power of his country. Therefore, it has become necessary for our missions to dig deep into their pockets to meet the deficiency. It is beneath the dignity of the United States Government to let some one else pay its bills. Some of our ministers are forced to pay more rent for their embassies than they receive as salary from the United States Government. Consequently, many men of brains and intelligence, men well versed in international law, and thoroughly capable of representing us with dignity and advantage to us, are prevented from accepting service with the Government because of their financial inability to stand the expense. Other Governments furnish their diplomatic representatives with embassies. We do it differently. If we have an embassy in the capital to which he is assigned, we give it to the head of the mission rent free. If not, he must furnish his own house. Consequently, most of the important diplomatic posts are only open to men of independent means. If we want to assure a first-class diplomatic service, with a certainty that young men of brains will join the corps, they must be certain that by diligence and application they can rise to the top in their chosen career and that they will not be deprived of accepting the highest honors that can come to them because of their lack of means properly to represent the Government. Incidentally, the State Department intends to lay stress on the advancement of capable men in the service to high diplomatic posts.

We will strive to increase the usefulness

of the State Department to the American citizen who travels abroad, or has trade relations in foreign fields. Both the diplomatic and consular service are at his command; the consular service to secure the necessary information for him concerning trade. It should and will be able to tell him the trade requirements, the trade customs, the credit system, the method of doing business, and the shipping directions in his particular field. We want to so systematize the service that its information is complete and readily accessible. It should, and shall be an element in increasing American foreign trade. The diplomatic service will protect him in his rights and assure him of an opportunity for an equal chance with citizens of other nationalities, to conduct his business without unjust discrimination.

In order to fulfil these duties best it is necessary to have complete coöperation and coördination between these two branches of the State Department and also with the Department of Commerce. They must all pull together for the good of America and for the advancement of American trade and for the protection of American citizens. I assure you that this necessary coöperation does and will continue to exist. And I desire that both the consular and diplomatic services be in closer touch with the Department in Washington, in receiving instructions as to policies and informing Washington of conditions at their posts.

MR. HUGHES' ATTITUDE ON VITAL ISSUES

AS A result of my interviews with Mr. Hughes and Mr. Fletcher, the Assistant Secretary, I draw the following conclusions as to the probable attitude to be taken by the State Department upon the leading questions which will come before it:

The League of Nations

The State Department is deeply concerned in arriving at the wisest course that will bring about a friendly and amicable world relationship, and will coöperate in any movement that will assure this result, without sacrificing American sovereignty. It hopes to arrive at an understanding with the other nations that will assure this end; whether it will be through a league of nations with such reservations as are necessary to protect America, through an association of nations, or through a world court is not yet determined. As the President made plain, the Senatorial resolution is merely the formal recognition of the fact that we are not at war with Germany; it is not a separate peace in the sense of dealing with Germany without the Allies. On the contrary, the Administration plan is to accept the Versailles Treaty, thereby standing with the Allies, but omitting to subscribe to the Covenant and certain other details inimicable to our interests. It is probable that during the visits of the foreign statesmen and diplomats who have been and are coming to America, a definite plan mutually satisfactory will be arranged between them and the President, the Secretary of State, and the leading members of the Senate. This adopted plan will be given the support of the Republican Party and its passage by Congress assured by the combination of the political strength of the Executive, of Congress, and the political bosses of the G. O. P.

Incidentally, the European Governments are prepared to make almost any concessions demanded by the United States in order to get her into the fold. The difficulty is to find a plan that will have the support of the different wings of the Republican Party on the League question. It is hard to mix oil and water, and equally hard to devise a scheme acceptable to Hughes, Taft, and Lodge, and at the same time to Borah and Johnson. I predict, however, that a conclusion will be reached very soon; probably before this story is published, and it is almost certain that it will include some form of a league of nations that will result in the coördination of the efforts of the world powers to secure a basis for the settlement of international disputes. It will be an honest effort to secure a lasting world peace. I strongly suspect that it will be the League of Nations much modified, amended, and emasculated.

The Irish Question

There is no probability that the State Department will in any way interfere in the differences between the British Government and Ireland. It is a question that must be settled between themselves. Great Britain is a friendly power and we have no right to meddle in her internal affairs.

German Indemnity

The United States demands no indemnity; but she has already stated very positively that she will back up the Allies in their demands.

She, however, will make no suggestions to the Allies, as to the amount of indemnity they shall demand of Germany. Do not construe this to mean that the United States intends to withdraw from a participation in the settlement of world affairs, because she is not at present a member of the League. In fact, the State Department will insist that she is entitled to a voice in their settlement. Under Hughes there will be a growing participation of the United States in determining all international questions.

Soviet Russia

Any hope that the radicals may have of recognition by the State Department of Soviet Russia may as well be abandoned. Mr. Hughes is unalterably opposed to any government that is not based on the will of the people, and that does not assure stability, economic tranquillity, and the recognition of property rights. If a government should be formed in Russia that filled these requirements, that had a sound economic basis, recognized the rights of the Russian peoples, and offered protection to the interests of foreigners, Mr. Hughes would gladly welcome Russia's return to the society of nations.

Disarmament

Disarmament would save the Government an immense amount of money. It would reduce taxation that has become a burden to most of the world, and would restore to economic uses a vast amount of labor and material, which would tend to lessen the present economic crisis, but in order to accomplish this much-desired result we must not fail to fully protect ourselves. We have not reached the millennial age, where the lion and the lamb will lie down together. A universal peace and brotherhood has not been established and it is absolutely necessary for our peace and protection that the United States shall continue to build battleships, and to keep our Navy equal to that of the great powers of the earth. If they all disarm—and the United States would be willing to meet them more than half way—well and good; but it is neither the part of wisdom nor prudence for the United States alone to begin disarmament.

Mexico

There is a strong probability that Mexico will be recognized as soon as the Obregon Government has given concrete evidence that they have a stable government which will recognize the rights of American citizens, and has uprooted the seeds of Bolshevism that have been prevalent in Mexico for some time.

Transfer Between Diplomatic and Consular Service

It is highly probable that positions in the diplomatic and consular services will be made interchangeable. Young men in one branch of the State Department who have shown particular adaptability for the other branch will be transferred to it. An effort will be made to draw the work of these two departments more closely together, to synchronize and harmonize their endeavors, to make the consuls more or less diplomats, and the members of the missions valuable adjuncts to our foreign trade.

Restrictions on Foreign Travel

The State Department has been much maligned and misunderstood concerning the issuance of passports. During the war it was necessary to have them strictly regulated to avoid allowing alien enemies to return to their native land. Since the removal of the wartime restrictions of travel, the difficulty of securing passports has been largely eliminated. Some of the foreign governments, however, demand passports before allowing any one to enter their territory, consequently, the inconvenience to the traveler is not rightly attributed to the State Department, but, it has determined to make the burdens as light as possible. The rapidity and ease of securing passports under the new system will remove much of the criticism that has heretofore attached to this department, one of the most common points of contact between it and the average citizen.

South America

The State Department is particularly anxious to have a better understanding between the United States Government and the South American Republics; to draw more closely the ties that bind North and South America, and to increase our trade relations with our southern neighbors. In order to accomplish this end, it desires to remove all cause for suspicion regarding the intentions of the United States concerning them, and to assure them, by our attitude, of our desire for their friendship. One of the things already done has been the

passage of the Colombian Treaty, which calls for the payment to Colombia of her demands for the loss of Panama.

Unity of English-Speaking Races

The State Department is in accord with the sentiment expressed by President Harding in his letter to John A. Stewart, chairman of the Board of Governors of the Sulgrave Institution, in which he said in part: "Destiny has made it a historical fact that the English-speaking peoples have been the instrument through which civilization has been flung to the far corners of the globe. I am impressed not so much by the glory that English-speaking peoples may take to themselves as by the profound duties that God has thrust upon them—duties of being restrained, tolerant, and just. These duties will find their greatest recognition in a united, unshakable friendship and understanding and oneness of purpose, not for the exclusion from brotherhood of others, but for a better brotherhood flowing toward others."

THE CHARACTER OF MR. HUGHES

I BELIEVE that the wishes and aspirations of Secretary Hughes concerning the State Department will be realized. Mr. Hughes is a driving force, a veritable dynamo of action. He will get results. He is a strong man. He will impress his energy and aims for the Department in Washington, on the diplomatic corps in the field, and on the consular service, so that you may certainly expect a great increase in the efficiency, availability, and importance of the work accomplished by the State Department.

He is a clear thinker and a cogent reasoner. His plans will be practical, easily applied, and will improve the work of the State Department and make it of more service to the country. His intention of giving the service men a chance for rapid advancement and an assurance of an opportunity for a career will put new life into the men in the foreign field and will result in our being more ably represented abroad.

American trade will be benefited by a re-energized consular service.

America's position abroad will be strengthened by its determination to protect America and America's trade. Unfortunately the time was when American citizenship was not a valuable asset in some countries. Mr. Hughes will inaugurate a strong foreign policy that will assure respect for America. During his administration no American need be ashamed of his nationality. The American Flag will be his shield and buckler wherever he may wander over the globe.

Mr. Hughes has been very fortunate in his selection of Under Secretary of State Fletcher as his assistant. Mr. Fletcher is heart and soul with his Chief in furthering improvement and reform in the State Department. He is a brilliant diplomat who, through long years of service, is thoroughly conversant with diplomatic customs, and he has a level head on his shoulders. These two men working together will make a great team. America will be proud of its Department of State and of the greatly increased service that it will render to the American people.

THE RAILROADS ON A SOUND BASIS

What the Esch-Cummins Law Has Provided. Some Facts that Encourage Optimism

By DANIEL WILLARD

President of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company

FROM 1827 when the first charter was issued until December 28, 1917, American railroads were run under private management. From December 28, 1917, for twenty-six months they were operated by the Government. Since the 1st of March, 1920, they have again been under private management.

I shall not refer to the first ninety years, ending with the period of Federal control except to point out that until the very end of that period there was no such thing as a unified American railroad system. By 1917 there were 1,800 independent railroad companies.

But I want to emphasize that when the war came the railroads on their own initiative inaugurated a unified control.

I want to call particular attention to the formation and accomplishment of the "Railroad War Board," as it was called, because in my opinion the work of that Board has never been fully understood or properly appreciated.

On the eleventh day of April, 1917, only five days after our country entered the war, executive representatives of all the more important railroads in the United States met in conference in the city of Washington, and after giving consideration to the situation as it was put before them, promptly and unanimously passed the following resolution:

Resolved, that the railroads of the United States, acting through their chief executive officers here and now assembled, and stirred by a high sense of their opportunity to be of the greatest service to their country in the present national crisis, do hereby pledge themselves, with the Government of the United States, and with the Governments of the several states, and one with another, that during the present war they will coördinate their operations in a continental railway system, merging, during such period, all their merely individual competitive activities in the effort to produce a maximum of national transportation efficiency. To this end they hereby agree to create an organization which shall have general authority to formulate in detail and from time to time a policy of operation of all or any of the railways, which policy, when and as announced by such temporary organization, shall be accepted and earnestly made effective by the several managements of the individual railroad companies here represented.

In harmony with the above resolution an executive committee of five railroad presidents was immediately appointed, and this committee came to be known afterward as the Railroad War Board. Offices were opened in Washington and the committee remained practically in daily session until the roads were taken over by the Government under authority of the President. The Railroad War Board created and built up a car service commission to act as their agency, which commission or agency was afterward taken over by the Director-General and used by him during the period of Federal control, and it is still in existence and still functioning as it did under the War Board in 1917.

Mr. Julius Kruttschnitt, who was one of the members of the War Board, prepared a very illuminating report of its activities in which he stated that the American railroads as a whole during 1917 carried 121,000,000,000 more ton miles than they carried during 1915, two years previous. A statement dealing with billions of anything is not likely to create a very definite impression in one's mind, but Mr. Kruttschnitt also pointed out that the increased ton mileage handled by the American railroads in 1917 over and above the amount which they handled in 1915 was of itself greater than all of the ton mileage handled by all of the railroads in England, Germany, Russia, Austria, and France during the last year officially reported at that time. Stated in that manner the increased burden carried by the railroads in 1917 has to me a most distinct significance. Mr. Kruttschnitt further stated that during the period of the War Board's activities orders were given by them for the movement of more than 200,000 empty cars, regardless of owner-

ship, from one part of the country to another, where they could be used best to promote the winning of the war. Nothing of the kind had ever been done before or even contemplated in this country.

Again, during the summer of 1917, when it was necessary to build as quickly as possible the several large cantonments required for housing the new army then in process of development, it was necessary for the railroads to furnish empty cars at the hundreds of places where needed on main lines, branch lines, and side lines, for all the different kinds of materials necessary for construction purposes, and during the period of about eight weeks, while construction was most active, the railroads moved more than 140,000 carloads of material required for cantonment and for shipyard purposes, and this large tonnage was moved so promptly and so satisfactorily that the Secretary of War himself is authority for the statement that the construction programme of the Government, unprecedented as it was, was not delayed in the slightest waiting for transportation. The doing of this thing itself, if nothing else had been done (and much else was done), was sufficient to justify the existence of the War Board, and it should be remembered that when this great movement was being made the railroads were at the same time carrying a larger volume of other business than ever carried before in the history of the country.

It has been said by some that the railroads broke down as transportation agencies in 1917. I think you will agree, however, that if the figures I have quoted from Mr. Kruttschnitt's report have any significance at all, they show clearly that the railroads did not break down, but on the contrary they made an unprecedented and remarkable performance.

It is true that in the fall of 1917 there began to be an excessive accumulation of cars on the eastern seaboard, and the transportation movement began to slow down, but there is no earthly reason for ascribing the situation to a breakdown of the railroads. On the contrary it might better and more truthfully be said that it was due to the fact that the railroads were able to carry and did carry more tonnage than could be absorbed by ships for export and by mills for manufacture. The trouble was due to an excess rather than to a shortage of transportation. Commerce which at one time moved to the west from large productive centres, we will say, all at once turned toward the east and there were no established agencies for properly controlling and coördinating activities and movements of that kind. It was because we had no machinery immediately available to control our industrial development and activities in an economical and efficient manner, together with the restrictions placed upon the railroads by laws, that the congestions referred to came about, and decidedly not because the railroads as transportation agencies had broken down. So much for the first epoch.

EPOCH II: GOVERNMENT CONTROL

THE second epoch began with the taking over of the roads by the President. The Director-General, acting for the President, had full authority to consolidate, coördinate, and operate the railroads regardless of all laws, and he also assumed and exercised autocratic control over the movement of all traffic, and properly so under the circumstances.

The ton mileage carried by all the railroads under the Director-General in 1918, he having full authority and no restrictions, was barely 2 per cent. greater than it was under the unified direction of the War Board, with no control over priorities or tonnage movement and with all the restrictions imposed by a long series of restrictive laws. If the railroads had indeed broken down in 1917, then I submit that a breakdown plus 2 per cent. would not of itself be a very big accomplishment in 1918. At the same time we do know that during the year 1918 the railroads rendered a splendid transportation service and thereby contributed much toward winning the war, but even so we must remember that the service rendered only reflected an increase of 2 per cent. above what had been accomplished the previous year.

During the period of Federal control the statement was frequently heard that the advantages of unified control and operation were so great that they should be retained in the interests of the people. It was also said that they could only be realized in connection with the policy of Government ownership, or at least with Federal control and operation. The fallacy of that statement, I think, has now been established; that is to say, the fallacy of that part of the statement which claims that the benefits of unified operation can only be realized in connection with governmental control. In justice to the railroads it should

be remembered that the railroad presidents themselves were the first to visualize the supreme importance of unified control of the railroads in times of emergency, and not only did they visualize its value, but also they gave definite expression to their vision through the operations of the War Board.

I shall not discuss further the second epoch, not, however, because it does not afford a basis for further discussion, but simply because it represents a wholly illogical development, from my point of view—brought about by war conditions and not by normal economic influences or requirements.

EPOCH III: THE PRESENT

WE NOW come to the consideration of the third or present epoch, which I hope and believe will be an enduring and successful one based on the policy of private ownership and operation of the railroads with governmental control.

A careful reading of the debates which took place in Congress during the consideration of the new Transportation Act clearly establishes the fact that it was the belief of Congress at that time that private ownership and operation of the railroads ought to be continued in this country, and it was just as clearly the intention of Congress to make private ownership possible by suitable legislation, and the new Transportation Act of 1920 was framed with that end in view. While there is much that is new in the act of 1920, I will refer only to some of its outstanding features, which I consider of fundamental importance.

Of first importance, as I view the matter, is the question of unified control, to which I have already made reference, because the advantages to be derived from unified control of the railroads are so important that unless they can be realized under private ownership in times of emergency, that fact of itself might compel the acceptance of some other policy. It should be clearly understood, however, that unified operation can only be had at any time at the expense of competition of service, and such a price is too much to pay even for unified control except in times of emergency. Congress evidently believed, having knowledge of what the railroads had accomplished under the War Board, that with suitable legislation the benefits of unified control and direction could be fully realized under private ownership when necessary, and they wrote an important portion of the law to cover that point.

In short, they gave to their agent, the Interstate Commerce Commission, full power in times of emergency to control and direct the movements of all the cars and all the engines of all the railroads regardless of ownership. Congress also said that in the exercise of this great power, the Commission could make use of such agencies as it might select.

YEAR	REVENUE TON MILES
1915*	273,913,006,569
1916*	339,870,323,675
1916	362,444,397,129
1917	394,465,400,493
1918	405,379,284,206
1919	364,236,957,761
1920	409,970,656,000

*Figures compiled for year ending June 30th

THE AMOUNT OF FREIGHT CARRIED BY THE RAILROADS

These figures show the number of tons of paid freight carried one mile in the years shown. On January 1, 1918, the Government began its operation of the railroads. This lasted for twenty-six months, and was followed by a six months' period during which the roads were operated privately but had their earnings guaranteed by the Government. Since September 1, 1920, private ownership without Government guarantee has been in effect

In harmony with and shortly after the passage of the law, the railroads appointed an Advisory Committee, consisting of eleven executives geographically selected, to take over the direction of the Car Service Commission in Washington, which had been created by the War Board and continued by the Director-General.

The Advisory Committee was instructed to coöperate with the Interstate Commerce Commission for the purpose of carrying out and accomplishing the real intent of the law. When the railroads were turned back to their owners on the first of last March, they were inadequately equipped, and much of their equipment was in an impaired condition. The freight cars of the carriers had been pooled during the period of Federal control, and they were badly distributed at the end of that period. The labor situation upon the railroads as a whole, was perhaps never more disturbed than it was during the first three or four months following the termination of Federal control. There was a general shortage of fuel over the country. The soft coal miners' strike in the fall of 1919 had largely depleted the accumulated stocks of soft coal on hand

at that time, and there was an insistent demand that more coal should and must be moved to the Northwest and to New England in order, as it was alleged, to prevent a fuel famine. There was also an unprecedented demand to move lumber, road building material, grain, etc. I doubt if there was ever at any time a more urgent demand upon the railroads for transportation than during the summer months of 1920.

1920—THE GREATEST TONNAGE YEAR

HOWEVER, the railroad managers, once more in control of their properties, responded earnestly and effectively to the situation. The Advisory Committee worked in full and complete understanding with the Interstate Commerce Commission, and that body issued such orders as in its opinion were necessary to support the carriers in their endeavor to deal with the situation, and what was accomplished is best indicated by the fact that during the year 1920 the railroads of the United States as a whole carried 409,000,000,000 ton miles, which was, indeed, 4,000,000,000 ton miles more than ever carried in any year before, either under private operation or any other kind of operation or control.

I think we may fairly say that the railroads have again demonstrated, if further demonstration be necessary, that the advantages of unified control and operation can be fully realized with private ownership and operation under the terms set forth in the new Transportation Act.

So much for the first outstanding feature of the act.

RATES UNDER THE ESCH-CUMMINS LAW

AND now for the second: If we are to have private ownership and operation as an economic policy, we can afford to have it on only one basis, and that is on the basis of its complete success, and we have a very definite measure for testing its success. However extensive and complete the railroads may be at the present time, they must continue to grow, if they are to keep pace with the expanding commerce of the country, and it is estimated that with present prices and conditions, not less than $1,000,000,000 of new capital must be raised each year for an indefinite period to provide the new facilities necessary. Inasmuch as the rates which the public is required to pay must be sufficient to provide, among other things, a fair return on the money invested in plant, it is to the advantage of the public that the railroads should obtain the necessary new money or capital on the best terms possible. Congress had this in mind when framing the act, and provided a definite rule for rate making, designed to sustain and stabilize the credit of the railroads.

It is thought by some that Congress, in fixing the rule, was not sufficiently liberal, and I know there is an honest doubt, perhaps I should say an honest belief, in the minds of many that rates fixed in accordance with the rule contained in the law will not sustain and stabilize the credit of the railroads. I do not know whether that is so or not, and only an actual test will determine it. In any event, I am confident that if the railway managers see to it that the public is given satisfactory service, the public in turn will be willing to have the railroads receive such rates as will properly sustain and stabilize their credit, and if the present rule for rate making does not authorize such rates, the public will consent to have the rule amended.

In accordance with the provision of the act, rates were fixed on a basis which, under normal conditions of traffic, it was believed would produce reasonable net revenues and afford a basis for financing necessary additions and betterments. It is true that from rates so fixed, the net earnings of the carriers at the present time are disappointing, but that is not due to any fault or failure of the act, but is due largely if not entirely to the recent decline in volume of business and the excessive cost of operation brought about by the war. The largest single item of cost in connection with railroad operation is wages paid to employees. The labor cost of operating the railroads was very greatly increased during the war, as was also the cost which the carriers were obliged to pay for the material which they used, but a general readjustment of labor and material costs is already under way and the present unsatisfactory condition of net earnings on the part of the carriers will be corrected, in my opinion, by means of lower operating costs rather then by further increases of transportation charges. The situation is not peculiar to the railroads; all other forms of industry are going through the same process of readjust-

ment at the present time, and if we only use patience and good judgment, I am confident that the related problems, while complex and difficult, will be satisfactorily solved.

LABOR UNDER THE ESCH-CUMMINS LAW

ONE other important feature of the act, and the last to which I shall specifically refer, is worthy of consideration at this time, and that is the provision which deals with the labor problem and has to do directly with the wages and working conditions of upward of 2,000,000 employees. We ought not to minimize the importance of the labor problem in its relation to the railroad question as a whole. In no country in the world do the people make such great use of the steam railroads as do the people in the United States. This is clearly indicated by the official records which show that in the United States the steam railroads move upon the average more than 4,000 tons one mile per annum for each man, woman, and child in our entire country, while the latest figures available show that the railroads in Europe average something less than 600 ton miles per capita per annum. The greater use made of the railroads by the people in this country is of course influenced largely by the fact that our country is of great extent and is rich in natural resources—mineral, agricultural, and marine—and it has come about that in the City of New York, as an example, the flour used, I take it, is made largely from wheat grown in Minnesota and North Dakota. The beef which is eaten here was perhaps bred in Texas, developed in Wyoming, fattened in Iowa, and slaughtered in Chicago. Not only do we find upon the tables in New York and Boston salmon caught in the waters on the Pacific Coast and shipped from Seattle, but there will also be found on the tables in Seattle the cod caught in the North Atlantic waters and shipped from Boston. Many similar instances might be cited. In short, it has generally been found advantageous, because more economical, to procure our flour, meats, minerals, forest products, etc., where they can be produced or obtained at the lowest initial cost and then transport them, largely by rail, to the point of ultimate consumption, the entire transportation cost being much less than the difference in initial cost of production in different parts of the country. With this in mind it is manifestly important that there should be continuity of service by the railroads in a country such as ours, and one of the important problems before Congress was to insure, if possible, continuity of service, by guarding against the interruption of the service, by any misunderstandings and disputes which might possibly arise between the railroad managers and their employees.

It was urged by some that the law should be written so as to prohibit strikes upon the railroads, but it was not possible to enact legislation of that character, nor do I think it would have been wise to enact such legislation at that time. While I am as much opposed as any one to strikes upon the railroads, I believe it would be a mistake for Congress to pass a law prohibiting strikes unless we are quite certain that we shall be able to enforce such a law once it has been enacted. Personally I did not believe that we had reached a stage where we could feel confident that such a law would or could be effectively enforced, consequently I was opposed to its passage. Congress dealt with the matter, I think, in the wisest way possible under the circumstances. They created machinery or set up agencies by which the employees could be assured of obtaining just as fair wages and working conditions without striking as they could reasonably expect to obtain even if they did strike. Congress provided, first, that——

> It shall be the duty of all carriers and their officers, employees, and agents to exert every reasonable effort and adopt every available means to avoid any interruption to the operation of any carrier growing out of any dispute between the carrier and the employees or subordinate officials thereof. All such disputes shall be considered and, if possible, decided in conference between representatives designated and authorized so to confer by the carriers, or by the employees or subordinate officials thereof, directly interested in the dispute. If any dispute is not decided in such conference, it shall be referred by the parties thereto to the board, which, under the provisions of this title, is authorized to hear and decide such dispute.

Section 304 of the Transportation Act provides for the creation of the board above referred to, and reads as follows:

> There is hereby established a board to be known as the Railroad Labor Board and to be composed of nine members.

The members of the board are appointed by the President, but three of his appointees

are from men nominated by the railroad employees, three are from men nominated by the railroad companies, and three are selected by the President himself, as representing in a larger way the general public, but all nine must be confirmed by the Senate. In fact, Congress has created for this particular purpose a special Labor Court consisting of the same number as the Supreme Court of the United States, appointed in the same way, that is to say, by the President and confirmed by the Senate, and has given the board or court a status and dignity in keeping with its importance. The law says that it shall be the duty of the board to establish rates of pay and standards of working conditions which, in the opinion of the board, shall be just and reasonable, and in determining the justness and reasonableness of such rates the board shall take into consideration among other things:

(1) The scales of wages paid for similar kinds of work in other industries;

(2) The relation between wages and the cost of living;

(3) The hazards of the employment;

(4) The training and skill required;

(5) The degree of responsibility;

(6) The character and regularity of the employment; and

(7) Inequalities of increases in wages or of treatment, the result of previous wage orders or adjustments.

MAKING STRIKES UNNECESSARY

IT MAY indeed be said that Congress by this act has made a preferred class of the railroad workers, because, so far as I know, this is the first and only time that Congress has ever definitely said that any particular class of the people should be given at all times and under all circumstances just and reasonable wages and working conditions. Of course Congress did not do this primarily in the interest of the workers. Congress acted only as it had a right to act in the interests of the nation as a whole. Congress acted with a full realization of the importance of an uninterrupted transportation system in a country such as ours, but being unwilling to deprive the workers of their right to strike (and nothing in this bill does deprive the workers of their ultimate right to strike), it sought to provide machinery which would make it unnecessary under any circumstances for the men to stop work in order to obtain just and reasonable treatment. In short, Congress provided or aimed to provide by law so that the railroad workers would at all times be assured of just as good wages and just as good working conditions without striking as they could reasonably expect to secure if they did strike, for it is clear that no one could justify or expect to win a strike for wages or working conditions that would be unjust or unreasonable.

It may also be that in some respects this portion of the law is incomplete and inadequate, and time may develop that changes are necessary. If so, they will undoubtedly be made. In the meantime it is certainly in the interest of all that the law, or especially this particular feature of the law, should be given a fair and thorough trial, and I firmly believe that as the law comes to be better understood by the railroad workers they will realize that they have, indeed, been made a preferred class. In which event I venture to predict that we shall be largely, if not wholly, immune from railroad strikes in the future, not, however, because the men have been forbidden to strike, for I repeat, there is nothing in the law which limits the right of the railroad workers to strike if they still want to do so, but simply because the law provides a way by which they can obtain without striking everything that they could reasonably expect to obtain if they did strike.

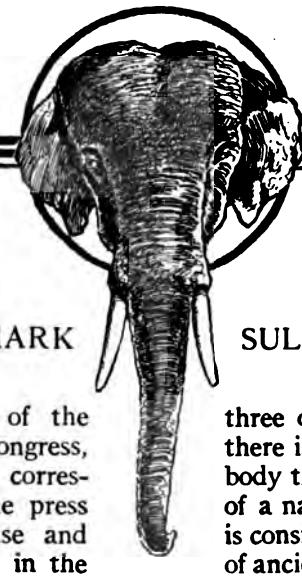
While some criticism has been voiced against the labor provision of the act, not only by the employees, but by the employers as well, I am still hopeful that this feature of the act will eventually prove to be wise and satisfactory, and if the three features of the new legislation to which I have specifically referred work out as it was the intention and belief of Congress that they would work out, then I think Congress has made private ownership and operation of the railroads in this country possible, but whether private ownership and operation of the railroads endures—having been made possible—depends largely if not wholly upon whether the railroads under private ownership and operation are able to give and do give the public satisfactory service. At the present time it would seem that there is a majority, in fact a large majority, of public opinion in favor of private ownership and operation, but we have seen public opinion change suddenly, and I have no doubt that it would change again just as quickly, and

react just as strongly against private ownership, if the public felt that upon the whole they would be likely to get more satisfactory service some other way. As I view the matter, private ownership and operation of the railroads is still on trial in this country, but it has everything in its favor and it ought to win and I believe it will win if the managers, measured by the service which they give the public, deserve to win.

Since the termination of Federal control we have actually seen the railroads, operated by private management under the provisions of the Esch-Cummins Act, move, in 1920, 9,000,000,000 ton miles more than in 1918, employing substantially the same facilities. We have seen the Interstate Commerce Commission, under the terms of the same act, promptly authorize such rate increases as would, in its opinion, fulfill the requirements of the act, and we have also seen one of the most complex labor situations ever developed dealt with in orderly fashion by the agencies created by the act, without interruption of the transportation service. The very fact of the controversy in Chicago speaks volumes for the act. Questions involving wages and working conditions affecting nearly 2,000,000 human beings are certain to bring out points of difference, and if the contestants should sometimes raise their voices above the conventional pitch of polite society, it would not follow that the law had failed—on the contrary it would indicate that the problem was being worked out just as Congress intended it should be, and without interruption of the service. I am inclined to think that under the present law, wages of railway workers as a whole may be somewhat higher in the future than would be the case were there no such law, but even so, if the public is thereby assured freedom from interruptions of service, the immunity so purchased will be well worth the price.

I am glad of this opportunity to say a word concerning the relations which have existed since the termination of Federal control between the railroads, as represented by their Advisory Committee, and the Interstate Commerce Commission under the able and constructive Chairmanship of Mr. Clark. The new law makes it clear that while Congress still expects the Commission to look after the interests of the public just as carefully as it ever did in the past, Congress also recognizes by definite expression that in looking after the interests of the public the Commission should keep in mind that the public's interests will be best promoted by an efficient transportation service, and will not be promoted by a poor, badly developed, and inadequate transportation service. Opportunity has been afforded me to view the situation and I have been convinced that the Commission has taken hold of the difficult problems confronting it under the new act with the desire only of carrying out the clear intent of Congress. Chairman Clark and his associates with whom I have had occasion to come in contact, have always been most helpful. They have always been anxious to know all of the facts concerning any particular case, and have not hesitated to use their power and authority in such way as seemed to them most likely to promote the public welfare. The relationship which has developed between the Federal Commission and the railroads under the new Transportation Act, to my mind, is most encouraging, and if the relationship already established continues and if the railway managers appreciate that they themselves, as well as the institution of private ownership, are on trial and if they meet the fair and reasonable requirements of the public for transportation, I feel confident that the success of private ownership under the terms of the new act is assured, and that the railroads will presently find themselves on a sound basis.

REPUBLICAN LEADERS IN THE SENATE



Leaders in a Congress That Lacks a Dominating Personality Some of the Problems Which They Must Attack

By MARK SULLIVAN

ON THE opening day of the present session of Congress, all the Washington correspondents sat in the press gallery of the House and watched what is the rarest event in the nation's legislative machinery — a joint meeting of the House and Senate, with the President addressing them.

The press gallery is directly over the speaker's head. That location gives to the newspaper men the same advantage that the speaker himself has of looking directly into the faces of the members. And it was an extraordinary opportunity to study those faces at a moment when they were most off their guard and their expressions were most characteristic. The occasion drew out all the mental alertness and concentrated attention that each listener had within him. To them, not only did the event have the dramatic quality of a new President's first appearance before Congress, but further than that, exceptional curiosity, and some heated apprehension, as to what Harding would say had been excited by a controversy which had simmered hotly beneath the surface for a week, between some members of his Cabinet and certain Senators, over what line the President should take about foreign affairs.

And so, there they sat—531 men (lacking three or four absentees) who compose all there is of our law-making machinery, the body that expresses the will and purpose of a nation whose relation to the universe is considerably more vital than the relation of ancient Rome to what was then the world. You can readily miss the significance of such a spectacle merely because it is of flesh and blood instead of paint and canvas, merely because it is in our own time and in the daily newspapers instead of in the ornate histories of Gibbon and Macaulay.

In the arrangement of the occasion, the members of the Lower House were seated first, the Republicans filling all their own side and spreading over into very nearly a full half of what is normally the Democratic side. In front, a hundred seats were reserved for the Senators. Presently the Senators arrived, led by that ascetic-looking Puritan, the Vice-President, the others coming through the folding doors two by two in haphazard pairs that were grotesquely ill-assorted, both as regards politics and as regards height, corpulence, and other aspects of their figures.

When they were all seated and you looked upon the now completely filled room, you had an hour to gather what you could from the faces of the 531 men who for two years will govern us, each for the hour off his guard in the self-revealing situation of focussing all his

intelligence on the tensely awaited President's message.

From such a spectacle you can get a variety of interest and amusement. The aspect of it that first caught my attention was, as it happened, one that had nothing to do with laws or with men, but was something wholly incongruous. One of the most rigid of all the rules and laws that guard the machinery of government, the one most sternly enforced, is that which forbids the presence on the floor of Congress, at any time and under any circumstances, of any one but members and a few strictly defined exceptions, as former members of the body and members of the Cabinet. This rule, however, runs only from the age of ten upward. Somewhere in the century of that rule's evolution it was conceded that a child of ten can work no corruption or other form of harm to Congress; and so it is permitted that members may bring their little children on the floor. On this occasion, a few members had brought children, meaning to bestow a memory of a great event. Here and there about the chamber, in spots of youthful light, these little children sat on their father's knees. It was a thoughtful thing for the parents to do, even though it may have given more unction of benevolence to them, than undiluted pleasure to the beneficiaries of it. In any event, as to at least one who observed the great event from the press gallery, his most vivid recollection will be of the little son of a Republican member in the fifth row, and the little son of a Democrat in the eighth row, who, across the backs of four seats, improvised an acquaintance; and then, having exchanged treaties of amity and commerce through mysterious signals imperceptible to older eyes, slipped away from the guardianship of their respective parents, and by the aid of a cautious and ingratiating diplomacy, manœuvred their way past a dozen elders preoccupied with exalted matters of state, to the ends of the rows of seats. There, in the protective obscurity provided by the cavern-like depths of the aisle, they produced a roundish gilded button not so small but what unsatiated imaginations could piece it out into a marble whose defects of rotundity were fortuitously and admirably corrected by the slight decline in the floor of the aisle. With this equipment they extemporized a delectable game, which they played for an hour, under great handicaps and at continuous and imminent risk of awful catastrophe, in happy unconcern of the sonorous words about the destiny of nations that rolled above their little heads.

But for the spots made by children's clothes and childish faces here and there, that joint meeting of the House and Senate would have been wholly without color. The drabness was so striking it was almost vivid. The thing that impressed you most was the uniformness, so to speak, of the 531 men. Their very clothes were uniform. Out-of-doors the floppy Stetson hat would have marked the Westerners and Southerners from the others; but indoors, the modern standardized styles had reduced them all to one model. The distinguishing marks that twenty years ago set off the frock-coated Bailey of Texas from the sack-coated Aldrich of Rhode Island no longer exist.

"AVERAGENESS"

THE men were like their clothes. They were, so to speak, uniform in their averageness. It was reassuring to realize this, to feel that for practically any man in the room, with very few exceptions, you could have found a satisfactory duplicate in the borough council of Avondale, Pa., or, indeed, in the board of directors of the Farmers and Merchants National Bank of Phoenixville. Almost any average citizen in the galleries, "sizing up" almost any official on the floor, in the way men occasionally measure and compare each other's capacities and personalities, could reasonably have felt that in any test, any impact of momentum between the two, the average citizen would not be hopelessly outclassed.

So lacking in striking individualities was the crowd that the two who stood out, as your eye searched the mass for the unusual, were the two fat men of the House, Winslow of Worcester, Massachusetts, and Tincher of Medicine Lodge, Barber County, Kansas—two whose distinction, as it happens, does not depend wholly on their bulk, but is borne out by a not inconsiderable ability expressed in humorously penetrating eyes and shrewd insight. There were several who for one oddity or another stood *outside* the crowd, so to speak, but almost none who stood *above* it—several who were conspicuous for something unusual, or even distinguished for some individual achievement, and yet almost none who approximated anything of what we mean when we say a man is great. There was, for example, none to stand out in the way that Thomas B. Reed of a

previous Congress would have been a solitary mountain peak, or James G. Blaine, or the late Senator Aldrich, or—I almost said Uncle Joe Cannon. As a matter of fact, Cannon was there in the flesh and was one of the most striking figures on the floor. But Cannon's personal power, extraordinary though his physical and mental endurance was and still is, has ebbed a little with the eighty-fifth birthday that he celebrated on the 7th of May.

If there is in Congress a dearth of those outstanding personalities which constitute leadership, it is only a part of what is true everywhere. It is only through leaders that democracy can conveniently act, and it is only through leaders that men everywhere can personify their purposes and visualize their faiths. For the ordinary man, principles in the abstract are intangible and baffling. He needs to have his beliefs made concrete in a personality. As Edward Everett Hale said, "It is personal presence that moves the world." For the last quarter century America has been rich in such personalities—personalities of the sort that move the world and through whom alone the world can move readily. We have had Roosevelt, Wilson, and Bryan. In every election for twenty-five years, except the recent one, always one and sometimes two of these men have been candidates. And in four out of six of these elections, one or another of these men was chosen as the spokesman of our desires, through whom the nation could express itself and act.

But Roosevelt is gone; Wilson has left his place on the pedestal, partly because he let his foot slip and partly because he was dragged down by partisan passion; and Bryan has been left behind by the times. It is a condition that has more to do with our present restlessness than we commonly realize. The chaos of reconstruction is precisely the time when we most need great personalities, in whom to visualize and personify new beliefs, and move to the new position of the world's next period of stability. The world gropes for great personalities and does not find them.

Of all the thousand pities of Roosevelt's untimely death, the greatest is the lack of him *now*. We would have been content to delegate more power to him, indeed, than to any living man. He was one of those gigantic personalities which strides across the world once in so often. He had a greater *quantity* of personality, whether you exactly liked the kind of personality or not, than any American for generations, and it is quantity of personality that is needed when the world is so much in flux. Roosevelt commanded the affection, and, more important, the confidence of larger numbers of his countrymen than any other American in several generations. Roosevelt living, by the mere fact of his familiar personality, would have solved many of our troubles. We would have been less uneasy about our relations with our neighbors, less watchfully suspicious about the management of those relations, less nervous, less subject to sudden alarms. Great masses of common men would have felt that many of these things are difficult to see into, and beyond our individual understanding; but that Teddy would see that everything was done right.

Roosevelt is gone; and not only is there no one even faintly able to fill his place—the fact is, in the Government and out of it we are in a period extraordinarily lacking in great personalities compared to what we have been used to for a generation past.

THE LEADERSHIP OF LODGE

IN the Senate, the official leader is Lodge of Massachusetts. Officially, Lodge is everything there is in the shape of Republican leadership. He is, first of all, the official Republican floor leader. Further than that, he is chairman of the Republican steering committee—"the Committee on Order of Business" as it is more formally but less expressively called. Still further, Lodge is chairman of the Republican Senate caucus. As a final buttress of his position, Lodge is chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, which is at all times one of the two most important Senate committees, and, just now, the most important.

Backed with all these titles, Lodge is the Senate leader. But Lodge's leadership is wholly official and in no degree personal. Of course, with the immense leverage of his present position, Lodge—or a different man in Lodge's place—might develop personal power, show passion for some cause or other, acquire a following among the public, and become a leader in the true sense. But if that hasn't happened to Lodge in forty years of public life, it isn't likely to come to him now at the age of seventy-one. Lodge doesn't have that kind of personality, and will never be that kind of leader. His is not the kind of leadership we have been talking about at all. It is not the

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THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

"One of the two most important committees in the Senate, and, just now, with so many of our present issues in the field of foreign affairs, the most important." Senator Lodge is chairman and is also the official Republican floor leader, chairman of the "steering committee," and of the Republican caucus. "With the immense leverage of his present position, Lodge—or a different man in Lodge's place—might acquire a following among the public, and become a leader in the true sense. But. . . . Lodge doesn't have that kind of personality, and will never be that kind of leader"

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SENATORS LODGE (CENTRE) AND UNDERWOOD (RIGHT)

Underwood is the official Democratic floor leader "and there is no man in the Senate better equipped for floor leadership than he is, both by temperament and training." He is also thoroughly acquainted with the tariff

sort of leadership that is a natural magnetism of vital personality. It is not the leadership which goes with intense devotion to a cause. It is the leadership of official position merely, the leadership that comes by seniority, the reward of no greater a talent than being more successful in getting himself continuously re-elected than most other Senators. Lodge has been a Senator without interruption for twenty-eight years last fourth of March, two years longer than the next oldest veteran, Nelson of Minnesota, four years longer than Penrose and only three years less than Warren of Wyoming. It is by virtue of this length of continuous service that Lodge holds the titles of his multiple leadership.

Lodge was the official Republican leader in the recent session, during that two-years' fight on the League of Nations, which constituted, with one exception, the most important constitutional battle fought in all our history. In that battle, it is common to say that Lodge led the Republicans. It might, with equal truth, be said that various factions of the Republicans, each in its turn, led Lodge. On the League of Nations issue Lodge's forty-nine Republican Senators were divided into four factions, much like that social gradation of the Southern Negroes, which starts at the top with the "high yallers" and passes through the "black-and tans" and the "chocolate drops" down to the "pot blacks." Lodge's four factions, the four classes into which the Republican Senators were divided by their several complexions on the League of Nations, were:

(1) The Pro-League Republicans.

(2) The Mild-Reservation Republicans.

(3) The Strong-Reservation Republicans.

(4) The Irreconcilables, or Bitter-Enders, or Battalion of Death, as they were variously called.

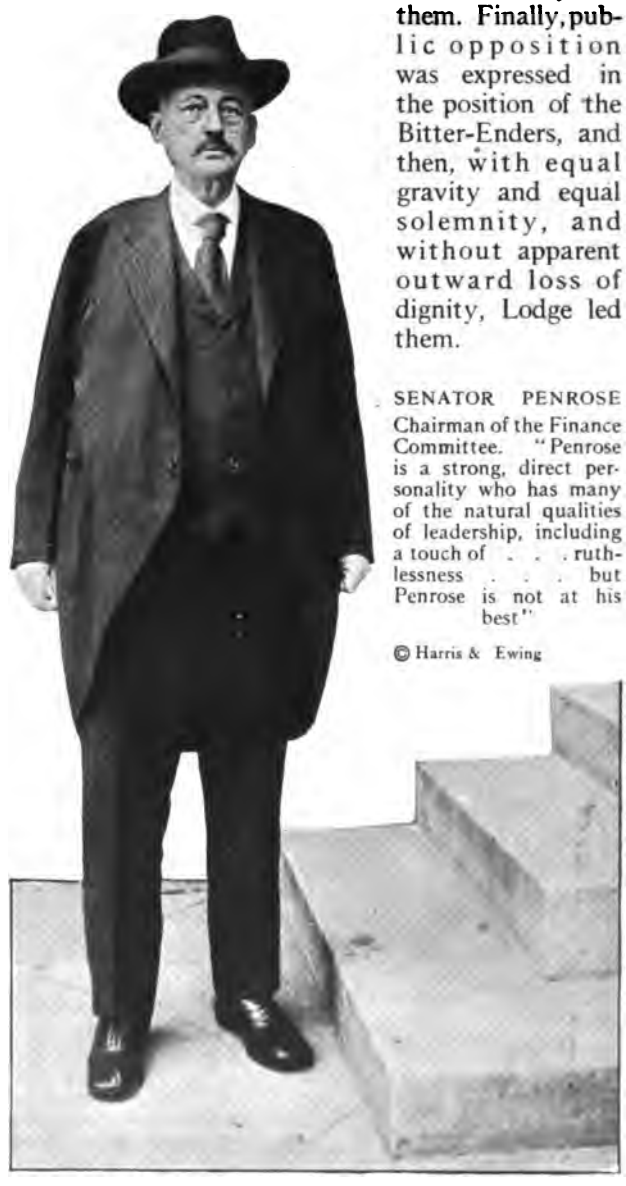
Among these factions the task of Lodge's leadership was, as it was once expressed, to "keep them from murdering each other." At one time or another each faction wanted to murder all the others, and on several occasions all the factions united in the earnest wish to murder Lodge. There were times, indeed, when close observers of that fight wondered if Lodge's unruly family had not literally and physically done him to death. After several of the climaxes in the debate, after several of the critical votes had been taken, there were periods when Lodge looked like a tired ghost; when, as he dragged himself to his feet to make

the motion to adjourn, you wondered just how many more times he would be there to do it. Senate leadership is a terrific strain at all times. Under the circumstances under which Lodge exercised it, in which he endured not merely the normal violence of the Democratic opposition, but also suffered from time to time equal or greater violence from some of his own party—under those circumstances the strain of leadership would have destroyed a less wiry man than Lodge. Again and again, as he changed his position to adjust himself to the shifting changes of the Republican factions, he incurred the bitter anger of one group after another of his own party and they would call on him in the privacy of his committee room and talk to him with a truculence which left that unhappy leader pale and trembling.

If you look at it one way, Lodge's performance throughout that fight was a remarkable feat. He did two things: He prevented his party from flying into completely irreconcilable fragments; and he defeated Wilson. If you think these two purposes constitute the whole duty of man under these circumstances, then Lodge's leadership was a very great performance. But if you think that leadership implies strong convictions, together with a fidelity to those convictions and a power of personality that carries other men along, then Lodge, at his emergence from the League of Nations fight, was a less impressive figure. Lodge either had no convictions on the League of Nations or else considered it his duty to abdicate his own convictions in the interest of party unity.

In the League of Nations fight, Lodge was neither James G. Blaine charging like a plumed knight, nor yet Stonewall Jackson standing like a rock. In his leadership, Lodge fulfilled Thurlow Weed's definition: "A leader is one who follows quickly." Lodge was not the plumed and helmeted charger of the League of Nations fight. He was merely the weather-vane of it. He was the thermometer that registered the steadily rising opposition.

Lodge didn't give orders; he took them. Least dignified of all he took orders from one faction after another. When that fight began, fully five sixths of the public was for the League. It had been presented to them as the equivalent of universal and permanent peace; they knew little of the details of it; and they saw that the President of one party had proposed it and the ex-President of the other party had endorsed it. Under these circumstances, the great mass of the public took it for granted. So long as that proportion of the public supported it, the Republican Senate faction that expressed the bulk of party opinion was the Pro-Leaguers or Mild-Reservationists, and Lodge was their exponent. Then, as public opposition increased, the Strong Reservationists usurped the saddle, and Lodge gravely and solemnly led them. Finally, public opposition was expressed in the position of the Bitter-Enders, and then, with equal gravity and equal solemnity, and without apparent outward loss of dignity, Lodge led them.



SENATOR PENROSE
Chairman of the Finance Committee. "Penrose is a strong, direct personality who has many of the natural qualities of leadership, including a touch of . . . ruthlessness . . . but Penrose is not at his best"

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Lodge's leadership of the Republicans in the Senate in the League of Nations fight was like the leadership of a log that floats down the stream at the head of a flood. As it veers to one bank or another, as it encounters some solid rock of conviction on one bank or the other, it is bumped back into the stream; and Lodge in that two years had many an unhappy bump. When he went too far in the direction of compromise with the Democrats to suit one faction, the spokesmen of that faction called on him in his committee room and delivered their ultimatum. When he veered too far in the direction of refusal to compromise and displeased another faction, he heard that faction in turn marching with heavy and determined steps down the marble floor to the leader's committee room, where they in turn delivered their ultimatum. For Lodge's life during the League of Nations fight must have seemed just one ultimatum after another. But ultimatums don't excite Lodge as they would another variety of man. If the authors of the ultimatum had the votes, Lodge saw his clear duty in a graceful and benign succumbing to it. As one faction or another of the Republican Senators became dominant in proportion as the Republican attitude on the question veered from mildly qualified endorsement through the period of strong reservations to the bitter-ender opposition which was finally manifest, Lodge, in turn, became the exponent of each view.

The Democrats and the other friends of the League of Nations, who viewed Lodge's successive shifts, came to feel bitterly about him. They exhausted the thesaurus of sarcasm in finding new ways to jibe and jape him. Probably the best of these phrases was the one which said it was "a great gift to be able to improvise life-long convictions as Lodge did." They had a picture of him which they used to express in terms of a remarkable animal of the ophidian species. This snake was a most unusual example of his kind. He was young and gallant and full of zeal for high achievement. He had the urge to high endeavor. He was the sort of snake who in a different incarnation would have tried for new records in mountain-climbing, or would have flown to new altitudes as an aviator. In his zeal for high achievement, his ambition to perform a feat that none of his kind had done before, this unhappy reptile set himself the task of following the footsteps made by Lodge in his various positions on the League of Nations. In the course of this unprecedented adventure in tortuation, and in the sight of all who had come to behold it, the unhappy snake, according to the Democratic story, perished of a dislocated spine.

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SENATOR GLASS

"Senator Carter Glass of Virginia is a comparatively new man in the Senate. . . . He has a directness and simplicity of character that won him friendliness from the bystander, and in the fury of actual debate he is a wasp, gad-fly, and toreador all combined"

The Democrats may jibe at Lodge, and some of them may even hate him, but they don't despise him. They know well who it was that beat their party, destroyed their cause, and pulled down their leader. The deposed leader knows it, too—none better. Wilson and Lodge were the great protagonists of the League of Nations drama, and they grew to feel toward each other with the glowing bitterness of men, in each of whom there is a strong streak of mordancy. In the final meeting of the two men—which was also the final moment

of Wilson's Presidency, the closing moment of his power—there was an incident as personally dramatic as anything in our recent history. The best first-hand description of it is in the account of one of the newspaper men who saw it, Mr. David Lawrence.

Woodrow Wilson's last hour as President of the United States was a curious commingling of sadness and attempted cheerfulness. For a moment the President appeared as the decrepit figure that he has so often been pictured since his physical collapse two years ago, and then again as he sat at his desk and signed bills with a firm hand and a steady pen, his eyes burned with the fire of the soldier who never surrenders. To the last, Woodrow Wilson seemed to be in a fighting mood though everybody who stood around him felt that his feeble figure belied his attempts to appear in his belligerent spirit of old. Slowly Mr. Wilson wended his way along the corridor for fifty feet from the elevator just to the right of the Senate chamber. As he proceeded he leaned on his cane and was unaided. His left shoulder was stooped and his left hand hung limply at his side. Surrounded by members of his Cabinet, Democratic Senators, and naval officers, he entered the President's room. . . . An aide helped take Mr. Wilson's overcoat from his shoulders, and the man who had driven through the streets of Rome, Paris, and London, hailed as the great peace-maker of this generation, sank limply into his chair. . . . Just at that moment a committee from both Houses of Congress appeared in the room. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge was in the front row of the committee directly facing Mr. Wilson. Quickly there came over the Wilson countenance that frigid expression which has on more than one occasion been employed by him to express his displeasure. It was evident that Mr. Wilson was trying hard to fight back something inside of him that rebelled at the necessity of receiving that final communication from Mr. Lodge. "This committee begs to inform you," said Senator Lodge, "that the two Houses have completed their work and are prepared to receive any further communications from you." Wilson's face flushed. His eyes were fixed upon the eyes of Senator Lodge. These two men stood face to face in the final scene of what has been perhaps the greatest of battles in American history over the ratification of a treaty. Clearly and seemingly with the peremptory spirit of the past, Mr. Wilson said: "I have no further communication—I would be glad if you would inform both Houses and thank them for their courtesy—good morning, Sir." It was that final "good morning, Sir," which seemed to cut the air with its finality and coldness. Nothing more formal could have been spoken. Nothing more fittingly represented the inward emotions of the outgoing President as he performed his last formal act as President of the United States.

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SENATOR SMOOT

Who is next to Penrose on the Finance Committee. "Smoot is a much more gentle person than Penrose, almost too gentle for leadership in a gruelling fight. . . . But what Smoot may lack in driving quality he makes up in knowledge"

This of course was the closing moment of the drama, when Wilson was the vanquished and Lodge was entering into the fruits of victory after the prolonged struggle. Throughout this struggle, Lodge, in the feeling between the two men, has been no less mordant than Wilson. When Lodge was selected to make the key-note speech at the Republican National Convention last June, he put the distilled essence of his soul into one sentence: "Mr. Wilson and his dynasty, his heirs and assigns, or anybody that is his, anybody who with bent knee has served his purposes, must be driven from all control of the Government and all influence in it."

The Democrats, and the other faithful believers in the League of Nations, however they may hate Lodge with the added bitterness that has a sense of virtue outraged, do not, nevertheless, underestimate Lodge's leadership. Neither should any one else. It is true that, viewed from

the standpoint of that sort of leadership that attends strongly held convictions and powerful personality, there is nothing to it. But viewed as political strategy in the highest sense, viewed as purely a matter of holding his own party together and outmanœuvring an opposition which, for at least the first ten months of the fifteen, had all the best cards—viewed from that standpoint, it was magnificent. No other kind of leadership than Lodge's facile accommodation of himself to the shifting majority in his own party, would have done it. If Lodge had been a different kind of man—and from one point-of-view a more exalted kind of man—he would have lost, the Republican Party would have been split into irreconcilable and futile fragments, the League of Nations would have won, and the Democratic Party might well have held its power. If Lodge had been in the grip of personal conviction, whether for the League of Nations or against it, he would have lined up in the beginning, irrevocably with one faction or the other of his party, and without the shadow of a doubt the other faction would have gone out in rebellion. If he had had not even conviction but merely pride of opinion, or the dignity that refused to be publicly a chameleon, the same result would have followed. The policy he practised, and that alone, was able to hold his party together and beat Wilson. Even as it was, so narrow a margin did Lodge have, that he would have lost but for the stubbornness of Wilson, which, at a critical moment, refused to accept compromise.

Lodge in the present session should have an easier time than in the last one. In the first place, the numerical majority of his party is now much more comfortable for him. Last year the Republican majority in the Senate was but two, and of those two one was absent from the Senate because of the fact that he was under conviction for having violated a state corrupt practices law in his election—a state of affairs which caused Josephus Daniels once to say, rather brutally but wittily, that "the Republican majority in the Senate is out on bail." The Republican majority in the Senate this year is twenty-two, a margin so large that it is almost impossible to imagine a defection sufficiently serious to give trouble to the leader. Not only is the majority Lodge has to work with much more comfortable, there is not now in sight any such cleavage within his own party as made his leadership a nightmare last year. Of course if the League of Nations question in any of its variations should come up, the same old cleavage would quickly assert itself—in fact, this year it would be more serious because the irreconcilables, stimulated by success, are more powerful and aggressive. But it is hard to foresee any likelihood of any variation of the League of Nations question coming up in such a way as to revive in this session the cleavage of the last session.

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SENATOR SIMMONS

"Next to Underwood the burden of Democratic opposition to the Republican tariff programme will fall on Simmons of North Carolina, who, when his party is in power, is himself chairman of the Senate Finance Committee"

It is true that there are in the present session faint glimmerings of a cleavage, but of a different sort and less serious. The big question in the present session will be the tariff, and on the subject of a protective tariff there is an uneasy shifting of Republican opinion which may conceivably make trouble for the party leadership before the bill is finally adopted.

Through the war, our country, from being he greatest debtor nation in the world, became he greatest creditor nation. This change of osition is always followed by a certain amount f sentiment in favor of the unimpeded flow f goods from our debtors to ourselves. This entiment shows itself in those parts of the ountry where accumulated ealth is most in evidence. These sections, the Eastern nd New England states, hich in past tariff debates ere the mighty fortresses f high protection because heir chief interest was anufacturing, now tend o look a little dubiously pon high protection. Their former interest, which was almost wholly in manufacturing for the home markets primarily, is now concerned also with manufacturing for foreign markets and with loaning money abroad. During the last session, when the first emergency tariff bill was up, four Republican Senators, coming from states which in the past have normally been the strongholds of high tariff sentiment, voted against the bill. They were Senator Edge of New Jersey, Senator Colt of Rhode Island, and Senators Keyes and Moses of New Hampshire. Whether this same cleavage or anything of its nature is to show itself in the coming debate of the present session on a permanent tariff bill remains to be seen. For the present this faint menace of leavage is the only difficulty in sight for Republican leadership.

SENATOR WALSH
"In Senator Thomas Walsh of Montana the Democrats have as careful a student and as sound a lawyer as ever graced the Senate"

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I have said that Lodge, among his other itles to leadership, is chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, which is one of the two reat committees of the Senate. The other f these two committees is the Finance Committee. In the Committee will will make Affairs Committee taxation unless some de

tion normally man of the mittee. He it is supposed to introduce the bills, to lead debate on them, to answer questions on them, and otherwise to guide them through the Senate. The Chairman of the Finance Committee is Penrose of Pennsylvania. Penrose is a strong, direct personality who has many of the natural qualities of leadership, including a touch of that same ruthlessness which made Aldrich in the same position of Chairman of the Finance Committee, a striking figure in previous tariff fights. In managing the progress of a tariff bill through the Senate, Penrose at his best could give a good account of himself, but Penrose is not at his best. He was absent from the Senate because of a serious illness for a full year, and resumed his seat only in December. His health is better, and to those who observe the Senator closely it seems to improve constantly. But Penrose is still far short of the requirements of physical strength for a bitterly contested tariff session in a hot summer.

The next man to Penrose on the Finance Committee is Smoot, of Utah, and presumably in the present state of Penrose's health Smoot will do much of the work. Smoot is a much more gentle person than Penrose, almost too gentle for leadership in a gruelling fight.

the standpoint of that sort of leven the preacher attends strongly held convictions anot may lack personality, there is nothing to it. But nowledge. as political strategy in the highest sense, y on the as purely a matter of holding his own ls of it together and outmanœuvring an e knows more which, for at least the first ten mo d States than fifteen, had all the best cards He is a kind —viewed from that stand- ed States. point, it was magnificent. can leadership No other kind of leadership in a group of than Lodge's facile accom- their aggregate modation of himself to the formidable. The shifting majority in his o leader is Underwood party, would have d e is no man in the Senate If Lodge floor leadership than he is, y temperament and by training. Not only does Underwood know the arts of floor leadership—he knows the tariff also. He was largely the author of the present Democratic tariff and is a veteran of one other tariff fight besides. Next to Underwood the burden of Democratic opposition to the Republican tariff programme will fall on Simmons of North Carolina who, when his party is in power, is himself chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. Simmons has already been in the Senate through two tariff fights.

Aside from Underwood and Simmons—who will probably contribute most of the detailed knowledge in the opposition to the tariff, the Democrats have several senators who for one quality or another will make formidable contributions to the active opposition. Senator Carter Glass of Virginia is comparatively a new man in the Senate, but he has had long experience in the House and spent a period as Secretary of the Treasury. Glass is a formidable debater. He has a directness and simplicity of character that win him friendliness from the bystander, and in the fury of actual debate he is wasp, gad-fly, and toreador all combined.

In another comparatively new Senator, Harrison of Mississippi, the Democrats have an incomparable guerilla fighter, and in Senator Thomas Walsh of Montana they have as careful a student and as sound a lawyer as has ever graced the Senate.

A COMMITTEE AT THE WHITE HOUSE

To notify the President of the convening of Congress. Senator Hitchcock (left) acted as Democratic leader in the Senate during the League of Nations fight, but has now been superseded by Senator Underwood

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OVERTHROWING A RED RÉGIME

How a San Francisco Attorney Ousted Bela Kun

Third and last article of "Stemming the Red Tide"

By T. T. C. GREGORY

THE STAGE IS SET

BELA KUN IN THE SADDLE; HOOVER IN PARIS

IT WAS apparent to all in touch with the situation, whether in Paris and London or in the capitals of southeastern Europe, that the salvation of central Europe depended, in the early summer of 1919, on the immediate ousting of Bela Kun from his position as Bolshevist dictator of Hungary. Bauer, Premier in Austria, was holding his people together by sheer force of personality and will-power; Bolshevist money was advancing the propaganda of Communism through Czecho-slovakia and Jugo-Slavia; Italy was by no means safe, and in Germany anything might happen. Bolshevism in Hungary was a running sore, likely to spread infection throughout the whole emaciated political body of the Continent.

But, as far as the Interallied Relief Commission in central Europe was concerned, Bela Kun was more than a political menace; he was threatening the integrity and success of our enterprise for the rehabilitation of those feeble new states. Hungary lay in the centre of the whole economic organism. Our telephone and telegraph lines to Belgrade and Bucharest from Vienna were out of commission. The Danube, over which most of the supplies from the Banat and the Batchka districts ordinarily moved to Austria and Czecho-slovakia, was completely tied up. A large number of locomotives imperatively needed for supply and food movements had been withdrawn from service, and the direct railroad lines from Galician and Rumanian oil-fields were closed to us. The resultant necessity for using circuitous routes, in territories where, at best, railroad facilities were falling to pieces and rapid transportation was difficult, made the work of relief practically impossible.

I was in constant touch with Hoover in Paris; he required no exhaustive explanation of our situation to spur him on to the most strenuous efforts, and the Supreme Council was immediately drawn into a discussion of ways and means. It was a hard nut to crack. Innumerable proposals were advanced, but all were subject to logical objections. Clemenceau put the problem neatly. It reminded him, he said, of the fable of the mice who proposed to bell the cat; all favored the enterprise, but no one of them could offer a plan for successfully carrying it out.

The obvious method was to employ force—to catch Bela Kun and his growing Red Army in great pincers formed by movements from the west and south, and crush him. Marshal Foch was summoned for conference; he said that this could be done, but that it would take an army of 250,000 men, completely equipped and prepared for a vigorous campaign. This programme staggered Paris, breathing a little more freely after the war and now busily engaged in

THE HARBOR OF TRIESTE

One of the principal ports of entry for the supplies sent from America. Before arrangements for the storage of supplies were made, ships were on the way from America with food for the starving people of central Europe

apportioning the spoils. Foch's proposition left the Supreme Council cold; they preferred risking the worst from Bolshevism to returning to arms for the sake of avoiding it. Hoover and I felt that Marshal Foch was mistaken in viewing the overthrow of Bolshevism in Hungary as a purely military proposition, because it seemed apparent to us that a stiff and firm show of force at the first moment would have disintegrated Bela Kun's support and wrecked his plans. But the Supreme Council was deciding that question, and the Supreme Council agreed with Foch, although it pigeonholed his recommendations and, with a parliamentary shrug, rid itself at the same time of the whole responsibility and problem.

Left in this dilemma by Paris we in Vienna had to find our own way out. For some days the prospect was gloomy. Bela Kun's army was being swelled by hourly accretions; his personal civil representatives wer[illegible]ched to every battalion with the power [illegible] and death over officers and men, which [illegible] that the military was given the Hobson[illegible]ce of swallowing Bolshevism or having [illegible]med down their throats. He was alre[illegible]ing on the Rumanians and the Czechs; t[illegible]nal-ist spirit of the Magyars applauded h[illegible]his, and their approbation strengthened[illegible]old. Austria was full of Bolshevist repre[illegible]tives and Bolshevistic propaganda—Bauer (accused

by the French of being himself a Bolshevist sympathizer) was sitting heroically on the lid, but finding it continuously hotter. The crisis for central Europe was fast approaching.

Then an incident occurred that set in motion events leading surely, swiftly, and dramatically to an almost fantastic *denouement*.

ENTER THE PAWN

GENERAL BOEHM STRUTS IN

THE Hungarian minister to Vienna was caught red-handed in a conspiracy to turn Austria Red, and was summarily sent home. Bauer held his breath then, as we all did, waiting to see what attitude Bela Kun would take in this emergency. If he resented Austria's action it might lead to open warfare, for which Vienna was poorly prepared—in which, as a matter of fact, she would be well nigh helpless. But if he accepted the rebuke and sent a new representative it would seem to indicate that he was not ready to strike. The man he sent was a General Boehm.

When I saw Boehm I realized that there was a method at hand for the discomfiture of Bela Kun. I had been instructed to keep out of central European politics; the Supreme Council in Paris had entire authority where I had none; and the whole situation was so delicate that a single misstep might bring the whole political structure of the Continent tumbling about our ears. On the other hand, in the words of the headmaster in Stalky and Co., Bela Kun was "bothering me, and I wasn't there to be bothered." I was trying to feed sixty million people and put them on their working feet again, and he was blocking the game. Something had to be done and it was apparent that I and my associates in Vienna would have to do it.

Boehm, I thought, was the key to the situation. He had trained the Hungarian Red Army and because of that was a powerful factor

WAITING TO BE FED

Thousands of the inhabitants of Austria, Hungary, Serbia, Czechoslovakia, and the other countries of the new Balkans were dependent upon the soup kitchens established by the American Relief Administration

Pogany (left) with Bela Kun (right). Pogany was Bela Kun's Minister of War

Bela Kun (left) and Haubricht (to the right of the man saluting). Haubricht later aided in Bela Kun's overthrow

Bela Kun, the head of the Hungarian Bolsheviki

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The General of the Bolshevist Army

Tibor, Bela Kun's bloodiest assistant

A group of the Inter Allied Commission. Captain Gregory is the second from the left

Captain Gregory in his traveling office. This private car was the one in which Archduke Franz-Ferdinand traveled to Sarajevo, where his assassination started the war

Captain Gregory who instigated the uprising against Bela Kun

ARCHDUKE JOSEPH

Who promptly seized an opportunity to oust the labor leaders and was as promptly ousted by Gregory, who wired Hoover "Archy jumped through the hoop at eight thirty. Entire exhibition a big hit"

ROUMANIAN TROOPS IN BUDAPEST

The entrance of the Roumanians was not opposed by force, and while loudly proclaiming their generosity they were seizing thousands of carloads of goods and supplies and sending them back to Roumania

in the affairs of Hungary. We tested him for egotism, ambition, and nerve; we decided that he had enough of the first to fire the second in him, and of the two to give him a passable amount of the third. Thereupon we drew him a picture of what it would mean if he should take the situation in hand, organize a revolution, and throw the Bolsheviki out of Hungary. We pointed out to him that the nations outside would do it in self-defense if some strong man within did not anticipate them; we urged on him the opportunity that was offered him to make a deathless figure on history's pages—the hero who struck the bloody hand of soviet Communism from the throat of an exhausted nation! I told him that Bela Kun was certainly doomed; showed him that Hungary was not Bolshevist in fact (to which he agreed) but a state where the labor and socialist elements, heartily sick of monarchical government, had demanded and would continue to demand a voice in the affairs of state, and that Kun had only taken advantage of this advanced position on the part of the majority. In short we offered him the enticing plum of glory, fame, honor, and power and a logical scheme for plucking it.

ENTER THE HEROES

AGOSTON AND HAUBRICHT STEAL IN

BOEHM was no fool. His first question was whether the Supreme Council would stand behind him; his second whether he could have assistance in gathering together the men he would need to move with him. On the first point I could only say that Paris would undoubtedly recognize and support any govern-

Captain Gregory with Colonel Causey, (American) General Fortesque (British) and Signor Trovati (Italian) in Belgrade

Captain Gregory in his private car, studying a map of muddled Central Europe

Photos © Keystone View Co.

THE CITY OF BUDAPEST

Two cities, Buda and Pest, separated by the Danube, make up this ancient capital of Hungary. The many beautiful palaces and public buildings make Budapest one of Europe's most picturesque cities. The ships in the foreground of the lower picture are disarmed Bolshevist monitors

ment, representative of all classes, on which the whole people of Hungary could agree; on the second that he undoubtedly knew of men who wielded really powerful influences in Hungary and who would undoubtedly fall in with any plan for the unhorsing of Bela Kun, were it sufficiently well-conceived and organized to have reasonable chances of success. He instantly named Agoston and Haubricht, two of the most powerful of the labor representatives in the Kun Government. We agreed. They were sent for and came secretly to Vienna. We undertook to obtain the most favorable possible pronouncement from Paris; he declared that he would do the rest! The first step was taken.

From the beginning I had taken into my confidence Sir Thomas Cunningham, the British military commissioner, and Prince Borghesi, the Italian diplomatic representative, in central Europe. Sir Thomas played up like a sportsman and a gentleman. He was a splendid, forceful man, keen of vision, and with initiative and driving power. Prince Borghesi was also a dependable team-mate—a solid, clear-thinking, straight-forward gentleman, more like an English squire than an Italian diplomat. I outlined my plan to them. They brought to it their experience and training as diplomats and statesmen; they approved it, checked it up, rounded it out. We agreed at once that the next step must be the framing of a pronouncement of principles on which the Allied governments could stand in giving their moral support to the anti-Kun movement, although it was quite clear in the beginning that this must be stated in terms so general that it would not specifically imply the support of Boehm or his conspiracy.

The declaration almost immediately suggested to Paris, through Mr. Hoover, contained the following points:

1. Assumption of dictatorship in which complete powers of government were to be vested. Names to be discussed: Haubricht, Agoston, Garami, and Boehm.
2. Dismissal of the communistic Kun Government, with a repudiation of Bolshevism and a complete cessation of Bolshevistic propaganda.
3. Dictatorship to bridge over period until formation of a government representative of all classes.
4. Immediate cessation of all terrorist acts, confiscations, and seizures.
5. Raising of blockade and immediate steps to be taken by Entente to supply Hungary with food and coal and to assist in opening up the Danube.
6. Immediate calling of an Entente advisory body.
7. No political prosecutions.
8. Ultimate determination respecting socialization of permanent government.

THE CONSPIRACY IS HATCHED

HOOVER WINS OVER THE SUPREME COUNCIL

IT MUST be kept clearly in mind that, aside from Boehm, who was a mere tool, the real conspiracy we had set afoot was one dominated by the labor-democratic interests in Hungary. Agoston, Gerami, and Haubricht were leaders of the advanced labor movement thought of the state. Behind them were the forces of labor, liberal and democratic in complexion, who were as bitter against the ruthless tyranny of Bolshevism in Hungary at that time as the higher type of American labor leaders are here to-day. Without this strong and active body of men, and without the leadership of the three named, Boehm, or any other military or monarchistic conspirator, would have been as helpless as a school-boy. The plot hinged on the labor element: it was for this reason that later developments turned me into a berserk madman, foaming at the mouth.

Meanwhile there remained for us the task of bringing our conspirators and Paris together on these matters of principle; Haubricht and Agoston—the brains of the trio with whom we were dealing—agreed to them instantly and enthusiastically; I wired the eight points to Hoover the moment they were drawn up and now Cunningham and Borghesi communicated them to their respective governments. We had chosen, because of the difficulty we had always found in getting prompt and decisive coöperation from the French, to make our arrangements first and to communicate them to M. Allize, the French commissioner, afterward; and when we showed him the eight points and told him of the plan we found that we had been wise in our determination, since his instant attitude was one of coldness and skepticism—an attitude, I may say, that was echoed by his government throughout the whole incident. At any rate Allize telegraphed his own version of our plan to Paris; now our success depended upon results there.

There is no doubt that Mr. Hoover was the principal agency responsible for the prompt return we received. The proposed programme

set the Supreme Council by the ears. Who was Boehm? Had he the prestige necessary to carry the country with him in such a bold and impudent enterprise? What was the motive behind his willingness, and that of the men to be associated with him, to risk execution at the hands of Bela Kun in order to try this doubtful experiment in revolution? And the French, always adroit in scenting trickery, advanced the hypothesis that Boehm was merely a dummy being used by Bela Kun to gain recognition for Hungary under the guise of this plot. The debate waxed hot; the fate of our project hung in the balance. But Hoover, driving steadily toward the important point, insisted that a general declaration on the lines of the eight planks presented could do no harm and might result in the overthrow of the Hungarian Reds. He won. The Supreme Council, emphatic in the statement that this programme for Hungary was a general rather than a specific one, signed and issued it. Boehm and his associates, already in touch with influential friends and supporters in Hungary, and now assured the moral support of the Allies if they kept faith, began to crystalize their plans.

My work in the hatching of this plot, which seems to me now to have had in it some of the elements of a typical comic opera, was done. But my zeal, born of my single purpose to feed and aid those unfortunate millions of the newly formed states, had put me into a tight position, from which it was only an extraordinary chance that extricated me. And this, like the subordinate plot of a novel, heightened the drama of the climax that came a few days later.

It will be observed in the programme of eight points given above that the Allies, on their part, proposed to send food and supplies into Hungary if the laborites succeeded in ousting Bela Kun. On its face this looked a simple matter. But furnishing food and supplies meant that, not Paris, but myself and associates in Vienna had to make good on this promise. And in the meantime the work for which our Mission was created was almost finished and by irrevocable stipulation we were to wind up our activities, close our offices, discharge our staffs, and leave central Europe on August 1st. It was now July 28th. Hoover had wired me that our funds were used up and that no more were forthcoming. There was food in Trieste belonging to private packers, as well as supplies of wheat and maize in the Banat that were available, but I had no money with which to purchase these commodities and there was no source from which I could obtain any. Save one.

THE PLOT THICKENS

THE BOLSHEVIKI HAND OVER GOLD

TWO or three times the assistant Bolshevist food administrator of Hungary, a shrewd and clever man, had come to me secretly in Vienna, representing Bela Kun, and begged me to sell him supplies. I had refused him absolutely for there was a blockade on Red Hungary. I had told him from the first that we would have no dealings of any nature with Bolshevism and that he was wasting time asking me. Through this source I thought I saw the possibility of effecting a *coup* that would help terminate our Mission in central Europe with complete success.

The food minister had no more knowledge than had Bela Kun that a mine was being laid under Bolshevism. I knew he had none. Within forty-eight hours of the time that the finale was to be attempted in Budapest I sent for him and told him that it was possible that I might reconsider my former decision as to selling him food for the Hungarian people.

He almost cried with joy. But I checked him.

"There is one difficulty in the way," I said. "I cannot send you a grain of wheat nor an ounce of fat until it is paid for in cold cash. Have you any real money, not local wall paper—real money."

He almost shouted.

"How much do you want!" he cried.

"First ante will be a million dollars," I replied. "What kind of money have you and where is it?"

"You can have your choice," he said. "The Bolsheviki have taken charge of the banks in Hungary, and I have millions of cronin, francs, marks, pounds—I have even American dollars. I alone know where it is."

"Bring it in to-morrow morning," I said, "and I will take a look at it."

I might have clapped him on the back and told him, with tears in my eyes, that he was a real good Bolshevik, but anything might happen in twenty-four hours so I restrained my feelings.

"If you say anything to your government about this trade," I added as he was leaving, "there won't be any."

There were tears in his eyes, and I knew I could trust him; he was no more of a Bolshevik at heart than I was, but his life depended on his allegiance to its leaders.

About three o'clock the next afternoon two men, accompanied by the perspiring Hungarian minister, entered carrying a clothes basket, covered with a cloth. For two hours my assistants checked pounds British and Turkish, French francs, Italian lire, to say nothing of marks and crowns, and with the whole topped with $90,000 in crisp one thousand dollar bills of the vintage of Uncle Sam. That night they rested in our name in the vault of the Vienna Bank Verein. A trade had been closed with the packers' agent and three train loads of fats ordered to be made ready for immediate shipment to Budapest on receipt of a wire from me.

THE CRISIS

BUDAPEST HOLDS ITS BREATH

AT THE same time things were happening with breath-taking rapidity in Budapest. Friends of the active revolutionists in the Bolshevist cabinet had called a great soviet meeting for six o'clock that night, and when this meeting convened Agoston, one of our most eloquent labor leaders, was the presiding officer. All that afternoon word had swiftly passed among the few that Bela Kun was doomed and that something startling was afoot. Official Budapest was aflame with suppressed excitement within the Inner Circle. No one knew what to expect, no one knew whom to trust, no one dared express an opinion or voice a sentiment. Inside the great assemblage hall the delegates and as many of the public as could squeeze in sat fidgeting and panting with the suspense. Some trivial matter was brought up for discussion. No one listened. This was only the preliminary to a clash and they all knew it.

Suddenly Bela Kun entered. It was apparent to all that he was under a severe strain. He harangued the crowd with a brilliant appeal for confidence and with glowing promises for the immediate future, and he held them quiet, for he was a real orator. But he did not move them. They were waiting for something else, though they did not know what. Agoston rose and, with a power and firmness that all subconsciously acknowledged, told of the betrayal of labor by the communists and declared that labor would purge itself and cast them out.

EXIT THE VILLAIN

BELA KUN DECAMPS, BUDAPEST REJOICES

BELA KUN, quick to see that the tide was turning, left the hall. He found the palace surrounded by the White Guards, the military organization of the iron workers, the greatest single labor element of Hungary, that had been broken up and dispersed when he came into power and many of the leaders of which had been ruthlessly slaughtered by Samueli, his official murderer. It was this same Samueli who joined Bela Kun in the flight that followed. They escaped somehow and fled for the border, leaving behind them all their dreams and hopes and looking forward only to an almost certain arrest and punishment. As they crossed the boundary at Wiener-Neustadt, Samueli gave way under the strain and, saving others the task, killed himself.

Behind them the conspiracy had been immediately consummated. Very quietly Agoston had announced to the great assembly that the Bela Kun Government had fallen, that Bolshevism was a thing of the past in Hungary, and that a new coalition government, exercising temporary dictatorial powers, had been set up. He read the list of cabinet appointments; he himself was to be Prime Minister; Haubricht Minister of War; Gerami and other leaders were to have the remaining portfolios. Poor Boehm, the weak, vain man whom he had used at the first to lead off the movement, was not mentioned; they had employed him when he was useful and discarded him when they were through; I never heard of him again!

Meanwhile pandemonium had broken loose in the assemblage. These men and the others with him were strong and popular; the people felt that at last Hungary was to have her "place in the sun" under them. The pledge of the Allies was read. It was cheered vociferously. Budapest was turned into a carnival city that night. But the next morning they remembered their hunger. Would the Allies be prompt in living up to their pronouncement, and especially to Article V which guaranteed the people food? The question went from lip to lip. There was no food in the capital—very little anywhere in Hungary. If those desperately needed supplies were not forthcoming, Agoston and his advisers knew that they could not hold the people.

THE CLIMAX

CAR-LOADS OF FOOD ROLL INTO HUNGARY

AND then came the climax to which I referred above, that gave almost a theatrical "curtain" to this play. At ten o'clock that morning supply trains, loaded to the guards, and coming from every direction, began to roll into Hungary; within a few hours the people were eating the bread and the fats that the Bolsheviki, all unknowing, and certainly never conscious of the irony of the situation, had bought through me with money they had stolen from the banks of Budapest!

Alas, that there should have been an anti-climax, but there was!

THE ANTI-CLIMAX

ENTER THE HAPSBURGS EXIT THE HEROES

I HAD found it necessary to go to Buchs to meet Mr. Hoover on his first trip through our territory; at that place I received the disheartening and maddening news that the old Hapsburg monarchists had taken advantage of the conditions of confusion following the change of government; they had waited only a few days until a Rumanian army had entered Budapest, and thereupon had ousted the labor democrats, arrested Agoston and Haubricht and clapped them into jail, and elevated to the dictatorship Archduke Joseph, a Hapsburg!

That Rumanian entrance is again indicative of the intense nationalism of those central European states. Hating Hungary with an ancient and bitter hatred Rumania had struck the moment Bela Kun fell and before Agoston and Haubricht could fully organize and mobilize the White army. The Reds had gone to pieces on the eastern front and, unopposed and without excuse, the Rumanians had sent a small army into the capital. The remnants of the Hapsburg family, with Rumanian assistance, had seized the moment and the situation as an excuse and had walked into power.

COMEDY

"ARCHIE JUMPS THROUGH THE HOOP!"

MY BLOOD was up. For all the world to see, a labor movement had ousted a Bolshevist Government; was the whole world to sit by and see that labor interest in turn ousted, and by a member of the Hapsburg family? Not while I could have a word to say, at any rate! My wires to Mr. Hoover tumbled over one another, the moment he had reached Paris from his trip. He went to work at once. I can imagine him drilling the members of the Supreme Council with those piercing eyes of his and demanding clear statesmanship in this critical moment. He was appealing for Hungarian workmen who had fought for civilization against the Reds, only to be thrown out and now sent into hiding before the vengeance of a wretched royalist. Prince Borghesi of our mission, answered my wire to him telling him of the crisis with a laconic, "Coming," and flew at night by airplane from Vienna to Pest, and was ready early the next morning to join me in my efforts. The first thing that we did was to demand peremptorily the quick release of Agoston and Haubricht, and our demand, for some reason or other, was that day complied with. The next thing was to exert all the moral force at our command to oust the Hapsburg scion from the dictator's throne.

We were not in so weak a position as might be assumed. Hungaryas a whole did not want a Hapsburg ruler; the people were keen enough to see that the Allies would not tolerate one for very long. I wired Mr. Hoover, in a code improvised at the moment:

ARCHIE ON THE CARPET AT FOUR O'CLOCK, HE LEFT IN HIGH DUDGEON. THIS IS ONE OF THE GREATEST DIPLOMATIC CIRCUSES NOW PERFORMING IN EUROPE. NEW CABINET BEING FORMED THIS AFTERNOON; EXPECT TO SEE ARCHIE LEAPING THROUGH THE RING TO-MORROW, THUS FITTINGLY CELEBRATING THE CLOSE OF THE RELIEF ADMINISTRATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE. NOW IS A GOOD TIME TO GET OUT AND STAY OUT.

He caught my meaning; he re-doubled his efforts in Paris. Certain representations were made to Budapest by the governments in the Paris council. There was a meeting of the ministry of Hungary called. The tension grew once more. Again the people expected big events, though ignorant of what their nature would be. At eight o'clock that night a coalition government was again organized; Archduke Joseph retired; I hurried to my headquarters and sent Mr. Hoover this—one of my last messages from my post:

ARCHIE WENT THROUGH THE HOOP AT EIGHT P. M. THUS ENDETH THE SECOND LESSON. LET US PRAY THAT THEY WILL FIND A MOSES TO LEAD THEM OUT OF THE WILDERNESS.

LIFE WITH THE TRAPPERS IN CANADA

An Artist's Account of the Every Day Life of the Northern Woods, and the Experiences of the Indian Hunters

BY ARTHUR HEMING

Mr. Heming, a Canadian artist, has spent nearly forty years in the wilds of Canada, living with the Indians, crossing their country, painting, and learning from the hunters and trappers many of the fine points of their work. This article, taken from the manuscript of a book recently completed by Mr. Heming, describes life in the winter woods in company with an Indian named Oo-koo-hoo (the Owl) and his family, and retells several stories of happenings in the Strong-Woods Country. This authentic account may be found to be often at variance with generally accepted ideas of life in the Canadian woods.—THE EDITORS.

WHEN tracking their six-fathom canoes, or "York boats" or "sturgeon scows," the voyageurs of the north brigades use very long lines, one end of which is attached to the bow of the craft while to the other end is secured a leather harness of breast straps called *otapanapi* into which each hauler adjusts himself. Thus, while the majority of the crew land upon the shore and, so harnessed, walk off briskly in single file along the river bank, their mates aboard endeavor, with the aid of either paddles, sweeps, or poles, to keep the craft in a safe channel.

In the present instance we had to resort to tracking, but it was of a light character, for the canoes were not too heavily loaded, nor was the current too strong for us to make fair headway along the rough, pathless bank of the wild little stream. In each canoe one person remained aboard to hold the bow off shore with a paddle or pole, while the others scrambled along the river bank, either to help haul upon a line, or, in the case of the younger children and the dogs, simply to walk in order to relieve the craft of their weight and also for safety's sake, should the canoe overturn. The greatest danger is for the steersman to lose control and allow the canoe to get out of line with the current, as the least headway in a wrong direction is apt to capsize it.

But before we had ascended half the length of the rapids we encountered the usual troubles that overtake the tracker—those of clearing our lines of trees and bushes, slipping into the muck of small inlets, stumbling over stones, cutting the lines upon sharp rocks, or having them caught by gnarled roots or drift wood. As we approached the last lap of white water, the canoes passed through a rocky basin that held a thirty or forty yard section of the river in a slack and unruffled pool. While ascending this last section, the last canoe, the one in which

the Owl's old grandmother was wielding the paddle, broke away from Oo-koo-hoo, the strain severing his well-worn line, and away grandmother went, racing backward down through the turbulent foam. With her usual presence of mind she exercised such skill in guiding her canoe that it never for a moment swerved out of the true line of the current, and thus she saved herself and all her precious cargo. Then, the moment she struck slack water, she, in with her paddle and out with her pole, stood up in her unsteady craft, bent her powerful old frame, and—her pipe still clenched between her ancient teeth—with all her might and main she actually poled her canoe right up to the very head of the rapids, and came safely ashore. It was thrilling to watch her—for we could render no aid—and when she landed we hailed her with approval for her courage, strength, and skill; but grandmother was annoyed—her pipe was out.

DETAINING A BEAR

WHILE we rested a few minutes, the women espied in a little springy dell some unusually fine moss, which they at once began to gather. Indian women dry it and use it in a number of ways, especially for packing about the little naked bodies of their babies when lacing them to their cradle boards. The incident, however, reminds me of what once happened to an Indian woman and her eight year old daughter when they were gathering moss about a mile from their camp on the shore of Great Slave Lake. They were working in a muskeg, and the mother, observing a clump of gnarled spruces a little way off, sent her daughter there to see if there were any berries. Instead of fruit the child found a nice round hole that led into a cavern beneath the roots of the trees that stood upon the little knoll; and she called to her mother to come and see it. On kneeling down and peering within, the mother discovered a bear inside, and instantly turning about, hauled up her skirt and sat down in such a way that her figure completely blocked the hole and shut out all light. Then she despatched her child on the run for camp, to tell father to come immediately with his gun and shoot the bear.

To one who is not versed in woodcraft, such an act displays remarkable bravery, but to an Indian woman it meant no such thing, it was merely the outcome of her knowledge of bears, for she well knew that as long as all light was blocked from the hole the bear would lie still. But perhaps you wonder why she pulled up her skirt. To prevent it from being soiled or torn? No, that was not the reason. Again it was her knowledge of bears that prompted her, for she knew that if by any strange chance the bear did move about in the dark, and if he did happen to touch her bare figure—for Indian ladies never wear *lingerie*—the bear would have been so mystified on encountering a living thing in the dark, that he would make never another move until light solved the mystery. However, father came with a rush, and shot the bear, and the brute was a big one, too.

During the rest of the afternoon we found the current quite slack and therefore, making better headway, we gained the lake.

Bear Lake was beautiful. Its shores were fringed here and there with marshy reeds or sandy beaches; and its rivulets, flowing in and out, connected it with other meres in other regions. At dawn moose and caribou came hither to drink; bears roamed its surrounding slopes; lynxes, foxes, fishers, martens, ermines, and minks lived in its bordering woods. Otters, muskrats, and beavers swam its inrushing creeks; wolverines prowled its rocky glens, and nightly concerts of howling wolves echoed along its shores. The eagles and the hawks built their nests in its towering trees, while the cranes fished and the ruffed grouse drummed. Nightly, too, the owls and the loons hooted and laughed at the quacking ducks and the honking geese as they flew swiftly by in the light of the moon. Salmon, trout, whitefish, pike, and pickerel rippled its placid waters, and brook-trout leaped above the shimmering pools of its crystal streams. It was Oo-koo-hoo's happiest hunting ground, and truly it was a hunter's paradise, a poet's heaven, an artist's home.

"What fools we mortals be!"—when we live in the city!

The site chosen for the lodges was on one of two points jutting into the lake, separated by the waters of Muskrat Creek. On its northwest side ran a heavily timbered ridge that broke the force of the winter winds from the west and north, and thus protected Oo-koo-hoo's camp, which stood on the southeast side of the little stream. Such a site in such a region afforded wood, water, fruit, fish, fowl, and game; and, moreover, an enchanting view of the surrounding country. Furthermore, that section of the Owl's game-lands had not been hunted for forty-two moons.

Immediately after dinner the men began cutting lodge poles, while the women cleared the tepee sites and levelled the ground. On asking Oo-koo-hoo how many poles would be required for the canvas lodge which he had kindly offered me the use of for the coming winter, he replied:

"My son, cut a pole for every moon, and cut them thirteen feet in length, and the base of the tepee, too, should be thirteen feet across." Then looking at me with his small, shrewd, but pleasant eyes, he added: "Thirteen is our lucky number. It always brings good fortune. Besides, most canoes are made of thirteen pieces, and when we kill big game, we always cut the carcasses into thirteen parts. My son, when I have time I shall carve a different symbol upon each of the thirteen poles of your lodge; they shall represent the thirteen moons of the year, and thus they will enable you to keep track of the phase of the season through which you are passing."

All the poles were of green pine or spruce. The thin ends of three of the stoutest were lashed together so that they formed a tripod against which the other poles were leaned, while their butts, placed in a circle, were spread an equal distance apart. Over that framework the lodge covering was spread by inserting the end of a pole into the pocket of each of the two wind shields, and then hoisting the covering into place. Next, the lapping edges, brought together over the doorway, were fastened securely together with wooden pins, while the bottom edge was pegged down all round the lodge with wooden stakes. In the centre of the floor-space six little cut logs were fastened down in the form of a hexagon, and the earth scooped from within the hexagon was banked against the logs to form a permanent and limited fireplace. The surrounding floor-space was covered with a layer of fir-brush, then a layer of rushes, and finally, where the beds were to be laid, a heavy mattress of balsam twigs laid, shingle-fashion, one upon another, with their stems down. Thus a springy, comfortable bed was formed, and the lodge perfumed with a delightful forest aroma. Above the fireplace was hung a stage, or framework of light sticks, upon which to dry or smoke the meat. Around the wall on the inner side was hung a canvas curtain that overlapped the floor, and thus protected the lodgers from draft while they were sitting about the fire. The doorway was two feet by five, and was covered with a raw deerskin hung from the top. A stick across the lower edge kept the skin taut. A log at the bottom of the doorway answered for a doorstep and in winter kept out the snow. Now the lodge was ready for occupation.

AN INDIAN CAMPFIRE

AS THERE are six different ways of building camp fires, it should be explained that my friends built theirs according to the Ojibway custom; that is, in the so-called "lodge fashion," by placing the sticks upright, leaning them together, and crossing them over one another in the manner of lodge poles. When the fire was lighted, the wind shields formed a perfect draft to carry the smoke up through the permanently open flue in the apex of the structure, and one soon realized that of all tents or dwellings, no healthier abode was ever contrived by man. Indeed, if the stupid, meddlesome agents of civilization had been wise enough to have left the Indians in their tepees, instead of forcing them to live in houses—the ventilation of which was never understood—they would have been spared at least one of civilization's diseases—tuberculosis—and many more tribesmen would have been alive to-day.

On entering an Indian tepee one usually finds the first space on the right of the doorway occupied by the woodpile; the next, by the wife; the third, by the baby; and the fourth, by the husband. Opposite these, on the other side of the fire, the older children are ranged. To the visitor is allotted the warmest place in the lodge, the place of honor, farthest from and directly opposite the doorway. When the dogs are allowed in the tepee, they know their place to be the first space on the left, between the entrance and the children.

THE FIRST HUNT

AT LAST we were to go a hunting. The trap-setting party was to be composed of four persons—Oo-koo-hoo, the two boys, and myself. Our *ne-mar-win*—provisions—for four to last a week consisted of one pound of tea, eight pounds of dried meat, four pounds of grease, four pounds of dried fish, and a number of small bannocks; the rest of our grub was to be secured by hunting.

Of course, while hunting, Oo-koo-hoo always carried his gun loaded—lacking the cap—but it was charged with nothing heavier than powder and shot, so that the hunter might be ready at any moment for small game; yet if

he encountered big game, all he had to do was to ram down a ball, slip on a cap, and then he was ready to fire at a moose or a bear.

After the usual affectionate good-bye, and the waving of farewell as we moved in single file into the denser forest, we followed a game trail that wound in and out among the trees and rocks—always along the line of least resistance—and for a while headed westward through the valley of Muskrat Creek. Oo-koo-hoo led the way and, as he walked along, he would occasionally turn and point at the trail and whisper:

"My white son, see, a moose passed two days ago. . . . That's fox—this morning," and when we were overlooking the stream, he remarked: "This is a good place for muskrats, but I'll come for them by canoe."

The principal object of the trip was to set fox and marten traps. Hilly timberland of spruce or pine without much brushwood is the most likely place for martens; and in fairly open country foxes may be found. The favorite haunt of beavers, otters, fishers, minks, and muskrats is a marshy region containing little lakes and streams; while for lynxes, a willowy valley interspersed with poplars is the usual resort.

SETTING TRAPS

COMING to an open space along the creek, the wise old Owl concluded from the fox signs he had already seen, and from the condition of the soil on a cut bank, that it was a desirable place in which to set a steel-trap for foxes. Laying aside his kit, he put on his trapping mits, to prevent any trace of man smell being left about the trap, and with the aid of his trowel he dug into the bank a horizontal hole about two feet deep and about a foot in diameter. He wedged the chain-ring of the trap over the small end of a five-foot pole to be used as a clog or drag-anchor in case the fox tried to make away with the trap. The pole was then buried at one side of the hole. Digging a trench from the pole to the back of the hole, he carefully set the trap, laid it in the trench near the back of the hole, so that it rested about half an inch below the surface of the surrounding earth, covered it with thin layers of birch bark (sewed together with *watap*—thin spruce roots) then, sifting earth over it, covered all signs of both trap and chain, and finally, with a crane's wing, brushed the sand into natural form. Placing at the back of the hole the head of a duck that Ne-geek had shot for the purpose, Oo-koo-hoo scattered a few feathers about. Some of these, as well as the pan of the trap, had been previously daubed with a stinking concoction called "fox bait."

Most every hunter has a regular system for setting his traps so that he may know exactly where and how each trap is placed. Usually he sets it east and west, then cutting a notch on a branch—about a foot from the butt—he measures that distance from the trap, and thrusts the branch into the snow in an upright position, as though it were growing naturally. When the hunter is going his rounds, at the sight of the branch he will remember where and how his trap is set, and can read all the signs without going too near. The object of laying the sheet of birch-bark over the trap is that when any part of the bark is touched the trap may go off; besides it forms a hollow space beneath, and thus allows the animal's foot to sink deeper into the trap, to be caught further up, and to be held more securely.

The foregoing is the usual way of setting a fox trap, yet the Wood Crees and the Swampy Crees set their fox traps on mounds of snow about the size of muskrat houses. For that purpose they bank the snow into a mound about eighteen inches high, bury the drag-pole at the bottom, set the trap exactly in the crest of the mound, and covering up all traces of trap and chain with powdered snow, sprinkle food bait and mixed bait around the bottom of the mound. The approaching fox, catching scent of the mixed bait, follows it up and then eats some of the food-bait, which presently gives him the desire to go and sit upon the mound—which is the habit of foxes in such a condition—and thus he is caught.

WOLVES AND FOXES

A CURIOUS thing once happened to a Dog-rib Indian at Great Slave Lake. One day he found a wolf caught in one of his traps and foolishly allowed his hunting-dog to rush at it. It leaped about so furiously that it broke the trap chain, and ran out upon the lake, too far for the hunter's gun. In pursuit of the wolf, the dog drew too near and was seized and overpowered by the wolf. In order to save his dog the hunter rushed out upon the lake; and when within fair range, dropped upon one knee and fired. Unluckily the ball struck the trap, smashed it, and set the wolf free; and all the hunter got for his pains was a

dead dog and a broken trap—while the wolf went scot-free.

But to illustrate how stupid the white fox of the Arctic coast is in comparison with the colored fox of the forest, the following story is worth repeating. It happened near Fort Churchill on the northwest coast of Hudson's Bay. The trader at the post had given a certain Eskimo a spoon-bait, or spoon-hook, the first he had ever seen; and as he thought it a very wonderful thing, he always carried it about with him. The next fall, while going along the coast, he saw a pack of white foxes approaching and having with him neither a trap nor a gun, he thought of his spoon hook. Tearing a rag off his shirt, he rubbed on it some porpoise oil which he was carrying in a bladder, fastened the rag about the hook, laid it on a log directly in the path of the approaching foxes, and going to the end of the line lay down out of sight to watch what would happen. When the foxes drew near, one of them seized the bait, and the Eskimo, jerking the line, caught the fox by the tongue. In that way the native caught six foxes before he returned to the post; but then, as every one in the far north knows, white foxes are proverbially stupid creatures.

DEAD FOXES AND LIVE ONES

ONCE, while traveling in Athabasca with Caspar Whitney, the noted American writer on sport and travel, we came upon a black fox caught in a steel trap. One of our dog-drivers stunned it and covered it with a mound of snow in order to protect its pelt from other animals, so that when the unknown trapper came along he would find his prize in good order. Three days later when I passed that way, the fox was sitting upon the mound of snow, and was as alive as when first seen. This time, however, my half-breed made sure by first hitting the fox on the snout to stun it, and then gently pressing his moccasined foot over its heart until it was dead—the proper way of killing small fur-bearing animals, without either injuring the fur or inflicting unnecessary pain.

Colin Campbell, a half-breed at York Factory, once had a different experience. He had been on a visit to an Indian Camp with his dog-train and, on his way back, found a white fox in one of his traps. He stunned it in the usual way and pressed his foot over its heart; and when he thought it was dead, placed it inside his sled wrapper and drove home. On arriving at the Fort he unhitched his sled from the dogs, and leaving them harnessed, pulled his sled, still containing its load, into the trading room, where, upon opening the wrapper to remove the load, the fox leaped out and, as the door was closed, bolted in fright straight through the window, carrying the glass with it, and escaped before the dogs could be released from their harness.

CAUGHT IN HIS OWN SNARE

SNARES, steel traps, and deadfalls that are set for large game are dangerous even for man to approach carelessly, and sometimes even the trapper himself has the misfortune to be caught in the very trap he has set for some other animal. Early one winter—in fact, just after the first heavy snowfall, and while some bears were still roaming about, before turning in for their long winter sleep—an Indian hunter —I have forgotten his name—assisted by his son, had just set a powerful snare for bears. Soon after starting for home, the hunter, discovering that he had left his pipe by the trap, told his son to go on to camp, and he would return to recover his treasure. On arriving at the snare, he saw his pipe lying just beyond his reach at the back of the loop, but instead of walking round the brush fence and picking it up from behind, as he should have done, he foolishly put his leg through the snare in order to reach and dislodge his pipe. By some evil chance his foot caught upon the loop, and instantly he was violently jerked, heels over head, into the air, and there hung head downward struggling for his life. He had made the tossing-pole from a strong tree, up which his son had climbed with a line and by their combined weight they had forced the tree-top over and down until they could seize it by setting the snare. The tossing-pole, when the snare went off, sprung up with such force that it not only dislocated the hunter's right leg at the knee, but it threw his knife out of its sheath, and, consequently, he had no means by which he could cut the line, nor could he unfasten it or even climb up—for he was hanging clear of the tree. Presently, however, he began to bleed from the nose and ears; and in his violent effort to struggle free, he noticed that he was swinging from side to side; then it dawned upon him that if he could only increase the radius of his swing he might manage to reach and seize hold of the tree, climb up to slacken the line, unfasten the snare, and set himself free. This, after much violent effort, he finally

ed; but even when he reached the
verything seemed utterly hopeless,
count of his dislocated leg, he could
So there he lay all night long.
wilight, as fate ordained, the wounded
l a visitor; it was a bear, and no doubt
y bear for which he had set his snare.
e bear, in approaching, did not notice
n until it was almost on top of him, and
it became so frightened that it tore up
a neighboring tree and there remained
hours. By midnight, however, it came
n, and then it was the suffering hunter's
to become alarmed, for the big brute
sed very close to him before it finally walked
ay. A little after sunrise the hunter's son
rived, but not being able to carry his father,
nd fearing lest the bear might return before he
ould secure help, he decided to leave his
ather there while he went in search of the
bear. Tracking it, he soon came upon it and
shot it dead. Back he hastened to camp and,
with his mother, returned with a sled and
hauled the wounded man home.

DEPREDATIONS OF A WOLVERINE

THIS HAPPENED years ago when an old Dog-rib Indian, called Meguir, was living and hunting in the vicinity of Fort Rae on Great Slave Lake. The Dog-rib and his family of five had been hunting Barren Ground caribou, and after killing, skinning, and cutting up a number of deer, had built a stage upon which they placed the venison. Moving on and encountering another herd of caribou, they killed again, and cutting up the game, stored it this time in a log cache. Again setting out on the hunt—for they were laying in their supply of deer-meat for the winter—they again met with success; but as it was in a district devoid of trees, they simply covered the meat with brush; and while Meguir and his wife set off to haul the first lot of meat to camp, the three grandchildren set to work to haul in the last. On continuing their work the next day the children brought in word that a wolverine, or *carcajou*, had visited the log cache; so Meguir set off at once to investigate the story.

When he arrived, he found the cache torn asunder, and the meat gone. Wolverine tracks were plentiful and mottled the snow in many directions, but on circling, Meguir found a trail that led away, and on following it up, he came upon a quarter of a deer. He circled again, trailed another track, found more meat, and after a few hours' work he had recovered most of the venison; but on smelling it, he found that the wolverine, in its usual loathsome way, had defiled the meat. Then, on going to his stage, Meguir found that it too had been visited by the wolverine, as the stage had been torn down and the meat defiled. Indignant at the outrage, the old Dog-rib determined to hunt the *carcajou* and destroy it. But before doing so, he made sure that all his deer meat was hauled to camp and safely stored upon the stages before his lodge. That night, however, his old wife woke up with a start and hearing the dogs growling, looked out, and discovered a strange animal scrambling down from one of the stages. At once she screamed to her old man to get his gun as fast as the Master of Life would let him, as the wolverine was robbing them again.

Half-awake, and that half all excitement, the old man rushed out into the snow with his muzzle-loading flint-lock, and let drive. Instantly one of his dogs fell over. Roaring with rage the old Indian re-loaded with all speed, and catching another glimpse of the wolverine in the faint light of the *aurora borealis*, let drive again; but as ill-luck would have it, the gun went off just as another of his dogs made a gallant charge, and once more a dog fell dead—and the wolverine got away!

Nothing would now do but that the old man must seek his revenge at the earliest possible moment, so when dawn broke, he was already following the trail of the malicious raider. All day he trailed it through the snow, and just before dusk the tracks told him that he was very near his quarry; but rather than run the risk of firing in a poor light, he decided not to despatch the brute until daylight came.

THE WOLVERINE AND THE SNOW-SHOES

ACCORDING to the northern custom, when he camped that night he stood his gun and snow-shoes in the snow far enough away to prevent their being affected by the heat of the fire. In the morning his snow-shoes were gone. Tracks, however, showed that the wolverine had taken them. Again the old man trailed the thief; but without snow-shoes, the going was extra hard, and it was afternoon before he stumbled upon one of his snow-shoes lying in the snow, and quite near his former camp, as the "Great Mischief Maker" had simply made a big circuit and come back

again. But of what use was one snow-shoe? So the old hunter continued his search and late that day found the other—damaged beyond repair.

That night, filled with rage and despondency, he returned to his old camp, and as usual placed his gun upright in the snow away from the heat of the fire. In the morning it was gone. New tracks marked the snow and showed where the *carcajou* had dragged it away. Several hours later the old man found it with its case torn to ribbons, the butt gnawed, and the trigger broken.

Tired, hungry, dejected, and enraged, old Meguir sought his last night's camp to make a fire and rest awhile; but when he got there he found he had lost his fire bag containing his flint and steel—his wherewithal for making fire. Again he went in search, but fresh falling snow had so obliterated the trail and so hindered his progress, that it was late before he recovered his treasure, and regained his dead fireplace. Yet still the wolverine was at large.

But instead of thinking of wreaking his rage upon the wolverine, the poor old Indian was so completely intimidated by the wily brute, so discouraged and so despondent, that he imagined that the whole transaction was the work of some evil spirit. As a result, he not only gave up hunting the wolverine, but also he gave up hunting altogether, and he and his family would have starved had not friends come to their rescue and rendered them assistance until his grandsons were old enough to take charge.

BEAR CUBS AND FISH

YEARS ago, near Fort Pelly, on the Assiniboine River, an old Indian killed a she-bear that was followed by two cubs. Though he skinned and cut up the carcass of the mother, he did not touch the whimpering babes, and on going to camp, he sent his wife out with a horse to bring in the meat. When the woman arrived at the spot, she found the two cubs cuddled up against the dressed meat of their mother, and crying as if their poor hearts would break. Their affectionate behavior so touched the motherly heart of the old Indian woman, that, after loading the meat aboard the *travois*—a framework of poles stretched out behind the horse—she picked up the sobbing children and, wrapping them in a blanket to keep them from falling off the *travois*, bestrode her horse, and brought them whimpering into camp.

For some time she kept them tethered beside her lodge where she took good care of them, but when they grew larger and seemed well behaved, she released them and allowed them to run and play with the dogs around camp. In the fall, it was her habit to take a hand-net and go down to the river to fish. Standing upon a rock and every once in a while casting in her net, she would land a fish on the bank. For several days the cubs watched her with interest, and then one day, it seems, they decided they ought to try and help their foster-mother; so wading in on their hind legs till the water covered their little round tummies, they would stand perfectly still until a fish would swim near. Then they would make a violent lunge for it, and striking lightning-like blows with their paws, they, too, would land a fish upon the bank. Over and over they repeated the manœuvre, with evident excitement and pleasure. At last, every time the old woman picked up her net to go fishing, these two went along and helped her with her work. So fond of the sport did they become that, presently, they didn't even wait for her to accompany them, but scurried down to the river by themselves and would often have a day's fishing caught and ready for her, before she had put in her appearance.

But a few months later, when the cubs had grown still larger and stronger, they became so boisterous and mischievous that they not only handled the dogs too roughly, but also when the Old Indian and his wife left camp at any time, they went on the rampage: chasing the dogs about, ransacking the larder, turning the camp topsy-turvy, and scattering everything in confusion. So the old couple decided that it was now high time to put their skins upon the skin-stretcher in readiness to sell to the fur-trader.

THE CHAUTAUQUAS—AN AMERICAN ACHIEVEMENT

Where Nearly One Fifth of the Population of the United States Last Year Went for Entertainment and Education in the Principles of Democracy

By TRUMAN H. TALLEY

WE ARE in a brownish-tinted tent—whether we assume we are in Chillicothe, Cuyahoga Falls, Mt. Victory, or any of the remaining 137 places on the circuit. This tent, with all its appurtenances, posters, folding chairs, and platform properties—except the piano furnished by a local dealer and adequately so advertised—is a transient affair, come but a short time ago and due to fold and depart a few hours hence. Yet it will all come again. And through the apparent transience of it all there is a pervading air of permanence. The chairs, at least, are firmly held, for in every one of them sits a man or a woman or a child. Around the fringes, leaning on or holding to tent poles and ropes, or standing grouped at the back of the main aisle, there are more people. They are all intently listening. They are all facing a platform which, as it happens, is likewise firmly held down. For there appears, besides the locally loaned piano, a frail speaker's table and a pitcher of water and a glass, the figure of Irvin S. Cobb, designated, if by no other means, by the programme in our hands as the "World's Greatest War Reporter." The programme shows him scheduled to speak this night in this place on "My Recent Experiences on the Fighting Front in France and Flanders."

Cobb is talking. The audience listens in rapt attention. They laughed uproariously a while ago when he told the story of the Negro woman who collected $500 insurance for the death of her husband and who was asked by a friend, "What you-alls gwine t'do now's you've had all dis"—the crowd waited as Cobb paused just an instant for the greater dramatic effect—"luck?" But they are silent now. He is telling them about something they have never heard before. Yes, they may have read about some of it; in fact, they may have read what the speaker himself has written. Yet to hear him in person, this man who has actually made contact with that horrible conflict over in Europe several thousand miles away, is to listen to the equivalent of something new despite the fulsome daily newspaper accounts of the war. He is telling them what he saw in Belgium, of his observations in Germany behind the lines, of the plight of France, of England's gigantic efforts, and finally of our own country's decision to make the issue ours as well. Famed as a writer, Cobb has become what a Chautauqua director once described a successful platform speaker as being—a talking publicist.

Presently the speaker finishes, and prolonged applause follows. But he remains on the platform and then from various quarters of the crowd questions are asked. A discussion ensues. More questions are asked and the speaker explains anew or in greater detail certain of the points touched upon in the lecture but raised now by certain of his hearers who want to know more about the world cataclysm which this man has seen, and which they thus far have only read about. When the questioning ends and the evening session closes, another very definite and very concise block of valuable information will have been placed at the disposal of this community for its general use and guidance in future appreciation of the truth of the world struggle.

Outside the humming of automobile motors, seemingly restless to be on the road home, for the hour is late, encroaches upon the buzz of conversation within the now thoroughly animated tent. But the motors' invitation for the most part goes unheeded. There is a group around the platform talking to the evening's speaker. There are concentrations of people here and there throughout the sputteringly lighted tent. All are in earnest, some in rather heated conversation. This war is something

to talk about, and this evening has afforded them all a new approach and with not a few an altered basis for the consideration of certain of its aspects. Home is seemingly the last thought of the majority. Likewise the surroundings, new and a bit bizarre for us, have no effect upon those we are watching.

This evening, according to the programme, is the finale of a week's conclave under the tent, but before discarding the elaborate leaflet which is entitled "Win-the-War Chautauqua Programme," let us see what has gone before in the other six days of the week. We find that Private Peat has been here and spoken on "Two Years in Hell and Back with a Smile"; also Dr. Frank Bohn with a lecture entitled "After the War, What?" then Senator Harold C. Kressinger, one of the nation's youngest legislators, on "The America of To-morrow"; there is Colonel George W. Bain, a platform veteran, who headed one day's attractions with a patriotically inspirational talk on "If I Could Live Life Over"; also Dr. Henry A. Adrian in a war-turned scientific discussion of "New Ways of Feeding the World." Too, there is an imposing list of other kinds of entertainment, all with a patriotic tinge; Ralph Dunbar's Royal Dragoons have given a patriotic concert, while the Junior Chautauquans under the guidance of the Junior leader have given a pageant depicting "Our Allies." Other things there were, too, among them the Ben Greet Players in "The Comedy of Errors." An interesting week, don't you think so?

What we have been viewing to-night, as well as what we may visualize from the programme of the other days and nights, represents a true-to-type specimen of a vast cross-section of this great national life of ours, brought into being on the one hand and exposed to view on the other by the single agency of the Chautauqua. This institution is the channel to-day through which a great percentage of the American people get their durable information on world affairs, their inspiration for personal and community welfare and their ammunition for political controversy and decision. The Chautauqua is teaching people how to run their local, state, and national affairs; how to improve their community and their general health; how to enrich their store of general and specialized information; how to be better farmers and urbanites; how to gauge the economics of the nation and the world; how to stand upon and fight for moral issues; even how to view changed world affairs, and what to do to untangle the international complication. The spoken word carries far—unbelievably far until the channel through which it is transmitted is described.

A TYPICAL AMERICAN INSTITUTION

THE Chautauqua is more spectacular and more truly typical of America and seemingly more appreciated than its twin, the Lyceum, insofar as concentrated public interest is concerned. The Lyceum in point of attendance and therefore in point of the actually wider influence still retains a margin over what might be termed its midsummer manifestation. For in 1920 a total of 11,867,600 different persons attended the 14,715 Lyceums in the United States and Canada—yes, they are in foreign countries about which something will be said later—while the slightly lower total of 10,456,500 different persons attended 8,581 Chautauquas. Yet there were more Chautauqua programmes given than there were of the Lyceum. In the same year 85,885 Chautauqua performances were presented, as against 76,685 Lyceum lectures and entertainments. Too, in the matter of season ticket purchasers—a most important phase of the whole business in that both exist on the scale on which they are operated to-day only by virtue of advance purchase or guarantee of the requisite number of season admissions—the Chautauqua again bests its indoor companion. The 1920 books show a total of 5,148,600 Chautauqua season ticket purchases, as against 4,453,500 for the Lyceum. But of minor importance are these statistical variations; the major consideration is the tremendous aggregate of persons these combined figures represent. The totals of attendance represent nearly a fifth of the nation's population and as it will be seen that *bloc* may well be termed a serious thinking fifth. These figures do not vary much from the totals struck after a national election.

The record of this institution, to be exact, is one of a rise from forty "customers" to more than 21,000,000 in ninety-five years. (The total attendance, which means the admission of the same persons several times during a season, is just a little short of 75,000,000). Such figures find companionship only in those attendant upon the growth of free schools and the modern expansion of journalism.

Josiah Holbrook, born in 1788, the son of a Revolutionary veteran, organized forty farmers

and mechanics into the Millbury Branch Number One of the American Lyceum in Massachusetts in 1826. This is the first time the word "Lyceum" was used in the United States to designate the bringing together of people to hear educational lectures.

Between 1826 and 1845 more than 3,000 town Lyceums were organized from Maine to Florida and as far west as Michigan. Holbrook founded the Concord Lyceum, perhaps the most famous in that it has continued to function ever since 1827. He also founded the Boston Lyceum of which Daniel Webster was president. Holbrook's first idea was for the townspeople of superior knowledge to impart and share their good fortune with their fellow-townsmen. But in time local talent was exhausted and lecturers were invited from town to town. Gifted men created a reputation as orators and soon they were in such demand that it was necessary to ask fees else all their time would have been consumed in lecturing. Ralph Waldo Emerson was the first famous professional lecturer. His fees were low at first. There is a letter in existence that he wrote the Waltham committee regarding his fee: "I am willing to accept the $5 you offer me, but I must have in addition three quarts of oats for my horse." He spoke ninety-eight times in the Concord Lyceum without pay, but when the fee system began he rapidly rose from the $5 level to $150, and in the days of his greatest popularity he received as high as $500. Emerson once said, when asked why he did not accept one of the many calls to famous pulpits, "the Lyceum is my pulpit."

In the Lyceum Hall built in Salem many famous speakers appeared, including Rufus Choate, the Endicotts, the Peabodys, and the Pickerings. Alexander Graham Bell in 1877 delivered his first lecture there on the telephone. Many famous people have followed Emerson in the Concord Lyceum. There were Oliver Wendell Holmes, James Russell Lowell, Louis Agassiz, Horace Greeley, R. H. Dana, Jr., Charles Sumner, Henry Ward Beecher, Henry James, Edward Everett Hale, A. B. Alcott, Matthew Arnold, Julia Ward Howe, Charles Francis Adams, and scores of others.

To Holbrook goes the credit for the Lyceum idea, but to Bishop John H. Vincent, once a Pennsylvania circuit-rider in the Methodist Church, must attach the everlasting fame for its evolution into what is to-day everywhere known as the Chautauqua. Self-educated as a youth by a cabin fireplace, Vincent grew into manhood with the burning desire to devote his life to the education of his fellow men similarly or to a greater degree handicapped in finding the means of self advancement. Early in life he achieved wide fame for his dissemination of what might properly be called popularized, or at least simplified, Sunday school lessons which he published in a "quarterly" that most church-going people know. But his vision included more territory, both in point of people reached and topics taught. In 1874 as the result of Vincent's labors—he was not made a bishop until 1888—there was held on the shores of Lake Chautauqua, New York, the first session of what has become the guiding "Mother Chautauqua" of the world.

THE HEADQUARTERS ON CHAUTAUQUA LAKE

TO-DAY Chautauqua, New York, which, as one bureau director once explained to a questioner, has nothing to do with and has no derivation from the word "talk," but is an Indian name of various interpretations chief of which is "bag tied in the middle"—and the lake has that appearance—is a vast institution of great permanent buildings valued at millions of dollars, with an ever-increasing total of annual attendance and ever-changing and ever-enlarging class of lecturers and entertainers. But comparatively few people are able to leave their homes and journey to Chautauqua Lake for the sort of educational entertainment and summer outing that the place affords. And what is true to-day was found to be true years ago. But it was not until about thirty years after Bishop Vincent's idea began working that the greater idea developed. True, other stationary Chautauquas appeared in isolated places, but for the most part the business of sending speakers, singers, and entertainers over the country to appear in summer engagements was limited, the Lyceums covering the same fields fairly adequately in the winter. Even in the field the bureaus handling "talent," and the "talent" themselves had their troubles. They were at all times circumscribed by lack of organization and systematized routing, all of which burdened lecturing with such expenses that it was at best a precarious occupation. If Mt. Ayr, Iowa, wanted to hear, say, Sam Jones or Dr. Conwell or any others of the famed "talent" of the day, Mt. Ayr's more erudite citizens besought the agency or bureau that handled

the particular "talent" and after long-drawn correspondence and dickering over terms the deal was eventually consummated. Of course the event "paid," barring accidents, else it would not have been held, but what was then known as "paying" would hardly be regarded as "breaking even" to-day. True, the townspeople got their money's worth in enlightenment, albeit at great trouble in contrast with the later method. But what of the "talent"? Likely as not, his or her next appearance was in, say, Lakewood, Ohio, or if luck was hovering near perhaps the "jump" would be only one state instead of two or three removed. Expenses literally ate up the business, and inconvenience took all the pleasure and glory out of it. This in turn made "good talent" difficult to obtain in quantity. This lack of coördination, in both the demand by the communities for "talent" and the supply of that "talent" by the bureaus, stood for years as the chief obstacle to the broadening of the scope of the Chautauqua.

It was Keith Vawter, of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, a booker of "talent" in the old and awkward system, who first hit upon the idea that is axiomatic to-day. In 1906 it occurred to him that the programmes that were meeting with such great success at such places as Chautauqua Lake could be systematically carried to the towns over the country in circuits. Vawter's labors brought great results, and to him to-day all credit is given for having evolved, sold, and conducted the first circuit Chautauqua, as against the independent, or stationary, Chautauqua.

A Chautauqua circuit is a group of towns, from fifty to a hundred and fifty in number, located in the same general area and all within reasonable reach of the rest. All have contracted with one of the number of booking organizations now operating in that field for a "season" or a week of the uniform programme offered. This business has grown from the uncertain and more altruistic than profitable undertaking of a few years ago into one of the biggest propositions of current times, comparable to the automobile and motion picture industries in extent, if not in money involved. There are several scores of these circuits to-day reaching, as before stated, 8,581 communities, and the number of circuits and subscribing towns is growing at a great rate every year. Vawter's idea was first tried west of the Mississippi, but it soon spread over the entire Middle West. When the "Chautauqua belt" is spoken of, the Middle West is meant. An idea of the extent of this institution may be gained from the totals of Chautauquas in certain of those states: Iowa 436, Illinois 352, Ohio 317, Pennsylvania 290 Nebraska 234, Kansas 260, Missouri 250, Wisconsin 208, Oklahoma 196. But the idea has spread elsewhere. For instance, New York has 201 separate Chautauquas despite the great attraction at the "mother" institution.

A LIST OF CELEBRITIES

THE manner in which this vast organization functions, as regards both operation of circuits and construction of programmes, is as interesting as the romances of other big businesses. Let us take, for example, the Affiliated Lyceum and Chautauqua Association. This joint bureau serves about 7,000 cities and towns a year and does a $6,000,000 business annually. It furnishes approximately 35,000 lectures, entertainments, and concerts during the winter and summer seasons. Among the celebrities whose tours it has managed may be named William H. Taft, Thomas R. Marshall, William Jennings Bryan, Irvin Cobb, Russell H. Conwell, Edna Ferber, Judge Ben B. Lindsey, Ian Maclaren, Victor Murdock, Emmeline Pankhurst, Ernest Thompson Seton, Vilhjálmur Stefánsson, Mark Sullivan, Ida Tarbell, Will Irwin, Frederick Warde, Brand Whitlock, Harvey Wiley, Hugh Black, Rear-Admiral Cary T. Grayson, Carl E. Akeley, Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, Theodore E. Burton, Stephen Leacock, Walter Lippman, Glenn Frank, Frank Crane, Tom Skeyhill, Gregory Mason, Senator William S. Kenyon, Ruth Bryan Owen, Peter Clark Macfarlane, and Charles Edward Russell.

From that brief outline an idea may be obtained of the enormity of the typical Chautauqua organization. Whatever one's views of the circus, there is one general impression and that is that it is big and unwieldy, expensive and troublesome, and subject to a thousand and one difficulties. Yet a look around a Chautauqua "plant," though it may be lacking in the bizarre sights and strangely luring secrets of the sawdust coverall, reveals a literal bigness both in properties and programming that makes the circus tent resemble a deserted wigwam. There will soon be removed from a Cleveland warehouse for use this season on two near-by circuits sixteen full sets of Chautauqua equipment; sixteen of everything from

tents, sets of chairs, platforms, cashier's booths, banners, to all the odds and ends that go to make the canvas forum. And again, for instance, there are 1500 chairs in each of the sixteen sets. And we are only considering two of the scores of circuits. That particular batch of equipment in Cleveland—for only two circuits—represents in bulk more than five circuses. True, there are no animals, but there is the "talent," with all due respect to whom it may be said, on the authority of a Chautauqua official who still retains his humor, they are frequently no less troublesome than caged animals.

But before distributing all this equipment, let us see how the field is prepared and the necessarily smoothly operating circuit is formed. It is one thing to have a great collection of intellect under contract to air their views, and entirely another to get enough people to put up the money to make it worthwhile. It might surprise you to hear that one man of long experience in the business stated that contrary to general belief the Chautauquas sought the people and not the people the Chautauquas. As he put it, "While beyond doubt the Chautauqua once started in a town is regarded as an asset not to be lost, the community inertia is such that seldom does a committee of citizens walk into a bureau office and ask to be put on the list. I don't say they never do, because community jealousy and the desire to have something just as good as the neighboring town often prompts the leaders of a given town to do unusual things. But on the whole the idea has to be sold and to that phase of the work we devote great attention and in that work we place our best men."

THE BOOKER

THE first year is obviously the crucial one. In the older days progress in converting towns was exceedingly slow if for no other reason than that an advance booking agent had few or no strong examples of circuit Chautauqua success in neighboring places with which to coax or diplomatically goad a community into a contract. But the expansion, once under way, has been by rapid multiplication. Success the first season always meant a contract in one or more neighboring towns. And once a town gets the "Chautauqua habit," the ensuing year's contract is usually signed without prolonged discussion at the close of the current season.

All Chautauqua and Lyceum bureaus have what are known as bookers, men who spread the Chautauqua gospel. The booker is necessarily a man whose temperament, character, and appearance fit him for this peculiar rôle. His job is not an easy one. First of all, he must have the ability to walk into a town, get acquainted with its people, find the leaders and the public-spirited citizens, bring them together, convert them to the idea, and sign them up to what is literally a blank contract for a Chautauqua the next summer—a Chautauqua the exact programme for which neither he nor his employers can safely predict. Among other difficulties, it is not easy for a stranger to segregate the well-to-do and the right-minded, for what community, large or small, is free of that class of wealth which by reason of selfishness or interest in unsavory local affairs refuses to join or acts to block any move looking toward enlightenment or reform? For a Chautauqua not infrequently presages a moral clean-up in the town, more sweeping and practical than the regeneration following a season of revivals. Those interested in rival and probably not so wholesome recreations interpose their influence against the newcomer. But even after the better class of the citizens has been sorted over and the higher-minded of the lot on the way toward an interest in the new project, the trouble is by no means over. The booker, if he has operated in the usual manner, has asked the school superintendent, one or all of the local newspaper editors, one or more of the bankers, all the preachers, and persons from various other walks of life—the postmaster, because he is generally first asked whether a rival booker has been thereabouts, if so with what success, also plied with queries as to the standing, business, and habits of the leading citizens, is not infrequently included in the list—to meet with him at the school house, in a parsonage, or perhaps in a banker's office for a discussion of the scheme. He seems to be getting on. Yet, bookers say, not infrequently it is here that the real trouble starts. As likely as not, this preliminary and hastily summoned conference has brought together citizens who for one reason or another are not on the best of terms, the barrier extending all the way from petty jealousies to business hatreds and outright feuds. Such a state of affairs is frequently the reason why a town has no Chautauqua, and yet, just as often, bookers say, this impromptu gathering

TWO PERMANENT CHAUTAUQUA BUILDINGS

The upper picture is of one of the pavilions at Chautauqua Lake, New York, where the first Chautauqua was held, and where a great permanent organization has been built up. The lower picture is of the Independent Chautauqua at Gladstone, Oregon

THE BROWN TENT IN CALIFORNIA
The personnel of a Chautauqua outfit is made up of a superintendent, three or four college boys on vacation for "hands" and a girl who takes charge of the children's programmes in the mornings and acts as cashier in the afternoons and evenings

and the idea back of it—that of community uplift—are sufficiently strong to terminate town antipathies, wipe out factional disputes and weld a new force for the common good. It cannot be denied that the booker who can not only overcome such obstacles and "sell" his "line of goods" but also play the peace-maker and in that rôle likewise serve as the benefactor of the town, is a capable individual. He is in fact a sort of super-salesman, or missionary of uplift and communal betterment. But above all things the booker must remember that his organization will not tolerate his acceptance of the booking by one definite clique of citizens as against another well-defined group, also that he and the institution he represents must at all times be absolutely non-political and non-sectarian.

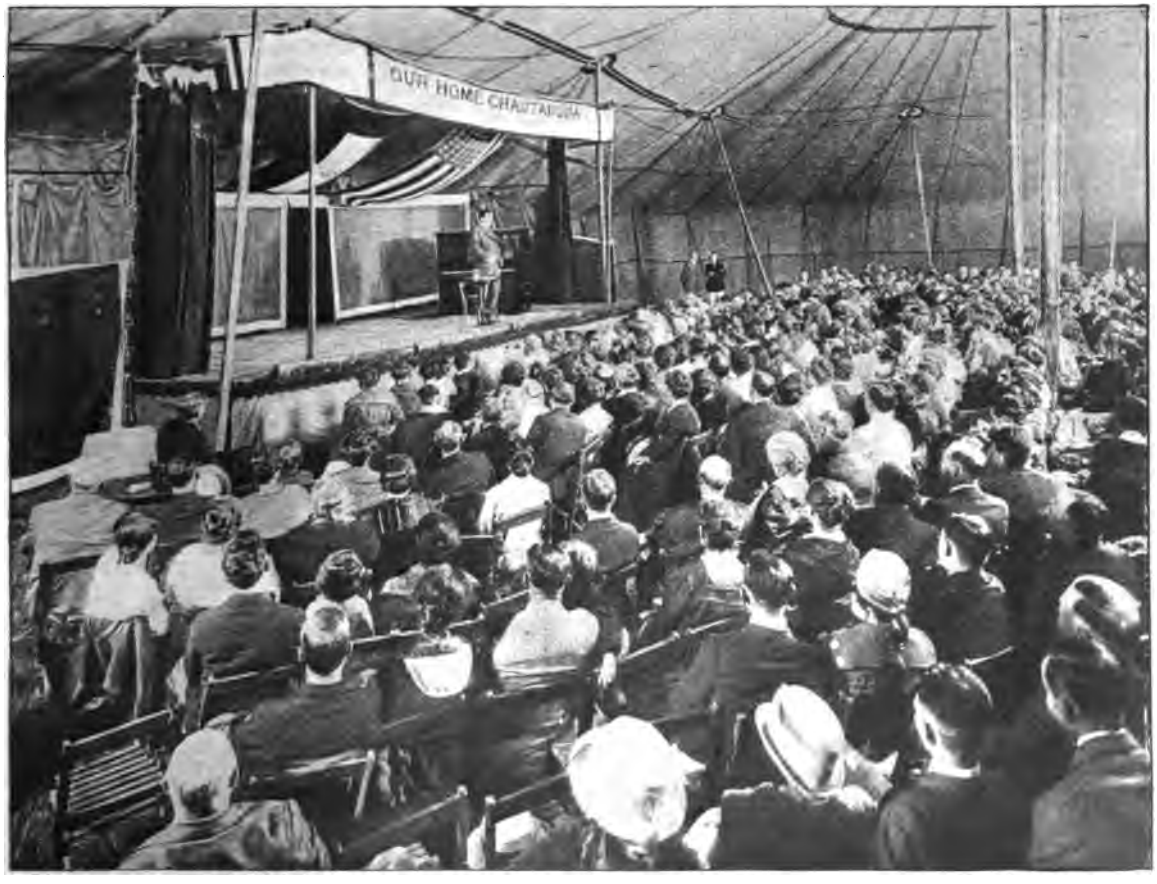
The argument of the booker to the citizens is that by the subscription to a Chautauqua and the entrance into a circuit they can bring to their town at a ridiculously low cost a programme of education and refinement that will appeal to and benefit all classes. What the Chautauqua has done for other towns is described, and there is no dearth of illuminating instances of betterment, of reform, and of outright cleanings-up. His main argument is that the Chautauqua has become an institution of national proportions supplementing the schools and the press in the diffusion of contemporary enlightenment. As well sus-

pend the newspapers and close down the schools as to shut the door on the Chautauqua, he argues; and the contract, calling for a guarantee of a certain number of season tickets (usually about 700 at $2 to $3 a piece) is soon signed.

Then the men in charge of the programme building strive their utmost to avoid the pitfalls of mediocrity. A stale programme probably would do a Chautauqua more harm than a *risqué* one, though the harm might not reveal itself so quickly but merely poison public interest. The necessarily stereotyped bill of attractions must be nicely balanced, and it is toward that balance that the greater part of Chautauqua work is directed. Two great political leaders, unless pitted against each other in a lively debate, would weight down the best of programmes, just as would too many bell-ringers. But one statesman leavens the week. A man like Senator Kenyon, virile, eloquent, recognized as a man whose word counts for something at Washington, provides all the light on the national political situation that a community wants in its week in an oratorical wonderland. One lecture on science generally proves enough, and even in that one selection extreme care must be taken that a field too dry or too abstruse is not chosen, for there are few of us who like to pay money to hear something expounded not only over our heads but beneath our feet, so far as interest goes. Sam Jones, the famous evangelist who spent twenty-five of his years on the Chautauqua platform, sensed this topheaviness, which all careful programme drafters strive to avoid, when, in one of his many characteristic offhandisms, he abruptly left the topic he was expounding, fastened his gaze on a drear and drowsing figure in the front row, pointed what seemed an accusing finger and asked of the man:

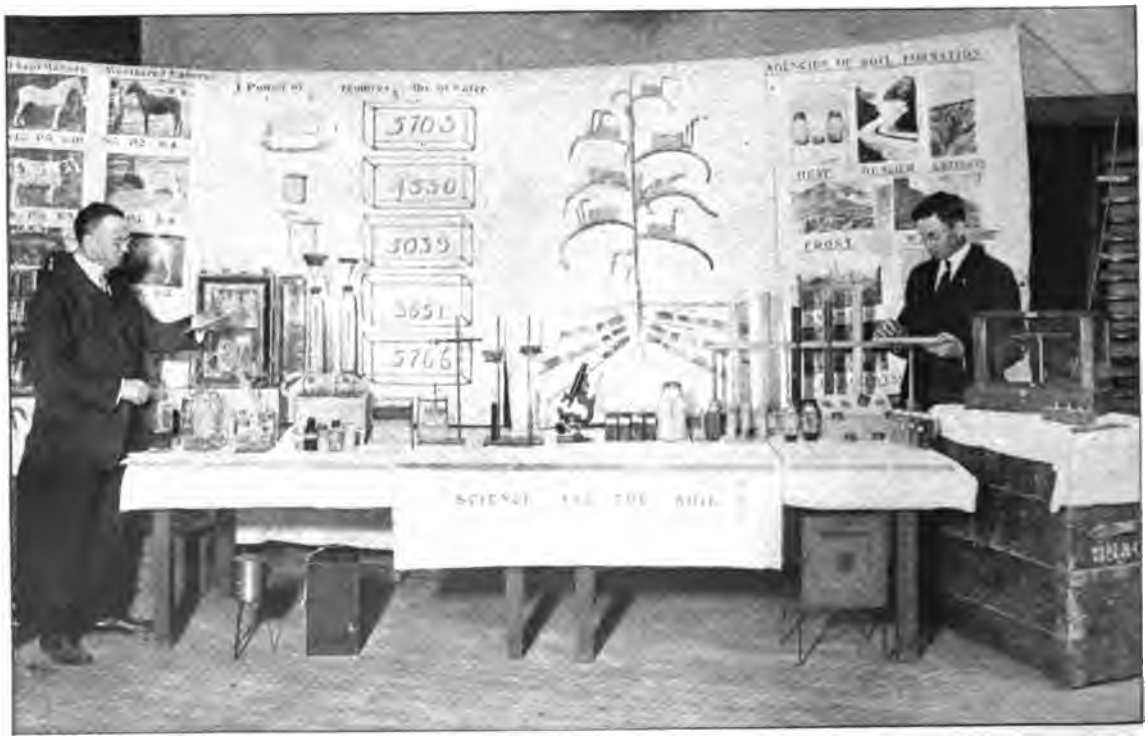
IRVIN S. COBB ADDRESSING A CHAUTAUQUA AT CLEVELAND

Only Cobb knew this flashlight was to be taken, and to explain his moment of repose Cobb startled his hearers with this introduction to his evening's address: "Something is going to happen and you don't know what it is, but I do." His audience gaped at this enigmatical and almost threatening remark, but the flashlight a second later explained it



WILL IRWIN

Writers, travelers, men of science, explorers, and others whose activities have led them into widely scattered fields, present their views or tell of their experiences to the stay-at-homes, and the personal touch that is lacking in the writings of these men adds much to the value of their lectures



A LECTURE FOR THE FARMERS

Professor Henry G. Bell and his assistant, J. W. Henceroth, with the equipment for their Chautauqua talk on "Science and the Soil"

EX-PRESIDENT TAFT

The successful Chautauqua has been a notable achievement of our democracy. The value of an ex-president's talks, for instance, to those who attend these meetings is difficult to over-emphasize

STEPHEN LEACOCK

The Canadian college professor, author, and humorist, who is a popular Chautauqua speaker

© J. K. McKinley

VILHJÁLMUR STEFÁNSSON
The Arctic explorer. The interest aroused by the men who have actually done the things they tell of and faced the dangers they describe leaves a much more vivid impression on the audience than would the writings of these same men

"How much did you pay to get in here?"

His victim was startled, but whether from visions of getting his money back or merely in the interests of public discourse he replied: "Fifty cents, Mr. Jones."

"Well," replied the evangelist, evidently satisfied that his inquiry had revealed just what he suspected, "I am afraid you've paid for more than you can tote."

Those responsible for programmes don't want to err on the side of giving people more than they can "tote." The eternal balance, so to speak, is their goal. You will never find, say, Stefánsson speaking on the Arctic and Akeley on African animals in the same programme. Medicine is a vital question but a tiring one to pay money to hear more about; yet Chautauqua directors believe they have booked a stellar attraction in Rear-Admiral Grayson who, with his story of the care of the health of three Presidents cannot help but implant useful medical information throughout the circuit he travels.

There is no desire to take any but the positive side on all moral questions, such as prohibition, yet with all the influence this institution exerted in making the country dry it cannot very well be said that it became a tool of the Anti-Saloon League. One of the greatest prohibition arguments heard from the platform came about in an unusual way. Some years ago Richmond Pearson Hobson and Former Governor J. Frank Hanly were booked for the season in a debate on "Resolved, that the world should disarm." This was a great feature in itself, and ran along through the season with plenty of material for even the metropolitan newspapers, the contestants varying their

arguments and improving their attacks and defences as the season progressed. But at the close of every debate they staged, in the few remarks made in return for the applause, each stated that while they found themselves of opposing sides in this fundamental question, there was another issue on which they were unanimous, and that was prohibition. That was all; yet that sort of crack of the whip at the very end did more for that cause than any prepared set of season lectures could have accomplished. And as one director explained, aside from the desires of the bureaus and the wishes of the people who attended, the very calibre of the people attracted to the tent platform is such that no other attitude on moral issues is possible.

An unusual instance of programme preparation is to be found in a recent exploit of the Coit-Alber Bureau. Incidentally, it throws a light on the modern tendencies of the Chautauqua—the going out after the material which is judged to be of greatest interest to the patrons on the circuits. Tom Skeyhill is an Australian soldier who enlisted at eighteen, fought at Gallipoli, and was blinded. He came to this country to help in the Liberty Loan campaign, but soon after that work his sight was restored. He continued his lecturing, going from war work into Chautauqua. Then about a year ago, his health well recovered, he was despatched by his bureau to Russia, with instructions to get in, if possible, find what it's all about, and then tell the people at the Chautauquas about it. He has accomplished his mission, having returned only a few weeks ago from Riga, and this summer anywhere from a quarter to a half million Middle Westerners will hear more about Russia that they will remember than from all the millions of words published in the press.

Before the war the Chautauquas preached the gospel of peace and disarmament. When America entered the struggle, the mobilization of none of the resources of the nation was more complete or quickly effected than the Chautauquas. This quick means of reaching the people—and not only reaching them but also converting them—was made use of by the authorities in Washington, and at a memorable conference of all the directors of the various bureaus and systems of the country with War Department and other government officials the entire machinery for relaying the spoken word direct to the public was placed at the disposal of the Administration. There followed intensive campaigning, by the revision

© Pach Bros.

THOMAS R. MARSHALL

The genial former vice-president appears on the Chautauqua platform and immediately his audience feels something in common with the country's leaders. The personal touch is the greatest aid to democracy

of programmes to include men and women whose messages meant something in the fight to win, which aimed at, first, augmenting volunteer enlistment; second, popularizing and explaining the selective service act; third, helping in the sale of the various war loan issues and, fourth, the maintainance throughout the struggle of patriotism and good cheer.

Now that the war is over and the nation faces a drastically altered and seriously disarranged world, the Chautauquas have seen it as their duty to tell — not educate, for that is presumption — their millions of listeners as nearly as possible what it means; and as the directors figure it, there are no better carriers of the messages than the men who have themselves either acted in or witnessed the events of the last five or six years. The League of Nations, for instance, has had wide discussion, though this nation-wide forum has not been turned over to either of the contending factions for their sole use. Bolshevism and the social unrest of the world has had extensive treatment, and will have further examination this season, though such a topic implies neither approbation or condemnation. National expenditure and the world's burden of debt is something that probably 25,000,000 Chautauqua patrons will hear discussed this summer. The spoken word will keep the pace set by events.

ADMIRAL CARY T. GRAYSON

The fact that he has been the physician to three Presidents is enough in itself to give Admiral Grayson a great deal of interest in the eyes of an audience

Chautauqua's great undertaking, now in its inception, is its jump into the foreign fields. Restricted of course for the time being to the English-speaking world, which is world enough to conquer, those directing this move profess to see no reason why the idea cannot be applied the world over. Chinese students in this country are almost a unit for the adaptation of the idea for their country, and as likely as not the day will soon come when those of the Far East return to their native land after an education in America and plant the seeds of the Chautauqua which they have seen flourishing so promisingly in America. In connection with the Affiliated's initial move in the English field, a note from the Prime Minister not only records his approval of the idea but expresses a sentiment that is, in a sense, the key-note of the entire Chautauqua idea. He wrote:

> I cordially support every movement which would tend to bring British speakers before American audiences and American speakers before British audiences, for in my opinion the more our two nations understand one another, the better. I have therefore passed your letter on to the necessary quarter with the request that your work should be facilitated in every way possible.
>
> D. LLOYD GEORGE.

An imposing list of achievements has been placed to the credit of the Chautauquas. A partial and summarized review of those efforts is more than sufficient to prove the point now being made season after season over the length and breadth of the country that the Chautauqua is an established and immovable institution in American life—an institution as vital as the democracy itself in that it serves in a measure at least equal to and perhaps greater than that of any other agency in the dissemination and inculcation of that frank and vivid truth so necessary in the maintenance of the solidarity of a great and free nation. Typically American, it has come into being to help perpetuate that which it typifies—an enlightened liberty.

AUTHORS AND "BEST SELLERS"

Books That Have Sold High into the Thousands and the People Who Write Them

By ARTHUR BARTLETT MAURICE

SO LONG as people take an interest that is perhaps both inartistic and illogical in the "best selling" books, lists will be compiled, figures cited or suggested, and comparisons drawn. Also other people, of fastidious ideals, or who aspire to be credited with fastidious ideals, will continue to find the "best seller," its author, and its readers, objects for flippant jest. Shafts of sarcasm for the subject have always been easy to find and easy to launch. But as yet they have never been known to have moved an author to the point of urging his publishers to curtail ingenuity and expenditure in advertising where his book was concerned.

But, lest we forget, a word of common justice about the whole matter of the "best seller" of to-day and of yesterday. A hundred years ago or thereabouts the "best selling" novelist in England was a certain Sir Walter Scott, and the two Americans who had to bear the corresponding stigma in this country were Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper. Had any one thought to compile a "best selling" list for the England of 1847, for example, it would probably have contained two or three titles now utterly forgotten. But "Vanity Fair," by W. M. Thackeray would have been there, and also the then latest book of Charles Dickens. A French list of approximately the same period would unquestionably have shown M. Eugène Sue's "The Mysteries of Paris" and "The Wandering Jew" as strong contenders, while the more enduring works of M. de Balzac would have had to be content with places rather far down the column. But very near the top would have been the "Three Musketeers," and "The Count of Monte Cristo" of the elder Dumas. Fifteen years later Victor Hugo's "Les Miserables" was conspicuously the "best seller" of its day. Nor were the giants of literature the shrinking and sensitive souls of popular fancy when it came to the question of the material return for their labor. It was Byron's expressed ambition to ruin a publisher. Tennyson very nearly realized that ambition in several directions. Dickens was such a good business man that he left an estate of approximately half a million dollars. Even the Jove-like Hugo, supposed to be ever communing with Mount Olympus and far removed in thought from the sordid details of worldly finance, knew how to drive a hard bargain, binding his Belgian publishers to pay 125,000 francs upon delivery of the manuscript of "Les Miserables," and that without permitting them to read a line. These were the men who were the "best sellers" of the past. Do not forget for an instant that in the first rank of "best sellers" of to-day—two million copies was the figure of the Kipling sales last year, and of the Kipling "Inclusive Verse," despite its high price, 26,500 copies have been sold—is a man by the name of Rudyard Kipling; that in 1920 the sales of the books of Joseph Conrad amounted to thirty-six times what they did in 1911; that the books of Maurice Maeterlinck are widely circulated throughout the civilized world; that Robert Louis Stevenson, twenty-

seven years after his death, goes on selling tremendously; that the English novelists finding steady favor in the book markets of the United States are such men as H. G. Wells, and Leonard Merrick, and John Galsworthy, and Arnold Bennett, and W. J. Locke, and octogenarian Thomas Hardy; that among our own countrymen of to-day or recent yesterday Mark Twain still retains his hold, and the names of Jack London and Booth Tarkington and Stewart Edward White recur in the lists from year to year; and that a good many persons who long ago read and reread O. Henry in book form are again finding amusement or diversion in rereading the stories as they appear piecemeal in newspapers. A year ago the sales of the O. Henry books totalled 4,000,000 copies, and now that total has passed the 4,500,000 mark.

Twenty years ago the literary air was full of "prithees," "od's bloods," "sir-rahs," and stately phrases such as "he hath the *bel air*," and "so his Grace was pleased to say." Incidentally it was a form of diction particularly exasperating to one of Mr. Tarkington's youthful heroes, Hedrick Madison of "The Flirt," who associated it with his sister Cora's vampish (and there's an anachronism for you) designs on what he called in sweeping and scathing alliteration, "the person in pants on the premises." The era was the buoyant era of the historical novel—in those days every native of Indiana was popularly supposed to have the manuscript of such a romance concealed somewhere about his person—an era that was playing irresponsibly about "the glory that was Greece," or "the grandeur that was Rome," or Tudor England, or "the red-heeled days of seigneurial France," or Revolutionary taverns that were filled with the roistering red-coated officers of King George—somehow we never met any roisterers wearing the Continental blue and buff—of an era that was letting loose an occasional novel of

SINCLAIR LEWIS

The publishers of Sinclair Lewis's "Main Street," enthusiastic over the story and its prospects, prophesied the first of last January that the book would reach a sale of 100,000 copies in 1921. That figure was reached in eight weeks. "Main Street" is riding on a wave of unprecedented indirect advertising. A distinguished visiting diplomat has used the book in a phase of international complication. "The trouble is," he said, "that Europe thinks of the United States in terms of Wall Street and not in terms of Main Street"

JOSEPH C. LINCOLN

Tremendously popular in small communities all over the country are the books of Joseph C. Lincoln. Every book that he has written has sold better than the previous one. The sales of "Shavings" were many thousands of copies greater than those of the volume that preceded it, and "The Portygee," which followed "Shavings" has outsold its predecessor

KATHLEEN NORRIS

The sale of the novels of Kathleen Norris has already passed the 1,000,000 mark. Her latest book "Harriet and the Piper," sold more than 50,000 copies, and for months held its place as one of the "best sellers"

FREDERICK O'BRIEN

Frederick O'Brien's "White Shadows in the South Seas" is now in its twelfth printing. The book, incidentally the author's first, was written eight or nine years ago, and laid aside. It was reluctantly yielded to the publisher who had long known of its existence

ALEXANDER BLACK

Alexander Black, whose novel, "The Great Desire" has passed the 50,000 copies mark, was the author and producer of the first "moving picture" shown in America. That was in 1894, and President Cleveland, then in the White House, was one of the actors in the "film," or what filled the place of the "film"

MARY ROBERTS RINEHART

Mrs. Rinehart's three latest books, "The Amazing Interlude," "A Poor Wise Man," and "Dangerous Days," have reached a total sale of 1,000,000 copies or more. This is apart from two volumes of short stories, published during the same period, which would probably add another 100,000 to the figure

JOSEPH CONRAD

This year the Conrad sales total about 300,000 copies. "The Rescue" alone sold about 50,000 copies. A recent chart indicated that the sales of Conrad in 1920 were thirty-six times greater than they were in 1911

WINSTON CHURCHILL

Once upon a time an industrious person with a statistical turn of mind figured out that four thousand spruce trees had to be cut down in order that Winston Churchill's "Richard Carvel" could be printed. That was considerably before the sale of the book had reached its present figure of 659,000 copies

E. PHILLIPS OPPENHEIM

Tastes change, but the adventure novels of E. Phillips Oppenheim swing on blithely in popularity from year to year. Mr. Oppenheim's first 1920 novel, "The Great Impersonation," is now nearing the 100,000 mark

FANNIE HURST

The present success of Fannie Hurst bears out the old copy book maxim encouraging perseverance. At the beginning of her career she wrote thirty stories that were rejected by the *Saturday Evening Post*. "Humoresque," from which Miss Hurst's latest volume of short stories takes its title, was rewritten for the "movies" and was one of the greatest successes of last year

JOHAN BOJER

Johan Bojer seems to be the successor of Blasco Ibañez as the foreign author immediately before the American reading public. "The Great Hunger" began in the United States with an edition of 2,000 copies. It is now being reprinted monthly, no printing being less than 5,000 copies, and has reached a total sale of about 100,000 copies in this country alone

ERNEST THOMPSON SETON

The sale of the books of Ernest Thompson Seton reached last year a total of 375,000 copies

SCOTT FITZGERALD

Written in a daring and iconoclastic spirit that reflects the youth of its author, Mr. Scott Fitzgerald's "This Side of Paradise" has been one of the most highly praised and bitterly criticized novels of recent years. The first printing was exhausted the day of publication. Already there have been eleven large printings of the book

real merit, and a thousand futile imitations of Dumas, and Scott, and Thackeray's "Esmond." The "prithees" have disappeared from the books of subsequent years, yet Mr. Don Marquis is of the opinion that their place has been taken by the already overworked word, "reactions."

Perhaps a bird's-eye glance at the conspicuous books of the recent past would not be without profit. Great sellers of the 'eighties that come to mind are General Lew Wallace's "Ben Hur," and those extraordinary early sensational novels of Archibald Gunter, notably "Mr. Barnes of New York," which, after being rejected everywhere, was published at the author's own expense and sold two million copies. Of the mid-'nineties Du Maurier's "Trilby" was undoubtedly the most striking success, although Anthony Hope's "The Prisoner of Zenda" stimulated into new and at times uncomfortably vigorous life a school that had had its beginning with Stevenson's "Prince Otto." But the furor stirred by "Trilby" and "Zenda" had died down before the real wave of prosperity for authors and publishers came. It was the ending of the old century and the beginning of the new that saw that wave lapping at the high water mark.

HISTORICAL NOVELS OF YESTERDAY

TO-DAY the historical novel is almost a rarity. Twenty years ago it weighted down the deck chairs of trans-Atlantic liners and the cushioned chairs of drawing-room cars. At the head of the list for January, 1901, reflecting the activities of the preceding year, were Mary Johnston's "To Have and to Hold," a story of colonial Virginia; Charles Major's "When Knighthood Was in Flower," a story of Tudor England; and Winston Churchill's "Richard Carvel," and Paul Leicester Ford's "Janice Meredith," stories of the American Revolution. Advance a decade. Florence Barclay's "The Rosary," Mary Roberts Rinehart's "When a Man Marries," Winston Churchill's "A Modern Chronicle"—these were the books that stood out as the conspicuous examples of material success just ten years ago. Five years ago the books that corresponded to these were Gene Stratton-Porter's "Freckles" and "A Girl of the Limberlost," Harold Bell Wright's "The Eyes of the World," Winston Churchill's "A Far Country," Eleanor H. Porter's "Pollyanna Grows Up," and Booth Tarkington's "The Turmoil."

To those readers who are not absolutely of the new generation there is a certain pride in the enduring qualities of the novels of yesteryears that were found not wanting. The name of Winston Churchill appeared in the lists of twenty years ago, of ten years ago, and of five years ago; and the chances are that it will be appearing five years hence. The success of "Richard Carvel" is not news; but the fact that it was 1920 when the total sales of that book reached 659,000 copies is news. It was some years ago that an industrious person of a statistical turn of mind figured out that four thousand spruce trees had to be cut down in order that "Richard Carvel" could be printed. And that was considerably before the figure of sales had reached 659,000. Mr. Churchill is typical of a number of writers who belong both to yesterday and to-day. Of the Americans, Booth Tarkington, James Lane Allen, Edith Wharton, Stewart Edward White, Gene Stratton-Porter with her total sale of more than eight million copies, Irving Batcheller, Joseph C. Lincoln, Owen Wister, and Gertrude Atherton belong to that group. The success of the moment inevitably calls attention to the durability of certain of their successes of the past. For example, soon to be published is Mr. Owen Wister's "Our Fight, Too," which aims to do sympathetically for France what the widely read "A Straight Deal" of a year or so ago did sympathetically for England. Mention of Mr. Wister's name gives the opportunity to impart the information that the total sales of his "The Virginian," which originally appeared in 1902, recently passed the one million mark. Although Jack London died five years ago, it was at so early an age that he seems almost of to-day. Eight hundred thousand copies are the latest figures for his "The Call of the Wild," a success which will rejoice every lover of a fine dog story. So far as permanence of sale goes, James Lane Allen's "The Choir Invisible" is in the class with "The Virginian" and "The Call of the Wild," and, speaking of dog stories, Alfred Ollivant's "Bob, Son of Battle" is as striking an example of the permanence of sale as one could find, for year in and year out it sells steadily and surely. Last year, in a similar article in the WORLD'S WORK, the stories of the continued successes of Booth Tarkington, Stewart Edward White, and Irving Batcheller were told. Mrs. Wharton's "The Age of Innocence," is in its seventh printing, and

these printings have ranged in number from 50,000 to 10,000 copies. Joseph C. Lincoln's "The Portygee" has outsold even "The Age of Innocence," although the literary columns of the newspapers and magazines have not paid anything like the attention to it that they have to the Wharton volume. But Mr. Lincoln's books are amazingly popular in small communities all over the country. Every book he has written has sold better than the previous volume. The sales of his "Shavings" were many thousands of copies greater than of the volume that preceded it, and "The Portygee," which followed "Shavings," has outsold its predecessor.

Of the Englishmen, there is W. J. Locke, the continued success of whose novels in this country shows that "The Beloved Vagabond," and "The Morals of Marcus Ordeyne" were no mere flashes in the pan. His American publishers already have twenty-three of Mr. Locke's novels on their lists, and the novels go with a popularity that justifies a first printing of 50,000 copies for every one, and requires that every title be kept continually in print. Total Locke sales are now more than 1,000,000 copies. One million copies is the latest estimate of the total sales in this country of the books of Arnold Bennett. This includes his plays and essays as well as his novels. The name of H. G. Wells will come up again in connection with his "Outlines of History." In the meantime of some interest is the fact that the sale of "Mr. Britling Sees It Through" recently reached 245,000 copies. A few years ago a new edition of the old books of Leonard Merrick was launched in the United States. More than one hundred thousand copies of that edition have already been sold. Thomas Hardy, eighty-one years old this year, has contributed a general preface to the recently published Anniversary Edition of his works, as well as new introductions to the individual volumes. The sales of separate volumes of Hardy's books in this country have amounted to approximately 180,000 copies, the biggest seller having been "Tess of the D'Urbervilles," with 60,000.

The reading public is naturally interested in new literary figures, and conspicuous among such figures in the last twelve or eighteen months are Sinclair Lewis, Floyd Dell, and Scott Fitzgerald, respectively the authors of "Main Street," "Moon-Calf," and "This Side of Paradise." About Sinclair Lewis's "Main Street" there have been expressed as many different opinions as there are copies sold of the average published novel. Nearly everything possible in praise or disparagement has been said of the book except that no one has yet suggested that it has not been adequately advertised. And, save in a mood of heavy irony, no one will. "Main Street" has been receiving more indirect advertising than any other book within memory.

THE STORY OF "MAIN STREET"

IT WAS five or six years ago that Sinclair Lewis, with an air of profound mystery, went to the head of the publishing house that for the last six months has been struggling with the problem of supplying the public demand for copies of the book, and proffered the information that he had an important secret to impart. Then, after enjoining guarded discretion, and, in the proper manner of romantic fiction, peering behind all the furniture and making sure that there was no one listening at the keyhole, he whispered that he was going to write a book and that the subject and title of it was to be "Main Street". The publisher did not laugh. He believed both in the idea and in the man, and many times in the course of the long months that elapsed between the day of that talk and the day when the manuscript was eventually turned over to him for reading, he spurred the author on with words or letters of encouragement.

Born in the Middle West, educated at Yale, at various times a reporter (to use his own words, "frequently fired") on papers of New Haven, Connecticut, and San Francisco, in a spirit of adventure a cattleman on trans-Atlantic vessels and a tramp in half a dozen countries of Europe, Sinclair Lewis had the basic experience to fit him to write the projected and long meditated novel. But with the writing actually before him he felt the need of re-kindling the fires of impression. So traveling in his "flivver" from state to state and from town to town he investigated a hundred Main Streets. He went to St. Paul and studied it for use in his opening chapters. He went to Sauk Center, Minn., where he was born, and where, like the Dr. Will Kinnecutt of the novel, his father had been a local practitioner. That does not necessarily mean that Sauk Center was the Gopher Prairie of the story, but it was there that Sinclair Lewis absorbed the atmosphere, and the life of the community

during the long bleak months of winter. And when the notes, laboriously and painstakingly jotted down, had been transformed into the novel, the publisher who had believed from the first saw that his faith had been builded upon a stout foundation.

In August, 1920, more than three months before the date set for publication, the first advertisement of "Main Street" was printed, prophesying a book destined to provoke controversy, and to attract wide attention. Ten thousand copies was the figure originally decided upon for the first edition, but that figure was increased to fifteen thousand. The date of October 14th for the appearance of "Main Street" was, owing to complications unforeseen, changed to October 23rd. But several advance copies that had been sent out for review purposes could not be recalled. From one of these copies Heywood Broun wrote the article that set the book in motion, saying that at last an American novel of the first order had been found. The article appeared in the New York *Tribune* for October 21, 1920, and at once the clamor for copies of the story began.

Buoyed up by early success the publishers advertised, prophesying on the first of January last that the year 1921 would see the sale of the book reach 100,000 copies. That figure was reached in eight weeks. From October till late December the plates were kept continually on the presses. The usual lull that comes between Christmas and New Year's was seized as an opportunity to withdraw them in order to have another set made. Since then, both sets have been continuously running, sometimes night and day, and at no time have all the orders been completely filled. Considered geographically, fan-like has been the spread of the popularity of "Main Street." Before January 1st, 80 per cent. of the sale was in the metropolitan district. Since, it has been moving steadily to the west, and, above all, to the south. Although an edition was sold to Australia before a publisher could be found willing to make the venture of bringing out an edition for England, there has been an unusual response to the book from English men of letters; Arnold Bennett, Hugh Walpole, Compton Mackenzie, Wilfred Meynell, and John Galsworthy being among those who have sent unsolicited tributes.

Two years or so ago a young man only a short time out of college presented himself at a New York publishing house with the manuscript of a novel. There is nothing particularly striking about that part of the story; a thousand other young men were doing the same thing at approximately the same time. But in the case of this young man the story happened to have a sequel. He had the abounding confidence of youth in his manuscript, but it was a confidence tempered by diffidence and certain misgivings. He realized, he said, that he knew little of the art or business of novel writing. As it was a first novel, he did not anticipate any considerable success. He had prepared himself to be satisfied with a small sale for the book. In fact he would not be disappointed if the first year's sale did not go beyond thirty thousand copies.

THE OPTIMISM OF ETERNAL YOUTH

NOW the older man to whom the young novelist was confiding his doubts and aspirations was of a sympathetic disposition. Also there was a bond between the two based upon the same university traditions; it was '02 of the Gothic towers and stately elms talking to '18. So '02 held back the smile and gravely expounded many things that are matters of everyday knowledge to any one engaged in the business of publishing, but that the world outside seems never able to grasp. He explained that a sale of 5,000 copies represented a measure of success to the average novel published, and pointed to several novels of unquestioned quality that no amount of hard work and discriminating praise had been able to push beyond a sale of 1,800 or 2,000 copies. A sale of thirty thousand! Of course that happened at times. In the Mexican lottery somebody had to draw the grand prize. Wide-eyed youth, listening politely, acquiesced, but was unconvinced.

It was not the manuscript just as then submitted, but the manuscript after considerable revision, that was accepted and published. In this particular case, not only did the manuscript undergo revision, but also the adviser's opinion. It was not many months before '02 had the pleasure of writing to '18 something to this effect: "Dear Scott Fitzgerald; 'This Side of Paradise' has already passed that thirty thousand mark of which you so wildly talked."

The same reviewer who was instrumental in starting the sale of Sinclair Lewis's "Main Street" was also a factor in the early success of

Scott Fitzgerald's "This Side of Paradise." "Main Street" the reviewer extolled to the skies. "This Side of Paradise" he damned to the uttermost depths of the waters beneath the earth, which is evidence that it matters not in the least what a reviewer says so long as he says it vigorously enough. People became at once curious about a book that contained so much inviting violent abuse. The first printing of "This Side of Paradise" was exhausted the day of publication. In all, to the time of writing, there have been eleven large printings of the book which also has undoubtedly been instrumental in stimulating the sale of Mr. Fitzgerald's second volume, "Flappers and Philosophers."

A story of university life, daring and iconoclastic as only youth can be daring and iconoclastic, the greatest discussion that raged about "This Side of Paradise" was naturally in university circles. It was as much talked about in women's colleges as in men's colleges; Vassar, Wellesley, Smith, Bryn Mawr, weighed it, praised it, or denounced it as the case might be, as freely as did California and Michigan, Yale, Harvard, and, above all, Princeton. Probably a thousand tales in imitation were begun by youth of both sexes. A young woman at Wellesley read "This Side of Paradise" one afternoon and decided that it was her duty and opportunity to write something in similar vein. That night she wrote a story and the next morning mailed the manuscript to the *Saturday Evening Post*. Some people do win those Mexican lottery prizes. To Scott Fitzgerald it was given to see his extravagant dreams of a sale of thirty thousand copies realized in a few months. The story of the young woman of Wellesley was accepted within four days.

The novel of American outdoor life, breathing the expanse of vast plains, the strong air of the mountains or the salt air of the sea, is of yesterday, to-day, and to-morrow. It is always with us. If one other type of novel may be considered for the moment to be in the ascendancy, to occupy the place once held by the historical novel or the romance dealing with the imaginary principality somewhere in central Europe, where princesses of the blood were wooed and won by intrepid and unconventional Americans, it is the novel of a Middle West that is pictured as raw, or unlovely, or drearily monotonous; sometimes all three. "Main Street" has been discussed. It is linked in the mind of the moment with Miss Zona Gale's "Miss Lulu Bett," and Floyd Dell's "Moon Calf." For a number of years Miss Gale's restrained and carefully chiselled books have had their appreciative and discriminating audience, but it remained for "Miss Lulu Bett" to make that audience a genuinely wide one. The book, discussed everywhere, and greatly stimulated by the success of the play made from it, is now in its ninth printing, and all the printings have been large. "Main Street" and "Miss Lulu Bett" were the conspicuous first successes of their authors. Floyd Dell's "Moon-Calf" was not only that but a first novel as well. Mr. Dell recently defined a Moon-Calf as "an egotistical young man with a touch of intellectual lunacy." Incidentally, Mr. Dell's home town of Davenport is the real Port Royal of the story.

MRS. RINEHART, "OLD" IRV. COBB, AND OTHERS

FIGURES amazing and interesting have been compiled to indicate the audience of Mrs. Mary Roberts Rinehart. One million copies is the estimated total sale of "The Amazing Interlude," "Dangerous Days," and "A Poor Wise Man," all published within the last three years. These are considered quite apart from two books of short stories published during the same period, which would increase the total by at least 100,000 copies more. During the last twelve months Mrs. Rinehart's books have sold a total of 300,000 copies, which, with the comparatively low estimate of three readers to a book, would bring this part of her public to about a million. Her *Ladies Home Journal* audience, which perhaps may be considered quite separate, is 2,000,000. Her *Saturday Evening Post* audience another 2,000,000. Her audience through *McClure's* and the *Cosmopolitan* at least another million. Of her three plays, one of which will soon have four companies on the road, it is hard to calculate the total audience for a year, but a rough guess would be between a million and a million and a half. Her moving picture audience is also difficult to figure, but with five or six pictures now out it must at least duplicate her theatrical audience.

A year or so ago the names of Mrs. Rinehart and Irvin S. Cobb were linked in the world old war of the sexes. Mrs. Rinehart presented the woman's side of the case with "Isn't That Just Like a Man?," and Mr. Cobb the man's side with "Oh Well, You know How Women

Are!," and the two arguments were printed in the same book. The complete sales of Irvin Cobb's books to date is 1,000,000 copies. They are divided into three classes; the purely humorous, such as "Speaking of Operations;" fiction of the type of "Old Judge Priest;" and such farcical stories as "The Life of the Party." Of all of them, "Speaking of Operations" has been the most successful, approximating two-fifths of the total sales of all his works.

The fact that Alexander Black's "The Great Desire" of a year or so ago has just reached the 50,000 class recalls its author as the writer and producer of the first picture play. That was more than a quarter of a century ago; the play was "Miss Jerry;" and it was given 650 times. Mr. Cleveland, then the President of the United States, was one of the actors. "What am I to do?" asked the President as Alexander Black set up his camera in the White House. "You are to sign a bill," said the author. "I shall make three negatives of the action, and these will be blended on the screen to produce the effect of motion." There was a heap of bills on the table and the President did as he had been told. Mr. Cleveland was not the only distinguished precursor of Mary Pickford and Charlie Chaplin. Doctor Black had the ingenious audacity to persuade another President, Mr. McKinley, to take part in his experiments, and also the British Ambassador, Speaker "Tom" Read, Commodore Melville, and Chauncey M. Depew. Mr. Depew for example, received the heroine of "Miss Jerry," a newspaper girl, in the company's offices at the old Grand Central Station, and was there "filmed." The play was first produced on October 9, 1894, in the New York studio of James Lawrence Breese. Other "first nights" were given in Boston and Chicago. These first audiences were distinguished, including William Dean Howells, Edmund Clarence Stedman, Edward Everett Hale, Frank R. Stockton, Margaret Deland, F. S. Church, Augustus Saint Gaudens, St. Clair McKelway, George Haven Putnam, James Herbert Morse, Herbert F. Gunnison, Arthur Scribner, Don C. Seitz, John Alden, John S. Sargent, and others. When Doctor Hale greeted the author after the Boston "first night" it was to say: "Black, it's so inevitable, that I am chagrined to think that I did not invent it myself." The first screen drama, like the others produced by "the picture man," as Black was called in the 90's, was a "slow movie." It was projected on the screen by a complicated form of stereopticon with "registered" images. Where the motion picture machine puts on the screen fourteen or fifteen pictures in a second, producing the full illusion of motion, Doctor Black's device put but four to the minute.

RUDYARD KIPLING'S HOME AT BURWASH, ENGLAND

Last year's figures showed that the total sales of Kipling's works had reached approximately the 2,000,000 mark. The "Kipling Inclusive Verse," published in 1920, despite its high price, has already sold 26,500 copies

The novel, good or bad, has always held its sway. In the past, an occasional work of a more serious nature appeared that, for some particular reason, won an unusual number of readers. But such a book was frankly exceptional. It is no longer so. Of recent years the book of non-fiction has come to take its place by the side of its more frivolous sister as a money-winner for its author and publishers. No longer is the business of

profitable publishing confined to guess-work as to whether next year's fashion in fiction is to run to the swashbuckling school, or the introspective school, or the novel of "way down East." Tastes more varied have to be weighed and considered.

Here is the result of a test of preference of books for Christmas buying made by the mail order department of a leading American publishing house. "What class of books interest you most?" was the gist of the question. From 300 cards returned the following table has been arranged showing the number of inquiries under each division. It will be noted that fiction stands, not first, but fifth in the list.

1.	History and Biography	135
2.	Nature Books	132
3.	Travel Books	118
4.	Children's Books	97
5.	Fiction	96
6.	Books on Foreign Countries and Affairs.	93
7.	Books of Instruction.	89
8.	Books of Humor.	83
9.	Industrial Books.	83
10.	Poetry.	78
11.	Popular Science.	78
12.	Books on Art.	71
13.	Home Making Books.	67
14.	Essays.	64
15.	Plays.	47

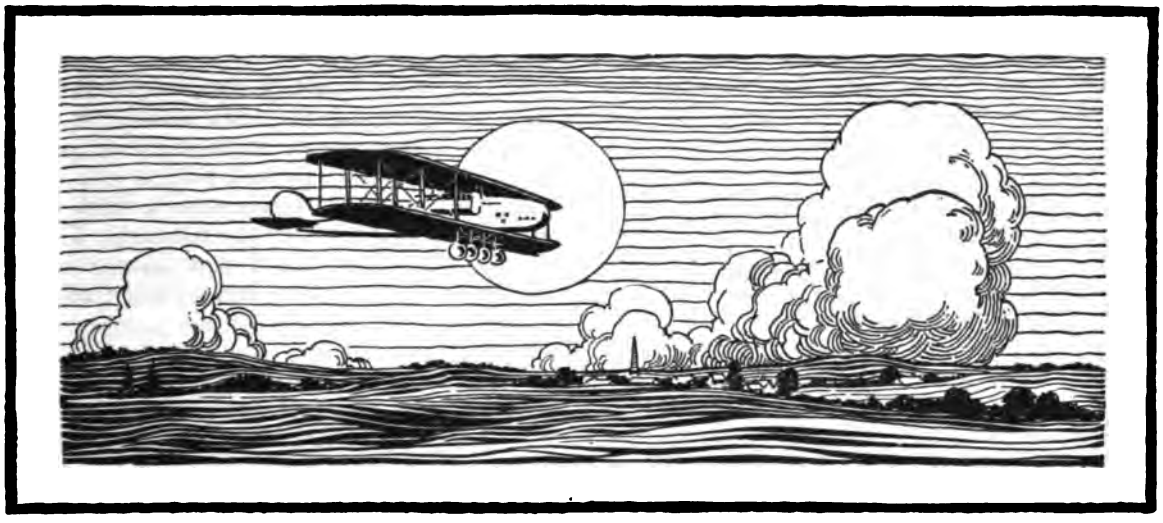
SOME REPRESENTATIVE WORK

JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES'S "Economic Consequences of the Peace," H. G. Wells's "Outlines of History," and Edward Bok's "The Americanization of Edward Bok" may be selected for the moment as examples of recent successes that illustrate the catholicism of the new reading taste. Could three outstanding books well be picked indicating a greater variety?

"What's the use of trying to go to the Capitol?" was a remark frequently heard in Washington a year ago last winter. "Every time you start up the hill you fall over a Senator reading "Economic Consequences of the Peace." Judgment in selection plays its part in the success of some books; at other times it is a matter of sheer luck. Luck certainly had a share in the American launching of "Economic Consequences of the Peace." One day the publisher of the book was called up on the telephone by a friend who said: "So and So, who is just back from Europe, says there is a book by an Englishman named John Maynard Keynes who was with the British representatives at the Peace Conference." "I'll take it" said the publisher. That was the casual start of the American edition of a work that was for a time the most vehemently discussed in the land. The first edition of 4,000 copies was a generous estimate for a book of this nature by an absolutely unknown author. It was more than generous; it was rash. But it happened to come at a time of political issue. The financiers took it up. The book shops that had scoffed at it when it had been offered to them in advance of publication clamored for copies and their messengers dared the various blizzards that marked the winter of 1919–20 in order to obtain them. Individual houses of the Wall Street district sent orders for ten, twenty-five, or fifty copies for distribution to friends or customers.

It is an unusual achievement when a novel retailing at $2 makes its way into the select class that sells 50,000 copies or more. Consider how much more difficult the task must be when it is the question of a work in two volumes and retailing at $10.50. Yet that is substantially the story of H. G. Wells's "Outlines of History." Perhaps something of this success is due to the hold that Wells has had for years upon the American reading public. "Mr. Britling Sees It Through," with its sale of 245,000 copies already mentioned, heads the list of Wells's successes, but the sale of almost all his novels goes on steadily.

Some one has summed up "The Americanization of Edward Bok" as a book that has sold against prejudice. Here was a man who as the editor of a widely distributed woman's magazine had wielded an enormous influence for a generation. It was an influence at which reactionary men laughed and a shadowy personality which they derided. Yet men and not women have made the sale of "The Americanization of Edward Bok." Preaching the joy and gospel of labor, it has had an immense influence upon work throughout the country. Many men in control of great industries have considered it a book expedient to give to their managers and department heads. Clergymen have found in it the inspiration for sermons. The first edition was exhausted the day of publication, and the book has already run through six editions.



FLYING THE MAIL

Experiences of the Men Who Fly the Air Mail Planes, as Told by One of the Oldest Pilots in the Air Mail Service

REPORTED BY DONALD WILHELM

This article is written upon the thought, background and experience of mail pilots, among them Randolph Gilham Page, one of the oldest pilots in the service, who is now, after some eight years of war-time and commercial flying in America and France, in charge of trying out mail pilots chosen from a long waiting list, before they are given pouches to carry. The article in the main is derived, however, from official records, notably of crashes—for every crash in the Mail Service means an official investigation! In addition the conclusions regarding the science of aviation, the use of wireless and other instruments, and much of the substance of the article is the product of much reporting and interviewing of authorities in the Air Mail Service, the Army Air Service, and mail and pilots themselves. It has been checked and approved by some of these authorities.—THE EDITORS.

THE only time I have ever crashed a ship completely in seven years of pretty continuous flying here and abroad, in both military and commercial work, was the second time I set out to fly the mail between New York and Bellefonte, Pennsylvania, the first leg on the run to Chicago.

It was clear enough when I took off from Hazelhurst Field, Long Island, that winter morning. I couldn't rise high and steer a dead-straight course, as we shall soon be doing, no matter night or the weather, with the wireless directing us to a degree all the way. Then flying the mail will be more a science than an art, with fewer indeterminate factors. Then we can hurdle storms and clouds and mountains.

> *"The Air Mail Service is an important initial step in the direction of commercial flying."*
> —PRESIDENT HARDING

I followed the Long Island Railroad past the Belmont Race track, keeping Jamaica on the left, and leaving behind the humpy morainal mass of Long Island reaching off to the east, to merge with the Atlantic. On the regular course, I swung over the lower end of Central Park, up high enough to make little old New York, with all its skyscrapers that seem so big below, look like a cluttered and helpless country hamlet. And it looks that way from the air—it looks as if you could smash it with one bomb, which is reason enough for some western pilots saying that all New

Yorkers should fly—as a cure for their provincialism!

Then I hit it across the Hudson, over the flat plains of New Jersey, and headed for the jumbled peaks of the Alleghanies.

I was out about an hour—about a hundred miles—when I ran into fog, which has a habit sometimes of hanging on like the old man of the sea. I found I couldn't swing direct over Mauch Chunk and Sunbury, and on into Bellefonte. It happens that way when you are traveling so fast—here the weather is fine, but the next minute you strike fog or rain or snow. I had to turn southward, over Easton, Bethlehem, and Allentown, intending to bowl the jack up the Susquehanna between the mountains.

But when you get in there, things get interesting!

You can go through Woodward Pass, quitting the Pennsylvania tracks, where you must have quite a bit of altitude. You can run up the river, with your wheels just above the water, if the fog is very low, to Lock Haven, then down the valley and into Bellefonte. Or you can pick up a railroad near Sunbury, whose landmark is a lot of little islands, and wind through. But that's an awful course—if you're flying a D-H4, you haven't more than fifty feet to spare on each wing and have to bank at seventy degrees to make some of the bends.

Well, to make it short, I got in there among the mountains and the fog got so thick I couldn't see my wing tips. That worries you, if you think about it—it's worse than being high, lost in cloud, where you're relatively safe. Soon I had lost all idea of direction; my horizon was gone and my compass was spinning. It was then that I spotted a hole in the wall and went down, to get my bearings.

I got down to about 1,500 feet, where I could make out the trees below. Then, in a flash, the fog closed under. It was useless to try to straighten out—I knew I was a thousand feet below the tops of those mountains. If I tried to climb, I figured, or took a chance and flew straight on, the probabilities were ten to one I'd strike full on.

There was nothing to do—I was in for a crash!

I held her nose up and let her settle, and things began to happen.

First I hit a tree a wallop and the tips of my right wings were gone. She side-slipped then, down the mountain side till the earth reared up. I cut my switches, ducked my head, and struck.

First in order were tree tops, next a thump and a woven wire fence. She went at it and went right through it, gathering four posts in the bargain, then flopped with a jerk that yanked the wind out of me over a ditch and straight at a tool house by the railroad. There was another crash, but I was on my way, leaving my wings behind me. Then I rolled, still tangled up with that fence.

That was all.

I gathered up the mail, had a smoke, and the wire from Bellefonte a bit later, to the chief of operations in Washington, said, "Page crashed at 8:40. Account no visibility, fog being right on the ground. Ship a washout. Pilot unhurt."

On that same run, which, thanks to the way the Susquehanna breeds fogs, is the most troublesome in the Service, another pilot crashed.

He dodged storms all the way from 7,000 feet to fifty, all the way from the Delaware to the Lehigh, and "came out at 5,000 feet. . . At this time the clouds had dropped to 4,000 feet or so. I dived down, found no ceiling and climbed back up again. . . I struck the trees, with my last six cylinders quitting, and the nose quite high. The plane immediately dropped down to a thirty-degree angle, flew through branches a short distance, then turned over almost upside down and fell to the ground."

A RECORD OF SAFETY

BUT you might judge from these authentic bits that all mail pilots do is crash! There you'd be wrong. You can nearly always get down at the cost of a crash—not one mail pilot has ever fallen out of the sky—but every crash means an official investigation from the records of which these narratives are derived. There are, to be sure, forced landings, after which the pilots often rise again. But our crashes are few—we have none at all for weeks at a time. The figures are in—we have lost altogether, in three years of flying, and we are flying now more than 6,000 miles a day, only twelve pilots, not half so many persons as were killed in one train wreck only the other day, yet, when this is read, we shall have flown the mail more than two millions of miles.

My thought is that crashes are particularly

interesting because men are always interesting in emergencies.

Inevitably things happen when you are, at the rate sometimes of two miles a minute and even more, eliminating distance up and down as well as horizontally! The air, in other words, has its surprises. Thus, two Army fliers recently were forced down by the weight of sleet and snow, high in the Alleghanies. They struck a bed of trees, broke through into the clearing and a prominent local moonshiner, with a bottle in each hand, was waiting there for them!

One foggy day Allison was hitting along, flying very low, and, he reported, "a big tree loomed up 100 feet ahead of me. I zoomed the ship as much as possible but the landing gear caught in the top of that tree. The ship was slowed down considerably but broke through without falling. I next saw what I took to be a field"—a field, he thought, from which, after looking over the damage, he might rise again—"but just when I was about to attempt a landing on it, I spotted a rail fence squarely across the middle of it. I gave the ship the gun and cleared it." Next came a tree, and he cleared that! Then a row of trees! He couldn't clear them. He adds: "I cut the switches, braced myself against the cowling and"—landed up abruptly but not disastrously!

"After the crash I walked back less than 100 yards and the row of trees I struck was completely invisible through that fog."

AIRPLANE REPAIRS

SUCH crashes do not mean that the ships are done for. In nine times out of ten they are, at fairly small cost, repaired—the upkeep of each ship is estimated at $1,000 a year. The six with which we started the Air Mail are still flying; there are a dozen that have gone 50,000 miles and are still going. And we know that when the wireless is used continuously for range-finding and the locating of fields, crashes will be fewer because our engines run smoothly for hours at a time, perform best high up, at even speed, and, even now, a very small proportion of forced landings are due to engine trouble—in 1920 six of the pilots flew in eight months an aggregate of 516 trips with a total of 112,469 miles with only nine forced landings due to engine trouble. Just why the wireless will improve our records, which now with no more than legitimate pride one may safely say excel any other records made anywhere in the world in commercial flying, may be suggested by the following.

In June, a year ago, a large Martin twin-motor plane left Cleveland at three o'clock in the afternoon with the mail for Chicago. In the course of the flight our Cleveland station picked up the plane by wireless and transmitted a warning to it, indicating that a storm from the lower Lakes was on the way. The radio operator on board—it is not even necessary to carry such an operator—at once got into touch with Naval stations for further details as to velocity and direction of the wind, with the result that the plane landed at Bryan, Ohio, took on additional gas and oil, and an hour later ran into the storm. The lightning discharges were so near that the amplifier of the radio set was paralyzed, the operator had to remove his radio helmet, and the antennae absorbed so great a current that he reeled it in until the storm had passed. By that time darkness had set in. Accordingly the operator sent out an S. O. S. call to the stations about Chicago asking that the field manager be called at the phone number given, and told to set out landing flares. In a few minutes seven amateur and regular radio operators called the field, and the plane set down safely on the field accordingly.

This method of using wireless is by no means so simple or effective as other methods now developed, but the incident suffices to illustrate what can be accomplished in improving Air Mail speed and regularity, when one considers my experience one day, on the Washington-New York run.

DODGING BALTIMORE SKYSCRAPERS

I LEFT Washington in clear weather. But at Laurel, only a few miles away, the fog closed in. I flew low along the Baltimore & Ohio tracks and then southwest to pick up the Pennsylvania tracks, but I couldn't stay on them because I couldn't see them. A little more south, then, and back again toward Baltimore. I tried three times before I got past Baltimore that day. The first time, I thought I was still below the city when I found myself dodging buildings coming so fast it made you feel they were being thrown at you. There was one especially that seemed to have a special grievance. The second time I met it coming, as if from around a corner, I was so near I could almost touch it with my hand. I could see the windows plainly. I

reached to cut my switches, but cut only one and settled over the top all right. The next time, I took to the sky—you feel safer up there—personally I always feel safer than I do in dodging buildings, street corners, traffic cops, and pedestrians in a taxi. I climbed up a thousand feet, dropped down above Aberdeen planning to run up the Delaware. I missed a three-masted schooner at anchor, dodged a tramp steamer, and was bowling along when three cylinders cut out. I wanted to land but couldn't see to make a landing. A bit later the engine picked up and I went up through a hole in the fog, into a rain storm, and on until I was dodging skyscrapers again, over Philadelphia. But that didn't last long. My motor cut out. It looked like a roof or a street for a landing. But it picked up again. It played that joke twice. And the second time I went down, to land safely, as luck would have it, on a corner lot, in the heart of the city. There wasn't enough power left in that ship to taxi it off the sidewalk. And although it may seem hard to believe, while it was only twenty minutes past noon the fog and rain were so thick that automobiles had their headlights burning.

HOW PILOTS ARE PICKED

OBVIOUSLY, the Air Mail doesn't want the stunter. In fact, a quite new aspect has been given commercial flying in America by the studied and scheduled regularity of the mail. It doesn't want the cadet.

We pick our men from a long waiting list. We prefer men who have flown different kinds of machines and have been flying more or less continuously—a year's absence from the air, we find, robs a man of skill. Always the pilots must have had at least 600 hours in the air. Then it falls to one of us—it now falls to me—to take him up in a machine with dual control, get him into close quarters, and see how well he wriggles out. Then, after as much practice as he wants in taking off and landing in the close quarters of our fields, he is sent out to trail a regular flier on a regular mail run before he carries the mail.

Sometimes men with remarkable paper records fall down badly—hardly half of the men tried out ever fly the mail. On the basis of hours in the air the Army in peace-time has lost twice as many pilots in cross-country flying as the Air Mail has lost. The Navy has lost fewer than the Army, thanks to flying over water. It may be that our passion for regularity and schedule—mail pilots take off no matter what the weather is and make their daily run if they can see a mile away—is a factor in our record, which excels in point of loss of life to hours flown both the mail records of England and Canada. The aim of the Mail Service and the training are different, of course, from those of the Army, in which a crash may be a consideration and test of nerve whereas the same crash in the Mail Service might cause the discharge of a pilot.

THROUGH AN ELECTRICAL STORM

LIEUTENANT JAMES C. EDGERTON, an Army flier by training, who carried the mail on the first trip from New York to Washington and, next day, on the first from Washington to New York, was the first mail pilot to demonstrate, six days after the service was started, that the Air Mail can plug through an electrical storm. "I left Philadelphia," he says, "at 12:30, and was soon hitting into a storm coming up from the Susquehanna. My training up to that time had indicated that it would be disastrous to fly into a storm of that character. It would tear a plane to pieces, we had been told. The lightning would get you, and all that. But before I knew it I was riding a pretty fractious steed and telling myself, 'Well, anyway, if the Air Mail is going to last, it's up to some of us to take the chance.'

"Up about a mile, with clouds below and no sight of land, I hit into the centre of the black clouds ahead, up above Havre de Grace. A storm like that comes at you like a big black monster, with four feet. It was bumpy for a minute, then steady, and then that plane did more stunts than I could describe in a week. It shook all over, trembling and quivering as if some big brute had got hold of it by the tail and was mixing it up to get a pure solution. It stood on its nose, then on beams' ends, and when I hit the vortex, not only was the lightning crashing so that it boomed and blinded one and you forgot you had an engine, but the rain and hail hammered so hard I had to duck my head under the cowl.

"Well, I wiggled out of that and climbed to 10,000 feet—the ship's ceiling was 15,000. But the storm clouds were then way up higher.

"I hit it again. It was black. Everything was black—I couldn't see my wing tips, or

even read my instruments. But I ducked my head, slowed down the engine to about 1,100 revolutions, so the hail and rain wouldn't chew up the propeller more than necessary, and went at it.

"It *was* a bit rough!

"Still, forty-five minutes later I came out of it near Camp Meade, almost exactly, as luck would have it, on my compass course. I landed at Washington all right, but the propeller and the leading edge of the wings looked as if rats and squirrels had been chewing them, and the plane was soaked clear through.

"But that was nothing compared with some of the storms the fellows have weathered since."

BLIZZARDS AND TORNADOES

SCOTT plugged through from New York to Washington the day of last year's big blizzard, when not a railroad wheel was turning. "It wasn't bad," he says. "I steered by compass to Aberdeen, and landed in the snow for more gas and oil, then came on." And Harris went through the 1920 tornado that hit Illinois and Ohio and cost more than 100 lives. "I had nice sailing from Cleveland to Bryan," he says. "But beyond there it began to get rough and bumpy upstairs. I ran into the worst rain and hail storm I ever hit, near Gary. For about five minutes I couldn't see anything, not even the instruments on the dashboard in front of me. The wind was blowing about forty miles an hour and the motor sputtered and missed and I thought of how cold Lake Michigan under me would feel. The way the lightning was flashing was something fearful, but I guess, from the papers, I was as safe in the air as the people on the ground. Anyway, I sat tight hoping to reach the other side of the storm. Well, I reached the other side, where there was a heavy downpour of rain from a higher cloud, but the visibility was delightfully better. Within ten minutes I landed at Grant Park, Chicago, in beautiful sunshine. They said the storm passed over Maywood and they were worrying about me. I arrived at 1:50, as the card will show. The mail left New York at 7 A. M."

Now pardon his bit of pride: "I think that is pretty good time for mail from New York to Chicago, eh what? And anyway, the Air Mail went through when trains, street cars, and automobiles were held up."

"Old Pop" Anglin, as the Service dubs him, ducked under a storm one day and took to flying low on the run to Bellefonte. He was winding along the railroad through Penns Creek Valley when he lost the railroad because of the fog! "I was right down on the tracks," he said, "hitting it along, when the tracks dived through a tunnel. I considered there wasn't room for me to go through that tunnel, and thanked the Lord for an Immelman turn. I missed the blooming tunnel by less than half the thickness of a camel's hair. And then I lost not only the tunnel but the railroad. I thought of the man who lost the house that fit his key, but I found it! I circled around and got a new start and hopped right over that tunnel and got a good dinner in Bellefonte."

One of the twelve pilots we lost, and one of the best the Service ever had—one who refused to bow before any kind of weather—Robinson—lost his life from a chance less than that. He was tripped, one clear bright day, by a wire stretched between mountains across the Susquehanna. A fisherman saw him—saw his plane, running fast, trip up and crash, in a tail spin.

A CRASH IN THE ROCKIES

IN THE big Western country, with its far reaches, still the mail must go! There "Jim" Murray, high up above the Rockies, also crashed.

"I followed," he says, "the course of the Union Pacific rather closely from Rocky Springs to Walcott, Wyoming. At that place I left the railroad and flew toward Elk Mountain, the only clear spot I could make out anywhere along the whole range opening toward the east."

It's a big mountain, 12,500 feet high.

"The summit of it," he goes on, "as well as the entire Medicine Bow Range,"—which is a black-and-white range of mountains, the black parts of which are forests and the white, snow-covered rocks—"was invisible in clouds. But the gap just south of the mountain, to the north of which is high, rough country, seemed to afford the only chance of my getting through. I flew under the bank of clouds, and almost at once found myself in a heavy snow storm. I was then perhaps halfway across the range, which is, roughly, fifteen miles wide at this point. Then I made a quarter turn to the right and flew south for a few minutes toward where there seemed to be more light and less

snow, all the while climbing away from the snow-covered mountains below."

The snow thickened. He wanted, he says, to turn back. "But," he reported, "that was impossible. My only plan now was to try to pass the storm and trust to getting through the remainder of the pass, down into Laramie Plain."

He turned eastward again, gradually climbing, full engine, with the machine slowing, the snow increasing, and the trees inching up closer. "Then," he continues, "I saw that I could not possibly outclimb the slope ahead. The jig was up."

He settled and crashed.

"Almost at once," he goes on, "I started to walk eastward, carrying the machine compass. But that was useless—it had been broken in the crash. It was getting dark while I walked through two feet of snow in what I judged to be slightly north of east. I walked for an hour and a quarter and struck a lake. There I spent the night.

"I again started east with the sun, at daybreak. I found a shack, not far from my resting place beneath a cedar tree, and discovered from a book that the lake was Sand Lake. As it was still snowing heavily, I decided to face toward the town of Arlington, which is fourteen miles away, rather than risk the hike through, directly eastward, with nothing to eat."

A while later he removed his flying suit and boots which were heavy and not designed for walking, carried them for a mile, then abandoned them, with his address in a pocket.

It was three o'clock when he walked into Arlington and learned he would have to drive six miles to phone Cheyenne.

It should be added, too, that when a crew went to get his plane, there were bear tracks in the snow around it.

Bears, and other members of the animal world, had been out to inspect this new monster from the air!

THE MEN WHO "STANDARDIZED" AUTOMOBILE PARTS

How Howard E. Coffin, Coker F. Clarkson, Henry Souther and Others Introduced "Standardization" in the Automobile Industry

By JOHN K. BARNES

This article is the third of a series on the automobile industry, dealing primarily with the leading characters

MR. HOWARD E. COFFIN, now vice-president of the Hudson Motor Car Company, received a telephone call one morning offering him the nomination for vice-president of the Society of Automobile Engineers. Mr. Coffin asked if it would require any effort or time, and when assured that it would not, said that he would accept. Some days later he was called again and informed that he had been elected president of the society.

At that time the Society of Automobile Engineers was composed of about three hundred members. It had been organized by that far-seeing publisher, Mr. Horace M. Swetland, and nursed by him through a struggling infancy. But it had not yet made any record of great accomplishment and it had no funds. It had a valuable good-will, however, and Mr. Coffin saw great opportunities for it. Urged by Mr. Swetland, he engaged Mr. Coker F. Clarkson, secretary of the Mechanical Branch of the Association of Licensed Automobile Manufacturers, as general manager, promising him a salary of five thousand dollars a year for two years. When the new president reported this move at the first meeting of the board of directors of the society, he met with considerable opposition from the doubting Thomases. At the next meeting one of the board brought in a chart showing how many years of normal growth it would take before the society could meet Mr. Clarkson's salary. By that time, however, some of the other directors had caught a little of the spirit of Mr. Coffin and Mr. Swetland,

and the renascence of the Society of Automobile Engineers started.

Mr. Henry Souther was next interested in the plans for the society. He had been in charge of the experimental and testing laboratory established by the Mechanical Branch of the A. L. A. M., at Hartford, Conn., in 1905. From then until the time of his death during the war, he continued an inspirational force among engineers in the automobile industry. These three men—Howard E. Coffin, Coker F. Clarkson, and Henry Souther—aided by Mr. Swetland and others, started the Society of Automobile Engineers on its new course of usefulness to the automobile industry. The plans which they put into effect were really a continuation of the work which had been started in the Mechanical Branch of the A. L. A. M. Mr. Coffin had been chairman of the committee on tests of that branch. Other members of that committee were John Wilkinson, who designed and built the Franklin air-cooled car, Hiram P. Maxim, son of Sir Hiram Maxim, and Charles B. King, who made and ran the first gasolene automobile on the streets of Detroit. This committee, with Mr. Souther as consulting engineer, had little more than started its work when the 1907 panic came and its appropriation was cut, never to be restored. These men saw an opportunity to carry on this same work in the S. A. E. when Mr. Coffin accepted the presidency of that society in 1910.

One of the interesting incidental developments from the joint efforts of this early engineering committee was the invention of the Maxim silencer for guns. The committee was working on mufflers for automobile exhausts and during one of its sessions some one remarked that it would seem possible to apply the same principle to muffling the sound of the explosion in a firearm. At the next meeting Mr. Maxim brought his silencer and demonstrated its use before the members of the committee.

One of the important contributions of this committee to the automobile industry was the standardizing of screw threads. The automobile needed a finer pitched screw than was being made at that time in order to give greater friction and prevent bolts and screws from being jarred loose so easily. To-day the A. L. A. M. screw thread standards, adopted and revised by the S. A. E., are universally accepted.

"Standardization" is the word generally applied to the contribution to the automobile industry with which Mr. Coffin's name is particularly identified. That word is something of a misnomer, for it implies the fixing of standards for all time, while what has been done is the adoption of what might better be called "accepted practices," or standards subject to change and improvement as the engineering art of the industry progresses. Mr. Coffin is known as the father of "standardization," although by no means was he alone responsible for it. He was one of those who first saw the value of it and was instrumental in getting others to believe in it and in getting it done. The importance of standardization is appreciated when one realizes that it is the thing that makes quantity production at low cost possible.

THE COÖPERATIVE SPIRIT

STANDARDIZATION in the automobile industry would have been difficult of accomplishment if there had not been that coöperative spirit in the industry which was dealt with in the previous article of this series. That spirit was fostered in the Society of Automobile Engineers. It is one of the outstanding features of the entire industry to-day.

The membership of the Society of Automobile Engineers jumped from 310 in 1910 to 899 in 1911. It absorbed the Mechanical Branch of the A. L. A. M., and took over its work. To-day the S. A. E. has more than five thousand members. Its name is now the Society of Automotive Engineers, and it concerns itself not only with the engineering problems in the automobile, but in the airplane, the motor boat, the tractor, and the gas engine fields as well.

The man who led this organization into its present period of usefulness was a student at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor in 1902. That was in the days of the early infancy of the automobile industry—less than twenty years ago. He had built an automobile as part of his thesis work in college. When Mr. Fred. L. Smith, of the Olds Motor Works of Detroit, went over to Ann Arbor to see if he could employ an engineer, Dean Cooley of the engineering school recommended Coffin to him. Coffin at the time was doing some summer school work and had no desire to leave it, but he agreed to come to Detroit and talk with Mr. Smith about the job. When

he got there he found that he was expected to take it; Mr. Smith had settled the whole thing. So Coffin took charge of the engineering experimental work at the Detroit plant of the Olds Motor Works. A few years later he became chief engineer of the company.

In 1906, Mr. Roy D. Chapin, Mr. Coffin, Mr. Frederick O. Bezner, and Mr. J. J. Brady, all department heads at the Olds Motor Works, decided to start in the business for themselves. Mr. Chapin went to California to interest some of his friends in the proposition. While on Catalina Island, one day, he received a wireless message from San Francisco from E. R. Thomas, the producer of the famous Thomas Flier, asking Chapin if he would not come to see him. In the Bohemian Club in San Francisco, one evening, the plans were laid for a new automobile company to turn out cars which the Thomas organization was to sell. Thomas and Chapin left San Francisco on the last train East the night before the earthquake. They were met by the other men in Chicago where the plans for the new company were completed. Thomas wanted them to use an idle plant of his in Buffalo, but they convinced him that Detroit was going to be the centre of the industry.

THE EVOLUTION OF A GREAT COMPANY

DESIGNS for a new car were made and with the blue-prints of this car and a contract with the E. R. Thomas Company to take the entire output, Mr. Chapin went to see Mr. Theodore H. Buhl, a director of the First National Bank of Detroit, regarding a loan on the stock of the company. Thomas was putting in a large sum of money, and Chapin, Coffin, Bezner, and Brady were each taking a block of the stock that was larger than their limited resources would pay for. They wanted to borrow the balance they needed by giving the stock as security for a loan. Mr. Buhl sent them to Mr. Alexander McPherson, the conservative Scotch president of the bank. The result was one of those clear-visioned actions on the part of Detroit bankers that have done much to make that city the centre of a great industry. Based on confidence in the young men alone and Thomas's connection with the venture, the loan was granted. In the first year they turned out five hundred cars and the profits were more than the capital invested. That was the beginning of the Thomas-Detroit Company, later the Chalmers-Detroit, out of which sprang the present Hudson Motor Car Company.

This company started by these young men in 1906, like most of the automobile companies of that time, was purely an assembling concern. The motors were contracted for from one manufacturer, the transmissions from another, the bodies and all the other parts, down to the bolts and washers, from other "parts-makers." To some degree that has continued to be the situation in the industry ever since. There is no company to-day that makes all the parts of a motor car; it would not be economical to do so. Back in those days all the parts were made according to the peculiar specifications of each company. When the 1907 panic came, this produced serious results in the industry. A manufacturer who was making bolts, or washers, or tubing, or some other minor but necessary part of a car, according to the specifications of the company using those parts, would fail for instance, and no other company was equipped to produce those parts according to the same specifications. Before the parts could be secured some other concern would have to make tools and jigs, or possibly build entirely new machinery for their production. Meanwhile, all of the more important parts for the car might have been delivered. The assembly could not go forward, however, nor cars be turned out, for want of a certain sized bolt or washer or small bit of tubing.

And such a situation did not apply only in hard times when concerns were failing. It applied at all times. Production might be stopped due to difficulties of transportation which would interfere with the delivery of certain parts, or because one parts maker would fall down on an order for one reason or another. The small companies suffered more than the large in this respect as they could not distribute their orders for single parts as the large companies could. And they were also hit harder because of the higher cost of having things made according to special specifications. The steel mills were clogged with a mass of small special orders each requiring—and necessarily awaiting—its turn for separate run. Special brands, secret processes, mysterious ingredients, delays in delivery, and high prices, were the rule with the steel salesmen.

Tire manufacturers had millions invested in plant and mould equipment, and no two brands would fit on the same wheel rim. It

can be imagined that "standardization," with a wholesale scrapping of individual trade practices along with hundreds of thousands in production equipment, was by no means an easy achievement. But half the time in some accessory plants was being lost tearing down and setting up tools to meet the endless and useless variations in material demands. Deliveries were months behind schedule, quantity production was impossible, delays were costly and prices were high.

THE "STANDARDS COMMITTEE"

THIS was the situation in the motor-car industry after ten years of more rapid growth than had ever taken place in any other industry. At the first meeting of the Society of Automobile Engineers after Mr. Coffin was elected president, he said: "Our members, as engineers, are responsible for nine tenths of the production troubles and much of the needless expense entailed in the manufacture of motor-cars. Every purchasing department in the business is seriously hampered in its work by the utter lack of uniformity in material specifications which are being passed on to it by our engineering departments. Every individual engineering department is at present a law unto itself in nearly all matters touching design and the preparation of specifications. Individuality of design is one thing and should be encouraged. Individuality in specifications is largely useless and should be restricted within reasonable limits. Nine times out of ten it is not the unavoidable act of Providence which delays the output—it is the irresponsible draftsman or designer who is permitted to draw upon his imagination for specifications throughout the entire range of theoretical possibilities."

A "standards committee" was appointed with Henry Souther as chairman. It was divided into many sub-committees, each working along special lines. Representatives of manufacturing companies in the various lines were placed on these sub-committees in order to secure their advice and coöperation.

At the time this standardization work was started, one company making lock washers for the automobile trade was being called upon to supply eight hundred different kinds to be used with bolts of only three or four different diameters. This one plant had to have eight hundred sets of producing dies for these alone. Sixteen hundred sizes of steel tubing were being specified by automobile makers; one company alone was using eighty different sizes. The Standards Committee has reduced these to sixteen standard sizes of lock washers and seventeen standard sizes of steel tubing with thirteen different degrees of thicknesses. Among the many other things which it has done has been the establishment of standard sizes for magneto bases so that any make of magneto can be used interchangeably. It has recommended standard sizes for carbureter flanges for the same reason, and a uniform pitch of screw for radiator caps so that any cap of the proper diameter will fit any radiator.

The most important single accomplishment of the committee has probably been the establishment of standard specifications for alloy steels. Due to the experiments and tests of this committee, it has combined and reduced the number of alloy steels used in motor-car manufacture from about two hundred and thirty to less than fifty. These special steels have all been given numbers and can be ordered by the automobile companies simply by number. The steel companies now carry in stock those numbers for which there is the greatest demand. This is an advantage that all makers of materials or parts for motor-cars, tractors, motor-boats, gas engines, and airplanes enjoy due to the establishment of the S. A. E. standards. They know within certain limits what they are likely to be called upon to supply to these industries, and they can be prepared to meet the demand.

Only a few of the "standards" and "recommended practices" established by the S. A. E. "standards committee" have been touched on here. More than two hundred materials and motor-car parts have been thus standardized. The results of this work are combined in the S. A. E. handbook, a loose-leaf publication of three hundred and fifty pages, the "bible" of the automotive engineer. This is always at the right hand of the designing engineer and saves him time and effort in addition to keeping his specifications of parts that can just as well be uniform in accordance with the best recognized current practice. The Society of Automotive Engineers has no power to enforce its standards, but the companies, with few exceptions, have always been glad to adopt them, even when it has involved considerable initial expense to them in making changes. They know it means saving in the long run.

The saving in money, time, and effort due to the establishment of these standards is impossible to estimate but it is large. Their influence, however, reaches far beyond this, as has been pointed out by Mr. Karl W. Zimmerschied, vice-president of the General Motors Corporation, who was chairman of the "standards committee" in 1915. "The most potent single factor in the brilliant rise of the mechanical industry of America" he said, "is the almost universal adoption of the principles of interchangeable manufacture. There are underlying economic reasons for the opportunities which have arisen continually before us, but no nation with so few skilled mechanics as ours would ever have taken advantage of these opportunities so adequately without possessing the genius to conceive the idea of assembling things from parts wholly produced by automatic machinery. Nor could even such genius have brought success had the final conception failed to include the masterly yet simple provision that all such automatically produced parts should be so alike as to be perfectly interchangeable from one assembly to another.

"Given this system in its present stage of development," Mr. Zimmerschied continued, "problems of vast quantity production at remarkably low costs, of easy and rapid assembling, and of inexpensive maintenance become fascinating play. The seeming miracles of such intricate though widespread products as the sewing machine, the harvester, the talking machine, the dollar watch, and the automobile, become but the obvious fruits of a natural evolution."

IS STANDARDIZATION A GOOD THING?

ANOTHER view of this attractive picture of quantity production made possible by standardization was touched upon by Herbert Hoover in one of his speeches before he became Secretary of Commerce. "We must take account," Mr. Hoover said, "of the tendencies of our present repetitive industries to eliminate the creative instinct in their workers, to narrow their field of craftsmanship, to discard entirely the contribution to industry that could be had from their minds as well as from their hands. Indeed, if we are to secure the development of our people, we cannot permit the dulling of these sensibilities. Indeed, we cannot accomplish increased production without their stimulation. . . . The congestion of population is producing subnormal conditions of life. The vast repetitive operations are dulling the human mind."

Are we sacrificing the individual on the altar of efficiency and large-scale production? Have we gone wrong in gearing up our production machinery to the highest pitch in the world, utilizing to the fullest extent inventive engineering brains and reducing to a mere automaton the common laborer? Would we be better off in the long run with fewer sewing machines, fewer harvesters, fewer automobiles, at higher prices, provided the workmen had been more than cogs in the machinery that produced them? The workmen, who have enjoyed higher wages due to this quantity production, would answer this question for themselves in the negative. With them the "dulling of the human mind" has not been noticed, and at any rate it is more than overbalanced by the increased wage they have received, which has meant better living conditions. And who will say that this country and the world will not continue to be better off for more sewing machines, more harvesters, and more automobiles? And if for lack of our ability to produce war materials in great quantity the war had been lost, would not the world be much worse off?

Quantity production most certainly is a national asset. What is needed is some way to stop the congestion due to it and the "dulling of the human mind" and yet keep quantity production. Henry Ford's plan of producing his cars and tractors in plants distributed throughout the country, where he says the employees can own farms which they can work by machinery in one or two days a week and devote the rest of the time to producing Ford cars and tractors, may offer a solution of this problem. Ford is the one who has carried quantity production to its highest degree, so that some people say his plant operates on the "chain gang system." He may be the one to overcome the evils of this system. He is a dreamer, but his biggest dream of quantity production at low cost has come true, and he is a farmer's son and knows something of the operation of a farm.

The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

FRENCH STROTHER, MANAGING EDITOR BURTON J. HENDRICK, ASSOCIATE EDITOR

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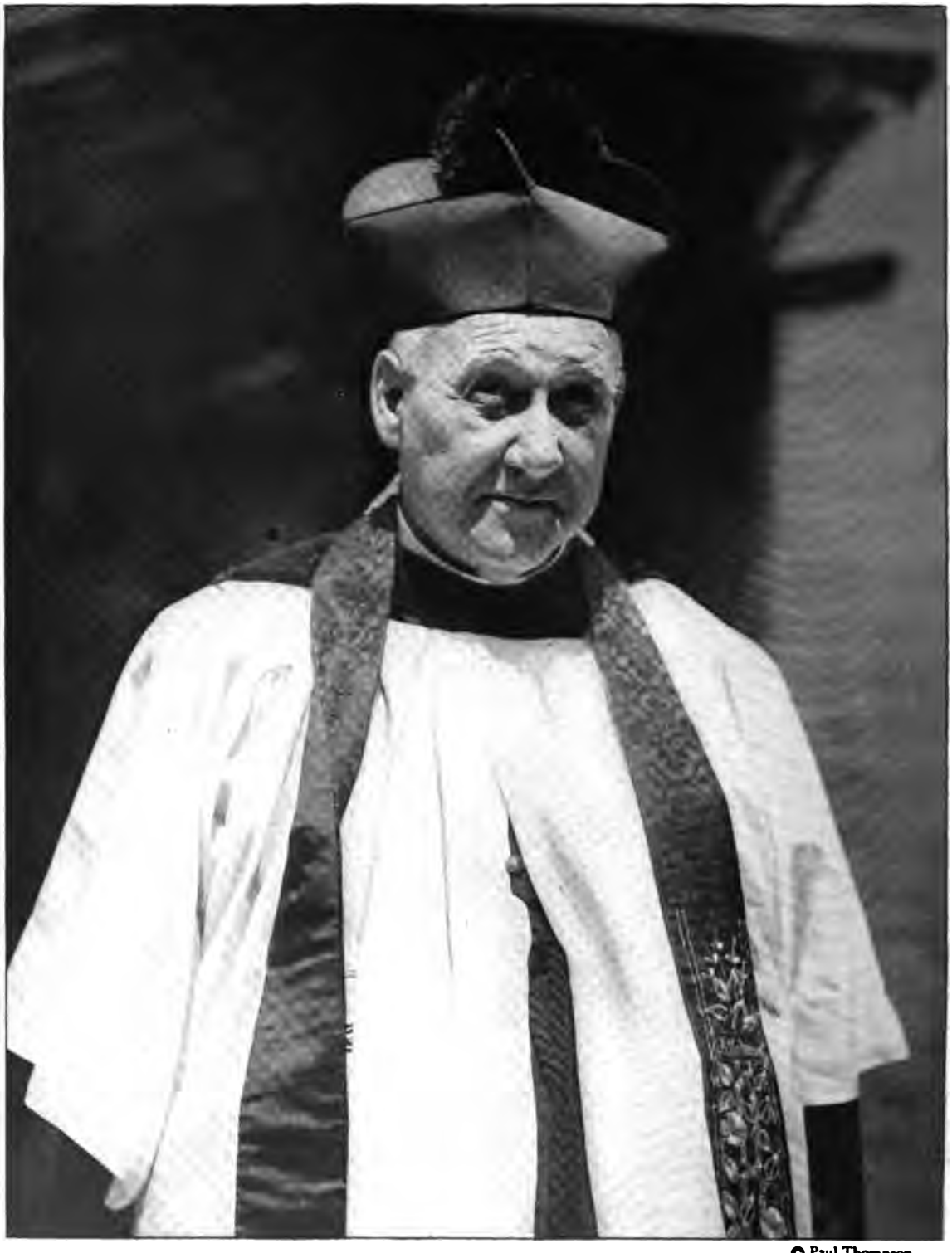

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THE REV. GEORGE C. HOUGHTON

Rector of "The Little Church Around the Corner" in New York City. Recently, at the 50th anniversary of his ordination, Dr. Houghton was honored by all "sorts and conditions of men" because many years ago he hung a little sign on his door welcoming all those in "trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity." Dr. Houghton's lovable character personifies his principle, "be kind"

THE
WORLD'S WORK

JULY, 1921

VOLUME XLII NUMBER 3

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

WHEN the new Administration took up its duties in March, it emphasized its interest in domestic affairs in contrast to the particular attention which the previous Administration gave to our foreign relations. The temper of the public at the same time was impatient with the problems of Europe and Asia, chiefly because these matters seemed to be so insoluble. The line of least resistance seemed to be to turn our attention to our own difficulties, and, as in times past, devote our energies to putting our own house in order. This was a more familiar and congenial task.

But after four months the pendulum has swung back again. Almost every effort to attack our domestic problems led to the consideration of our foreign relations. There is no large governmental economy possible unless there is a feasible plan for a reduction in war expenditures. There is no complete invigoration of our manufacturing and farming without foreign markets. There is no saving in our merchant marine loss without foreign trade. We cannot settle our treasury policy without some arrangement for the refunding of our foreign debt. Even the tariff does not thrill the Republican breast with its ancient conviction, for, unless our imports regain their accustomed volume, the tariff will not produce the needed revenue.

We are again perforce chiefly interested in our foreign relations. The accent of the Wilson Administration was more strongly upon the political aspect of our foreign relations. The accent of this Administration is stronger upon the economic side of our foreign relations, but in the long run, the difference in this distinction tends to fade into relative insignificance.

The outlines of our foreign policy have become fairly clear:

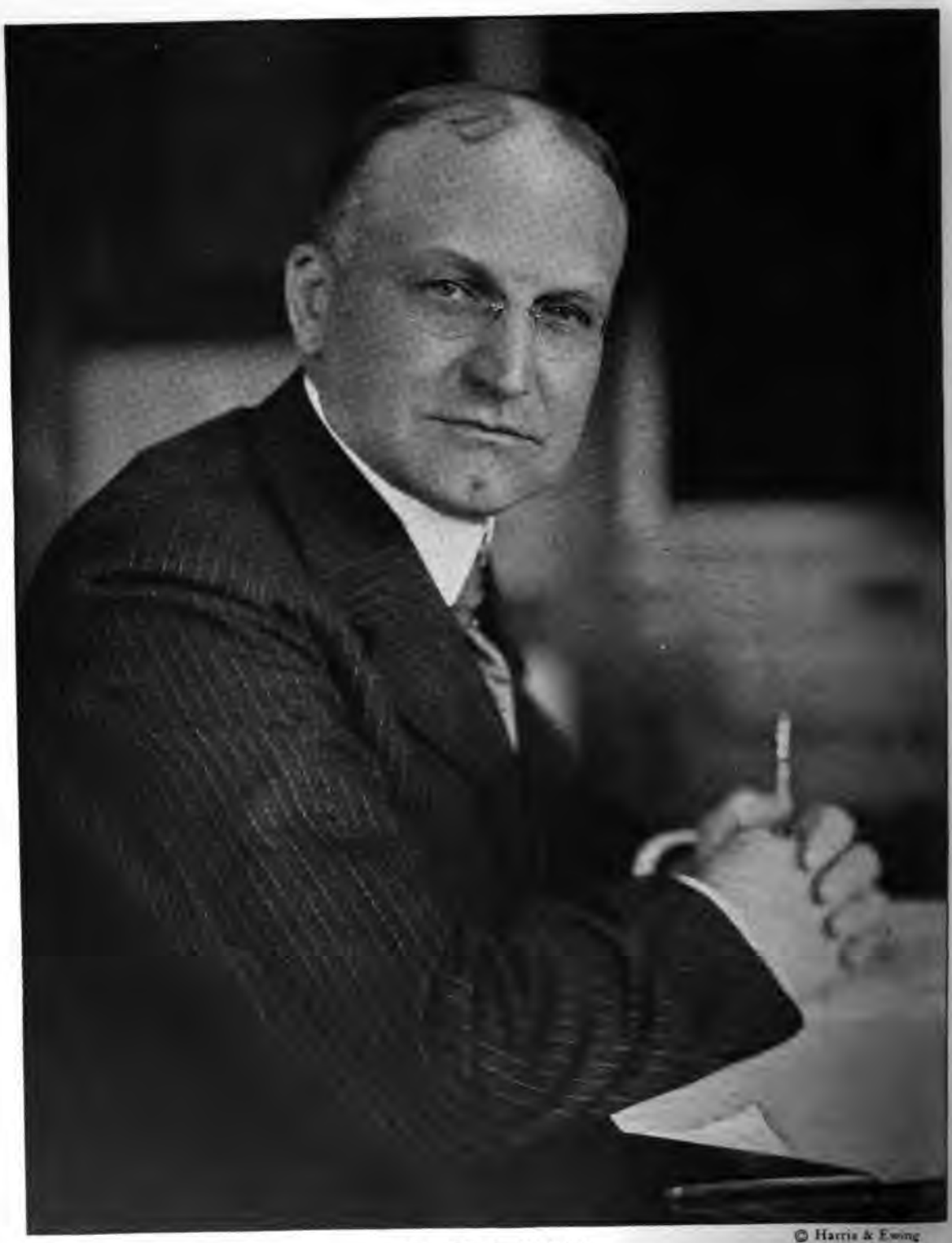
1. A closer coöperation than heretofore with Great Britain as the nation in the modern industrial world whose problems most nearly coincide with our own.

2. A participation in all settlements in Europe and Asia, in which our participation in the war gives us a right and which affect our economic interests.

3. A general policy of asking all countries to accord to Americans and American trade rights and privileges equal to those granted to any other foreigners.

This sounds so eminently fair that it could hardly produce any difficulty. It is, however, not quite as simple as it sounds. If Belgium, for instance, should grant French citizens a special privilege in return for special privileges granted Belgians by France, the United States, under our equal treatment policy, would demand for Americans the privileges granted Belgians in France and likewise those granted the French in Belgium, although it would grant no privileges to either in return.

The process of bringing the rest of the world into step with us will be an interesting one, and, whether we succeed entirely or not, the contact with the other countries' aims and methods will bring about an understanding based upon contact which we have not before had.



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EDWARD A. DEEDS

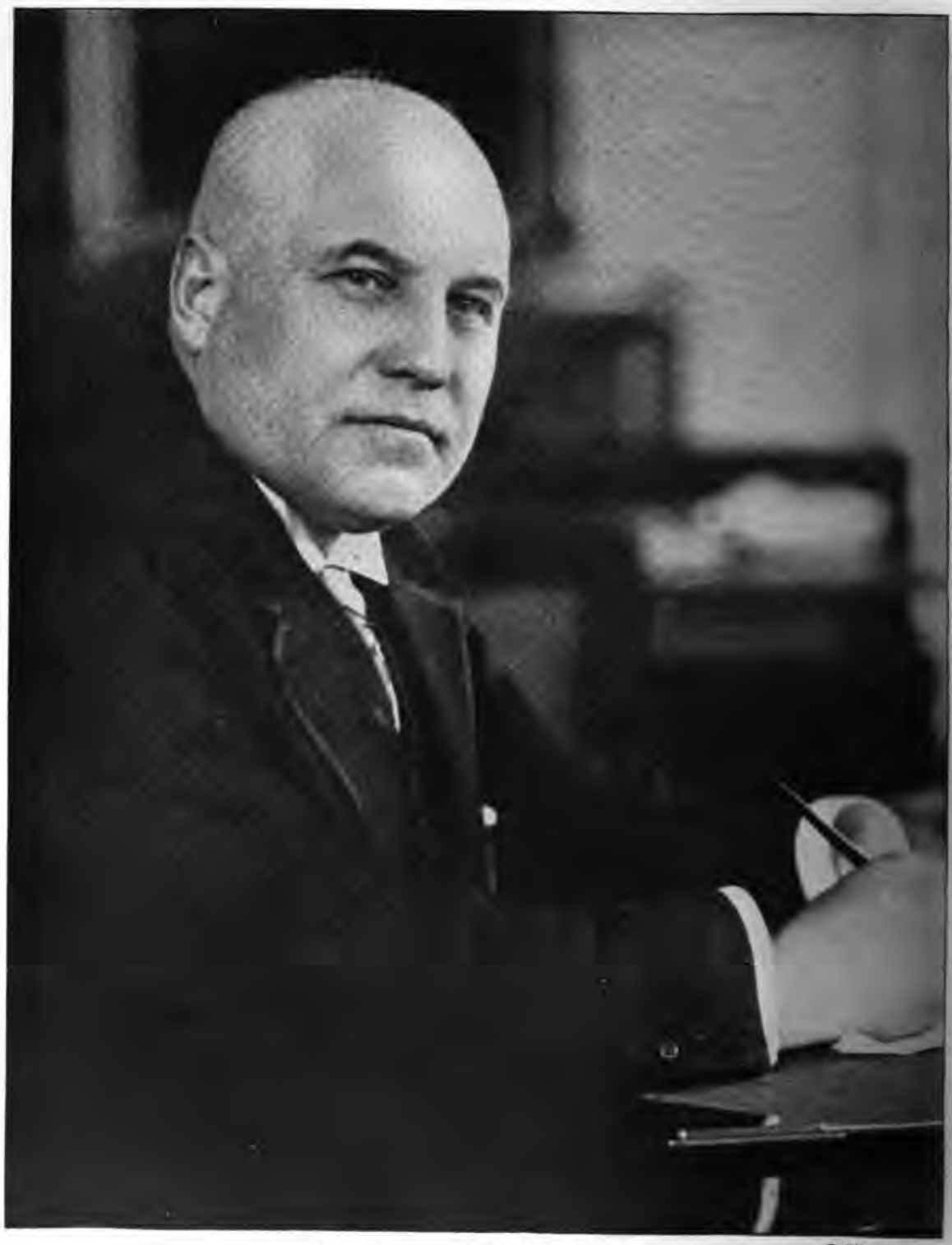
Chief of aircraft production during the war, to whose vision and genius is due the creation of the Liberty engine which is the best aircraft engine in the world to-day. Colonel Deeds's personal sacrifices, the obstacles he overcame, and what he accomplished are at length highly appraised after many unjustified attacks

[See page 300]

Baker Art Gallery

WALTER F. BROWN

Chairman of a joint Congressional committee to reorganize the executive branch of the Government, and to devise ways for coördinating governmental bureaus which now overlap. Mr. Brown is also the personal representative of President Harding on the Committee, and has the anomalous distinction of being an outsider presiding over a Congressional committee



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THE LATE FRANKLIN K. LANE

By the recent death of Franklin K. Lane the country has lost one of its most wholesome national characters, but one who will long be remembered for his optimism, energy, and public spirit [See page 222]

© Davis & Sa

EDWIN A. ALDERMAN
President of the University of Virginia

On June 1st the University of Virginia, founded in 1821 by Thomas Jefferson, celebrated its 100th
versary: One of the proudest boasts of this historic institution is that more than half of the
students who have passed through its halls have gone into public service

© Paul Thompson

CHARLES E. MITCHELL

At the age of forty-three Mr. Mitchell has been chosen head of the National City Bank of New York, the largest national bank in America. He shows his idealism when he says that the greatest success for a business man is in benefiting his fellow men, and his record shows him true to this ideal of service in business

Mr. Harding and Idealism

BY THE speeches which he made on his trip to New York in May President Harding increased the friendliness and confidence which the people are developing toward his Administration.

The President said very little that was new, but he said a good many things that were true, which is more important. When President Harding was inaugurated the public did not have a very clear idea of his beliefs. His speeches had been interpreted by different important groups of his followers entirely differently. The public has, therefore, watched his actions and read his statements since with more than ordinary attention. And at the particular time that Mr. Harding came to New York the public mind was especially eager to hear what he had to say because it was smarting somewhat under the possibility that the tone and temper of Colonel Harvey's speech in London was the tone and temper of the Administration. One impression that might be gained from Colonel Harvey's speech was that the United States had gone into the war exclusively for its own interests and would continue to look after its own interests down to the last dollar without any further care about the world in general.

The people in the United States do not feel that way. They are reasonably generous and under able leadership extremely so. Even if they did not realize that an enlightened self-interest made the preservation of civilization in Europe of prime importance to them, they would, nevertheless, out of humanity and friendship, sacrifice much for other people and particularly for our friends of the late war.

Mr. Harding has promised the people of the United States to try to join some association of nations that shall appear to have a better chance to reduce the number of wars than the League that is now in existence.

Mr. Harding has intimated that he will initiate a movement for the international reduction of naval armaments. The public cherish these promises.

Therefore, when Mr. Harding said over the bodies of the dead soldiers, "It must not be again. It must not be again," it struck a responsive chord in the public heart, for they took it as the intimation of an intention to do something to keep it from happening again.

When he said, "These heroes were sacrificed in the supreme conflict of all human history. They saw democracy challenged and defended it. They saw civilization threatened and rescued it. They saw America affronted and resented it," he renewed the public confidence that he would act upon the belief that democracy and civilization are of interest to us even when they are outside our own borders.

The decision of the Administration to have Ambassador Harvey join the other members of the Supreme Council in passing on the plan for aiding Austria financially, is an evidence of this wider vision. It is a cheerful evidence, too, because it shows that Ambassador Harvey's hatred of the League of Nations does not represent President Harding and Secretary Hughes, for they instructed the Ambassador to pass upon this plan to help Austria despite the fact that it was originated by the League.

Some of Mr. Harding's followers seemed to feel that the unpopularity of Mr. Wilson was because he was an idealist. They forget that Mr. Wilson was an idealist when he was most popular. What made him unpopular was that he did not succeed in his idealism. One of the strongest notes that Mr. Harding struck in the campaign was to the effect that he believed in idealism and in making it work. In this the public are heartily in agreement with him and eager to follow where he leads.

The Versailles Treaty—The Basis of Order in Europe

GERMANY, for the time being at least, seems to have realized the necessity of abiding by the Versailles Treaty. The English, whom the French suspected of desiring to mitigate the Treaty in Germany's favor, have stood to its provisions. The French, whom the English suspected of wishing to overstep the Treaty at the expense of Germany, have stood to its provisions. The United States, which at one time threatened to abandon the Treaty, has instructed its agents to sit on the Reparations Committee acting under the Treaty. The Poles, who at one time seemed about to take the Silesian question into the court of arms, have listened to the great Powers and decided to abide by the Treaty of Versailles.

Altogether the Treaty, and its attending agreements of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Sèvres,

and Rapallo, is becoming the basis of order in Europe. Not the least important contributions to this encouraging fact were Mr. Hughes's two notes to the Germans stating that we stood with the Allies on the all-important question of reparations, and Mr. Harding's address to Congress, in which he said that the best solution for us was a settlement under the existing (Versailles) Treaty with the omission of the Covenant and certain other modifications. The Harding Administration deserves the credit of having done its part so far in helping settle the peace of Europe. The instruction to Colonel Harvey to sit with the Supreme Council is also a step in the right direction.

The interests of the French and the British are not altogether identical, at least the French and British do not see their interests identically. France, having been overrun twice in fifty years by a premeditated German attack, has the fear of a third such invasion constantly in mind. Naturally, therefore, the French would prefer to see a Germany so divided up or otherwise depleted as to be incapable of repeating the offense.

The British, on the other hand, as their existence depends on trade, desire to see Europe get on its feet economically as soon as possible. A further weakening or division of Germany would militate against such recovery.

Despite this difference of interest and their own very positive and vigorous temperaments, Mr. Lloyd George and M. Briand steered through the difficulties of the ultimatums to Germany and the Silesian disputes with success, and they deserve the thanks of the world for doing so.

At one time, however, the French press, or parts of it, started the dangerous discussion of the possibility of France drawing away from its close relationship with Great Britain and trying to establish itself as the leader of Continental Europe. It would be with the most sincere regret that the people of the United States would watch such an attempt on the part of France. The economic interests of the United States would align us with Great Britain and the British Dominions rather than with a Europe under French hegemony, and as much as we should be glad to see a close synchronization of policy between the United States and Great Britain, Americans would feel distressed if that synchronization did not also include France.

Moreover, in Europe itself the chances of success of such a policy seem doubtful. Italy harbors resentment against the French for their sympathy with the Jugoslavs in their controversies with Italy. Germany could hardly be counted upon to follow French leadership. And the strength of the new formed states of central Europe could hardly compensate for the loss of Great Britain's intimate cordiality.

The Treaty of Versailles is a human and imperfect, but nevertheless powerful, tie that binds together Great Britain, France, Italy, and to some extent the United States and Japan. It is a compromise, not entirely satisfactory to any one, but nevertheless it provides an agreed upon basis for establishment of order. The method of interpreting and acting under it by the frequent meeting of the premiers of Europe face to face in conference is a great improvement over the pre-war way of doing international business by mail. It is a tie that binds the constructive forces of Europe to a common endeavor. And it contains a principle greater than any of its specific provisions—the principle of direct and frank discussion and common action.

If the Covenant which was included in the Versailles Treaty, and which is functioning now, is unacceptable to us, it is our duty to find some other way of putting our country into the common councils of the world and to help keep them devoted to the peace and progress of mankind.

Beware "Schedule K"

THE Emergency Tariff bill has passed with its six months' lease of life, and during that time we shall see the creation of a somewhat more permanent measure. Whether this second measure will last more than four years depends a good deal on what kind of a measure it is. If it is a very high tariff measure it probably will not last long, for the higher the tariff, the quicker the reaction against it.

The Emergency Tariff is in reality an interim tariff to satisfy the demands of certain special interests while the regular tariff bill is being prepared. It can not cover the emergency of our lack of economic normalcy, for that lack will not be entirely remedied until long after the Emergency Tariff has run its course. What it does for six months is comparatively unimportant. As a precursor of the tariff bill to follow, it is, however, important.

Perhaps the most interesting schedule in any tariff bill is the wool schedule. In the Payne-Aldrich Bill, of unhappy memories to the Republican Party, it was "Schedule K" which was the chief point of attack—not the least effective indictment being drawn by Mr. Richard Washburn Child, recently appointed by Mr. Harding as Ambassador to Italy.

The wool-growing industry all over the world is in particularly bad straits. The speeding up of industries during the war was particularly emphatic in the wool-growing industry, so that there is probably enough wool clipped and stored to last the world two years without counting the coming wool clip. Now you can't stop sheep from growing wool as you stop a factory making automobiles. If you kill off the sheep to stop their wool-growing, you can't have the flocks ready again two seasons from now to supply the wool needed then. The British have met this situation by having the Government hold the surplus wool stocks and sell them little by little at public auction when there is sufficient demand. By this means they dispose of the surplus without breaking prices to such an extent as to ruin the British and Colonial wool-growers. We are meeting the same situation by the Emergency Tariff, which is supposed to keep foreign wool out of the United States in the hope that, as we do not produce enough for our own use, our consumption will sooner or later use up the present surplus. This result will certainly not be attained during the six months of the Emergency Tariff. It is highly probable, therefore, that the well organized wool industry will ask for the continuance of the tariff. The wool manufacturers will then ask for a compensating tariff on finished goods, and we shall be in danger of re-enacting "Schedule K" with its high cost of clothing and bitter public opposition. This chain of events is prophesied by no less an authority than Professor Taussig, who was the chairman of President Taft's tariff commission. There is no pleasure in calling attention to such dismal forecasts except with the same excuse that Professor Taussig had in making it—namely that it may help prevent its fulfilment. If when the Republican committeemen who frame the coming tariff start their work they will look at the handwriting on the wall and see the words, "Schedule K," it will remind them that what was done before with ill success is not a good precedent to follow.

The Tariff and the Farmer

MR. CARL VROOMAN, formerly Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, pictures the present plight of our farming population in this graphic manner.

A FOREIGN MARKET OR A POST-MORTEM?

The farmer is being smothered in his surplus crops. It remains to be seen whether he is going to be provided with export markets now or a post-mortem later! Unless given at once a foreign outlet for their surpluses, a million more farmers will go bankrupt before fall. Moreover, the business stagnation and paralysis resulting from the destruction of the purchasing power of the farmer is costing the country more every month than the total value of these surpluses. If they could be disposed of in no other way, we all would be better off if they were dumped into the sea.

In tragic contrast with this stupefying spectacle, hundreds of millions of people in Europe and Asia are ragged, cold, starving, and unable to utilize either their idle labor or their idle factories, for lack of the very things that are rotting in our fields, granaries, and warehouses.

The advocates of the Emergency Tariff legislation urged that it would help remedy our end of the difficulty. As a matter of fact we usually do not import much of any farm produce that competes with our own. However, there was a feeling that as we were the only people in the world with relatively unimpaired buying power, farm produce might be shipped to us who already had an over abundance, instead of to other people who really needed it, because, even if we paid but low prices, we could actually pay in gold whereas the others could only pay in promises.

In real truth the Emergency Tariff will do little for the general farmer who is suffering, except perhaps raise his hopes. On the contrary, it and its successor, if it is a high tariff, will probably do him more harm than good. It will raise the price of all the manufactured goods which he buys and reduce the good-will of the foreign grain, cattle, and hog markets to which he sells. If the United States adopts a high tariff policy discriminating against the goods of foreign countries, these countries can be confidently expected to discriminate against our exports, a large part of which are farm products.

President Harding said in a speech at a recent dinner in New York:

Our position in the world has been greatly changed as a result of the war. We have become a creditor

rather than a debtor. It is doubtless unfortunate that the change was brought about under the conditions which war imposed. We would have become a great creditor nation in the near future had there been no war. The exigencies of war compelled the Government to take, by taxation, much wealth from our people to be loaned to our Allies. This is the basis of their obligation to us, and it is not a good form in which to hold the obligations of one people to another people.

It is altogether to be hoped that in a reasonable period we may change the form of these obligations and distribute them among all the people. We hope that this may be accomplished, and also that there may be effective reduction of the cost of government. In these ways we hope to release a great volume of wealth and credit from the burden that government has been imposing, and make it available for the development of domestic industry and the expansion of foreign trade. We ask the coöperation of business leaders and we assure them that within its proper limitations the Government will meet them half-way.

By this process we shall aim to create renewed demand for the product of our industries, to establish permanent markets abroad for surpluses.

This is the sound solution of the farmer's problem—as well as the problem of many manufacturers. It is to enable Europe to buy our surplus production. If we can find a way to enable the people of Europe to get the credit to buy from us, is it reasonable to put up a tariff wall against their products and force them to do the same against us and thereby defeat the end of our financing? It is not only possible and probable that European and South American countries will individually retaliate against a high tariff policy on our part, but it is also quite possible that they might organize together to do so.

The effort to exclude other people from selling in the United States and at the same time force our sales upon them is fundamentally sound in neither economics nor morals. The tariff wars of Germany and Russia and Austria and Serbia are fair samples of the results of trying to protect your own markets and force open those of other countries.

Conflicting Testimony on Rail Rates

SENATOR CAPPER, of Kansas, like all other close observers of agricultural conditions, is greatly disturbed at the present situation. Part of his vigorous indictment of the times is as follows:

It costs more to ship fruit from the Pacific coast to the Middle West, or produce from the Middle West to the East, than it does to bring these products here from foreign countries, and the high value of the American dollar and the excessive exchange rate do the rest.

While Italy sells her lemon crop here, our lemons rot because they do not bring enough to pay freight rates. We are getting wheat from Canada and Argentine, butter from Denmark, eggs and poultry from starving China, potatoes from Norway, mutton from New Zealand, corn and beef from South America, and wool from everywhere.

At the same time sheep from our ranges, fruit from Florida and California, vegetables from Texas and the South, hay and oats and other products from the West, have been sold in the big market for less than enough to pay the freight, consequently enormous quantities of these home-grown products are now being permitted to rot because it does not pay to ship them.

The chief cause in the Kansas Senator's mind for this unhappy state of affairs is the present rail rates. He says:

The people have paid the railroads nearly one billion dollars within the last few years by way of a Government guaranty. On top of that they have paid higher rail rates, amounting to from 50 to 83 per cent. These rates almost absorb the farmer's grain, also a large percentage of his livestock; they have absorbed the decrease in the price of lumber; they have helped in many ways to demoralize the business of the country and to prevent its recuperation. And with all this the roads now are stalled on the upgrade; they are not making expenses and are not getting any new business.

The chief reason is that, with other values coming down and with farm prices at bed-rock, the roads are charging more than the traffic will bear. This means that as long as present rates are maintained the roads will not be able to do enough business to maintain themselves.

The Senator's remedy is to slash railroad rates. This is naturally the philosophy of most of the farming sections of the country.

On the other hand, there are several things to be considered before this simple expedient is tried. In the first place, the figures of the United States Bureau of Markets show that since the raise in freight rates the shipments of citrus and other fruits and vegetables from California, Florida, and Texas have increased instead of decreased. For the six months which ended March 31, 1921, shipments from California showed an increase of approximately 4,000 carloads more than the corresponding period the previous year. From

Florida the increase was about 3,000 carloads, and from Texas about 200 carloads.

In the second place, the Senator advances the argument that a bushel of grain can be shipped from South America to New York for 12 cents, while it costs 42 cents from Minneapolis to New York. This is a common statement, but not a complete statement of the case. The Senator should include the rail rates from the Argentine wheat fields to seaboard.

The truth is that the difficulties which are facing the farmers are not primarily due to the railroads, the wheat pit, the cotton exchanges, or to any of the Senator's pet antipathies. The farmer is undergoing the painful process of liquidation along with the rest of the country. The nature of his business probably makes it more difficult for him than for most other businesses. If any effective help can be given him, it is a national advantage to give it, but anything likely to jeopardize the return of the railroads to sufficient prosperity to provide good service, is not to the farmers' real advantage.

Low Rail Rates to Come

AT ATLANTIC CITY, Mr. Hoover gave the following figures of the relation of present cost of various commodities to pre-war levels (using 100 as the pre-war index number):

Farm Prices for Crops	115
Farm Prices for Animals	123
Wholesale Food	150
Retail Food	156
Railroad Receipts (per ton mile)	166
Lighting	207
Building Materials	212
House Furnishings	275
Dep't. of Labor Wage Index	199

These figures show that the farmers are suffering, but they also show that railroad charges are relatively much below labor costs, and the larger part of railroad expenses are for labor. Nevertheless everyone agrees, that, in the long run, rail rates must come down. The whole economic fabric of this country was built upon the cheapest rail rates in the world. Before we acquire complete normalcy we shall have to have cheap rates again. But it is well to remember that this transportation system is an infinitely complicated thing, which by mismanagement, unwise regulation, and Government operation and war has been thrown into a desperate condition. One more ill-judged attack on it might well make private ownership impossible. The only recourse then left would be to follow the Canadian example, where the Government has taken more than half the rail lines because no one else has money enough to keep them going. If this should happen, the farmers would face the certainty of higher rates forever, unless the public were willing to have the roads charge a low rate and make up the consequent deficit by taxation.

Mr. Hoover gives the following constructive picture of the transportation problem:

> The railways in the United States, more than in any other place in the world, are the keys of industry. No one can question the financial difficulties of the railways and the fundamental necessity of producing for them financial stability. But I conceive that the continued use of an emergency horizontal basis of rate increases can be seriously questioned. I believe any examination of the rate-making structure of this country will show that it was based fundamentally upon charges varying to a rough extent with the value of commodities. This method was modified by competition, and by the deliberate policy of the railways to stimulate local industries and local production. Horizontal rate increases have thrown the relativity of these rate scales out of gear, both as to value of commodities and zones of distribution. The increase of the rate may amount to 5 per cent. on the shipper's value of some commodities and 80 per cent. on others.
>
> Our great industries have grown up in the supply of the cheapest transportation in the world for their basic raw materials, with a higher differential on their finished products. We have many complaints of the hardship worked by the upset in ratio; complaints that it is readjusting the commercial and industrial map of the United States; complaints that in some industries the charge can be passed on to the consumer, while in others, such as agriculture, it falls largely upon the producer; and complaints that it is stifling production.
>
> It appears to me that, even though the same total income must be earned by the railways, there must be a commodity and class readjustment in rates, both in the interest of the community and the railways themselves. Such a readjustment of rates was indeed forecast by the Interstate Commerce Commission as a necessity at the time of the last horizontal rate increase. We must also look forward to ultimate reductions in rates if the economic levels of the country are to find an equilibrium.

At the same time Mr. Hoover said:

> It is entirely possible for us to maintain our high standards of living if we can secure equitable readjustments all along the line. But we must face the

fact that if we are to hold to our higher standard of living and to maintain employment of our people against the competition of the living standards of Europe, lowered for a whole generation, we must do it with greater efficiency, and by harder work.

And this applies to farming as well as to all other activities. In this new order in which we find ourselves, no industry or occupation can keep its old standards and expect everything else to bear the brunt of the change. The world is on a lower level than it was. The European must work on a lower margin. Neither by regulating the railroads nor by passing a tariff can we escape the consequences of that fact. To keep our standard of living we shall have to use either more brains or more effort than we used to.

The people of the United States are particularly favored. We have a better chance to keep up our old levels, and surpass them, than any other people, but we must recognize that to keep up these old levels of life means production on the old scale plus enough more to pay our part of the cost of the war. Moreover, our part of the cost is not the fixed sum that we spent. It is a far larger and indeterminate amount. We shall continue to pay for the war as long as the world is abnormal. If we had not entered the war or spent a cent, the war would have disarranged our economics so that we should help pay for it as we shall now for many years.

We shall have to work with increased energy ourselves and try to help other people to their feet at the same time.

The Loss of Three Distinguished Public Servants

THE United States has recently lost three distinguished and lovable public servants.

Edward Douglass White, Chief Justice of the United States, bulked as large in character as he did in frame. His was the kind of character that begets the confidence and belief of men.

A Southerner and an ex-Confederate soldier, there was no suspicion of him in the North. A Catholic, there was no suspicion of him from Protestants. A Democrat, he was elevated to the Chief Justiceship by a Republican. Conservative minded, the more radical minded justices looked upon him with the greatest respect.

Justice White had a great legal mind. He had seen distinguished service in public office, as had his father before him. But it was not these things that stamped him most indelibly on the canvas of our national life. It was those indefinable but inescapable things, integrity and generosity of character which he had to such an unusual degree.

II

Like Chief Justice White, Franklin K. Lane was a man of such transparent fairness and humanity that partizanship passed him by. He was a Democrat and a democrat, but Democrats and Republicans, mugwumps and Socialists, all liked him.

He was a man of great ability and great force, and a good two-fisted fighter when aroused, but his chief characteristic was his love of men. He was passionately devoted to the welfare of mankind, but his interest did not stop there. He had, in the same remarkable degree that Mr. Roosevelt had, a love for all kinds and conditions of men singly and in crowds. And this feeling was so genuine that it made everyone like him. No one who knew Franklin K. Lane can forget the kind of inspirational belief and affection he had for humanity and the cheeriness which this imparted to his view of life. It is not so often that one man's wholesomeness is so great as to affect a whole nation. It was so with Mr. Lane and his countrymen will miss him, his optimism, energy, and confidence, and long remember his cheerful figure on the national landscape.

III

The editor of this magazine once went to Colonel Roosevelt to ask his opinion on certain aspects of a budget system for this country. His answer was, "I should not like to give an opinion on that subject until I have talked to McCarthy."

When Charles McCarthy died, the Wisconsin legislature passed the following resolution which all men in this country should know, for it is not proper that McCarthy's modesty should dim his light after death as it did in life.

Whereas the state of Wisconsin has lost a great public servant.

Charles McCarthy, known throughout the world, friend and adviser of statesmen, diplomats and presidents, of industrial, labor and agricultural leaders, was born in Brockton, Massachusetts. . . .

As he has labored and fought in the fields of in-

dustry, of athletics and of scholarship, so Dr. McCarthy has fought and labored in the fields of statesmanship, administration and education. To his own Wisconsin he has given his health, his strength, his life. Wisconsin's famous system of part time day continuation schools, and the university extension must always stand as monuments to the boy whose whole education was a part time continuation school education forced from ill adapted schools and reluctant authorities. The primary elections law, the public utilities act, the workmen's compensation law, the industrial commission itself, the marketing department, the forward looking planks in the state and national political platforms for many years, all bear the marks of the steady hand of this great public servant. . . .

Resolved, That as a last mark of respect and affection, the body of Dr. McCarthy shall lie in state in the capitol where he has lived and worked for twenty years in order that all who loved him may have an opportunity to do honor to the great public character who was their fellow worker—the faithful servant of the legislature and of the people—Mc Carthy of Wisconsin.

The public hardly realizes how much of our national and welfare institutions is due to Dr. McCarthy. He was a great American citizen.

The Ex-Service Men

THE United States is conducting four large enterprises for the benefit of its soldiers of the World War and their families. It is carrying on the largest insurance business in the world. It is paying compensation to men who were disabled in any way. It also has assumed the obligation of paying for the medical keep and care and the rejuvenation of all men disabled by the war. It has further agreed to arrange and pay for the vocational training of disabled men so that upon their final discharge from Government supervision they may be self-supporting.

In all four of these enterprises the Government has been under severe criticism. The administrative task of keeping the records of the sick and disabled and getting their allowance checks to them seems to be getting fairly well organized. As complicated as it is, it is the easiest of the problems.

The task of providing hospitals and proper medical care for the tubercular, the mental or shell shock cases, and other disabled has dragged on miserably. At last it has been organized, and the facilities are being acquired that should have been in readiness two and a half years ago. A good many men have committed suicide who could have been restored to sanity and health. A great many sufferers are in unsuitable hospitals now. There has been, however, considerable improvement in the supervision and organization of this work.

The task of providing vocational training for the disabled is still in a chaotic state.

There are only comparatively few trade or vocational schools in this country which have succeeded in training men who have not been disabled. Most of these schools have a high grade of students to deal with. Practically all have had the advantage of having the pressure of society upon their students to make them work. The ordinary young man learning a trade, business, or profession realizes that public opinion allows him no excuse for failing to work. This compelling force is not brought to bear on the soldier recovering from disability. His service and his misfortune excuse him. This makes the task of the vocational trainer doubly hard. The best thing that could happen to many of the ex-soldiers taking vocational training would be to put them under the discipline of an old-fashioned "top sergeant." But the tender-hearted and grateful public would much prefer to let these men take their training softly and with negligible results than to have them undergo any vigorous and effective schooling.

Leaving out such discipline, if a set of great teachers with ample equipment could take these men, a very few to each teacher, they could make up in inspiration the lack of discipline and social pressure. But such an organization of teachers is not to be had in this country without great effort and expense, nor are the facilities and equipment.

As the work goes now, a small proportion of the abler and more energetic men are mastering themselves and learning a craft through the vocational training. Thousands of others are passing through the course with little or no benefit; and many others are definitely damaging their characters and future prospects by using the vocational training as a soft and sympathetic, even if temporary, living. A recent investigation by Mr. Clark, formerly with the Vocational Board, brings forth very clearly that at present vocational training is practised in a soft and inadequate form, and benefits so small a proportion of the men as to be fairly called a failure. His report also makes it clear that, with the difficulties, if success

were attained, it would be one of the great educational achievements of the time. Moreover, his report does indicate that success cannot be attained by investigations or abuse of the present Vocational Board. One of its chief difficulties has been that so many organizations and individuals interested in the soldiers have browbeaten the directors of this work that they have had to spend as much time trying to please the soldier and his friends as they have trying to train him.

Informed Optimism About Russia

ONE of the great dramas of human history, the birth of economic freedom for Russia's 170 million people, is in progress.

In an age when news from almost all parts of the world is common knowledge within a few hours, this great event is being worked out behind closed doors.

It is with particular pleasure, therefore, that the WORLD'S WORK published the article "What Russia Thinks of the Bolsheviki," by Sir Paul Dukes, in its May number, and that it will, in this and forthcoming numbers, publish the articles of Lieutenant-Commander Koehler, for these two men have been privileged to see what few, if any other men similarly equipped to observe, have seen.

Many have visited Russia, seen Lenin and Trotzky, and seen what these leaders wished them to see, but few have lived with the Russian people in their time of trial and seen the fundamental forces at work which are shaping the destinies of this great people.

Lt.-Com. Hugo W. Koehler, of the United States Navy, was sent by the American Government to Russia in 1919 to observe. He was with Denikin's army, with Wrangel's army, and has traveled hundreds of miles inside the Bolshevist lines, and talked with all kinds and varieties of Bolsheviki. He spoke Russian well enough to do this.

Sir Paul Dukes, of the British Secret Service, lived in Russia in disguise, traveled over large parts of the country, served in the Bolshevist armies.

Both these men were trained observers. Both spoke Russian, both saw conditions with their own eyes, both talked to all classes and conditions of men in Russia, and both agree on the fundamental facts.

Each of them in different parts of Russia have attended Bolshevist meetings to celebrate the outbreak of world revolution in England, and in the continental countries of Europe. Both agree that Bolshevist control of all news and all means of communication has enabled them to make the Russian people believe in a fictitious world.

Both agree that of the only choices so far offered the Russian peasant, Czarism and Bolshevism, he prefers Bolshevism, for under Czarism he either had no land, or else he held it in communism with his neighbors, whereas under the Revolution he seized land for individual ownership, and under Bolshevism, regardless of its theories, holds it individually.

Both of these observers believe that Russia will work out of the Bolshevist period as the French worked out of the period of the Commune.

Both agree that the fact of the Russian revolution is the economic emancipation of the peasant on the land, and that this will be the basis of a great Russia in the future. Its political fabric may be in one form or another, but whatever it is, it must validate the peasants' ownership of the land, the rights of property, and the right to buy and sell. Already the Bolshevist efforts to enforce communism have been considerably dissipated in the towns, and in the country where the vast majority of the Russians live, they never took much hold. Both these men believe in the future of Russia. Both are optimistic. This is a particularly cheerful fact because of the few that have studied Russia at first hand none have better qualifications to judge than these two men, and it is particularly significant that while they disagree with much, if not most of the common gossip about Russia, their deductions agree in all essentials.

Governor Allen and "the Party of the Third Part"

SOME years ago, at a dinner in New York, John Mitchell, then head of the Miners' Union, rose and spoke as the representative of several hundred thousand miners. A representative of many millions of dollars and several million investors answered him. And then what was really important at that dinner happened. President Eliot of Harvard rose. He said that he represented a hundred million American consumers, that their interests were paramount and their word was law.

In 1919 the coal miners and coal-mine owners were again debating their grievances with the result that, in Kansas, Governor Allen fathered a law creating a court to make the interest of the whole people law. In the introduction to his book concerning the court, "The Party of the Third Part," the Governor says:

"In the evolution of civilization and its industrial implements a third party has come to the front, and the party of the third part is greater than the parties of the first and second parts. That third party is the public, and that means all of us." The purpose of the industrial court is therefore not "friendly to capital" or "friendly to labor," but justice for both and all.

When Governor Allen met Samuel Gompers in debate at Carnegie Hall a year ago last May he asked the President of the American Federation of Labor a famous question: "When a dispute between capital and labor brings on a strike affecting the production or distribution of the necessaries of life, thus threatening the public peace and impairing the public health, has the public any rights in such a controversy, or is it a private war between capital and labor? If you answer this question in the affirmative, Mr. Gompers, how would you protect the rights of the public?" —So far Mr. Gompers has failed to answer this question directly, but it shows very clearly what was the inspiration of the Court of Industrial Relations. How far its purposes have already been achieved after one year of operation may be seen in a letter that Governor Allen has written to the WORLD'S WORK in answer to a recent inquiry on the subject:

The court was established for the purpose of protecting the public against the economic pressure brought either by capital or labor, to guarantee impartial justice to both sides of an industrial controversy, and to stabilize production by preventing the closing down of industries which supply public needs.

The law was the direct result of the coal strike of 1919. After the state had taken over the mines in the winter of that year for the purpose of mining coal during the strike and had successfully met the situation, so far as Kansas was concerned, a special session of the legislature wrote the industrial court law, completing it in January, 1920. The law began to function on February, 1920.

The state mining engineer has just given us his official report of our coal-mining district, comparing the output in 1919 with that in 1920.

In the Pittsburg district alone there was an increased production this year over last of 900,000 tons, and this task was performed by 500 fewer miners than were employed in 1919. In other words, 10,500 miners, working under conditions created by the new law, produced 900,000 tons of coal more than 11,000 miners produced in 1919.

In addition to this, the 10,500 miners drew $4,000,000 more in wages in 1920 than 11,000 miners drew in 1919. The record was made by reason of the fact that in 1919 the average working days of the year were 141. Last year they ran something over 200.

In 1919 there was an average of over thirteen strikes per month in various mines. During the last year there were only two small strikes, involving altogether less than a thousand men, called by Alexander Howat, the president of the district, to test the law.

The official report of the state mining engineer is a typical proof of the indirect effect of the court, and as the result of its beneficial effect in the mining district the court is rapidly gaining in popularity with the miners, though the leaders still fight it and some of the operators are none too enthusiastic about it. The labor leaders realize that if the state may find justice for the miners in their controversies with the operators, then there will no longer be any need for the miners to pay out of their pockets a large per cent. of their wages for the employment of official labor leaders. Some of the operators fear that some day they will be prevented from taking advantage of a surplus of labor to do what they have often done in the past—drive wages down to an indefensible minimum.

As a proof, however, of the growing standing of the law in this state, in the recent November elections a ticket was nominated and a campaign made upon the platform that if this ticket succeeded its members of the legislature and its chief executive would favor the repeal of the industrial court law. In the mining district this ticket was overwhelmingly defeated and one, headed by myself, which pledged support to the industrial court law, was elected. We carried the senatorial election in the home district of Alexander Howat, the president of the district miners' organization. We could not have done this if it had not been for the fact that under cover the miners were voting to sustain the law.

This is typical of what happened in every industrial district in the state where a similar fight went on. In Kansas City, Kansas, where all of the great packing plants of the Missouri valley are located, the candidates chosen by labor's own leaders were defeated, and the candidates nominated to support the industrial court were elected. In the several counties where the railroad vote dominates because of large railroad shops, exactly the same thing happened—so that at the end of nearly

a year the last November test in the industrial districts proved that a majority of the laboring men themselves were supporting the court.

As to the actual work of the court in decisions, there have been, I believe, twenty-eight. Of these, twenty-seven have been accepted as just and satisfactory, both by capital and labor. A majority of the cases were brought by labor. Only one appeal has been taken in a wage award, and that has been by a railroad company, appealing from a decision of the court on the ground that since the Federal Wage Board was established the Kansas court lacked jurisdiction. This appeal is still pending.

Alexander Howat, the president of District Fourteen, American Federation of Miners, was sentenced to a term in jail for each of the two strikes he has called to test the Kansas law. These will be determined by the Supreme Court of Kansas in a very short time and will doubtless then go to the Supreme Court of the United States. They will raise all of the constitutional issues in the law.

In the meanwhile, the court is functioning with satisfaction to the public. Its effect has been to stabilize production, but its greatest achievement has been in the standardization of the idea that industrial controversies are now to be settled in a court of impartial justice. Men knowing that there is a court of last resort for them are more likely to be content than they were when their whole dependence was upon a secretary of war employed by labor unions.

The realization is also dawning that the court will be particularly useful in the period of depression, which seems to be upon us. The surplus of labor will doubtless grow, and there will be many appeals to the court to deal justly with proposed wage reductions. A court of justice, with power to render wage decisions based upon the cost of living and other justifiable circumstances in the case, will be helpful to us all.

The court is still young and it is facing a very critical test, for when men are out of work and their families are suffering it puts a severe strain on all the mechanism of our civilization. It is, therefore, a particularly interesting time to watch the operation of this hopeful Kansas experiment.

Our Duty in Haiti

ON JULY 24, 1915, the President of Haiti, Wilbrun Guillaume Sam had 169 political prisoners massacred in the Port au Prince jail. The next day a mob dragged him from the French Legation where he had taken refuge and literally tore him to pieces. Landing of French marines from the cruiser *Descartes* followed, but these were withdrawn upon the arrival of American marines who have been there ever since.

On May 3, 1916, while American arms kept order in the Republic, Haiti signed a treaty with the United States for "the remedying of the present conditions of the revenues and finances of Haiti, the maintenance of the tranquillity of that republic, and the carrying out of plans for its economic development and prosperity."

Under this treaty the United States has preserved order and acted as guardian of Haiti's governmental finances. There is an agitation now both in Haiti and in the United States for the abrogation of the treaty. *Patriotique* societies in the Island have been formed to work for its annulment. Most of the old political factions are united against it, and they claim that the treaty ought not to be continued as it does not represent Haitian sentiment and because it was forced upon the people of Haiti. In judging this matter, one fact in the history of Haiti is an essential part of the picture. One fundamental test of a republic is its ability to change from one president to another by the peaceful and legal means of an election, and that on the occasion of such a change the contents of the treasury shall be found intact by the incoming Administration.

Haiti has had twenty-seven presidents. Sixteen of these were driven into exile or fled, usually with the contents of the treasury. Four were assassinated, one committed suicide, and three died from unknown causes. Two were allowed to retire alive. That accounts for twenty-six. The twenty-seventh, thanks to the American marines, is still in office, and, also thanks to the marines, the treasury is intact. From 1915 to 1921, while the marines were there, there has been no violent overturn in the Haitian Government. From 1908 to 1915, there were seven changes and all violent.

If we remain in Haiti, we shall have the somewhat thankless task of a mandatory power in protecting the Haitians against their own political inability. There probably will be continuous agitation against us in the Island, and constant criticism of us in South America. If we have the courage to look the facts in the face, we shall continue to care for Haitian affairs despite this criticism, and we shall do it in the true spirit of a mandatory, without arranging some method of commercial advantage for ourselves—a thing which we have been very prone to do in the past.

Roosevelt once said:

"It is untruthful folly to assert that it is possible for the United States, or for any other great nation, to treat an anarchic and wrong-doing country on a footing of real and full equality. . . . As soon as any such nation, in the course of its advance, reaches a position of self-respecting strength and orderly liberty, and achieves power to do and to exact justice, then we should at once step out from any position of tutelage in any respect."

To follow this principle without using our power to make a profit for ourselves, but solely for the benefit of those under our tutelage, is a high ideal. It will take courage to withstand the demands for complete freedom from Haiti, from Porto Rico, from the Philippines. It will take courage also to withstand the more sinister side of dollar diplomacy, which is apt to cover special favors to American commerce under high-sounding phrases about caring for dependent peoples and maintaining law and order. It is comforting to feel that Mr. Hughes has the sensible courage and the idealism to oppose the idealistic folly which urges giving liberties to those unprepared for them, and also to oppose special privileges for our commerce at the expense of those under our tutelage. Especially is this comforting because we shall be held internationally liable, both legally and morally, for what happens in these countries which are under our protection.

Safeguarding America Against Fires

THE National Association of Credit Men has recently introduced into the legislatures of forty states a bill making fire prevention education compulsory. This is based on a bill passed last year by the State of New Jersey. When alarmed at the rapid increase of destructive fires, that state ruled that fire prevention education should be given in all the public schools for a minimum of one hour each month. Whether this is wise from the educational point of view is open to question. There are many equally important things for children to know, in fact, many more than can be crammed into their school hours, which are now so divided as to be in danger of providing a smattering of many things with no concentration on any.

But whether or not fire-prevention should be taught in the schools it is certain that the grown-ups might well take the lesson of our fire waste to heart. The so-called "fire tax" in the United States is greater than in any other country. For the last year before the war the average fire loss for each man, woman, and child in France was 49 cents; in England, 33 cents; in Germany, 28 cents; in Italy, 25cents; in Holland, 11 cents—while in the United States for the same year the loss was $2.10. Since then the progress in protective legislation, fire proof construction, and better fire-fighting apparatus has been steady, but it has not kept up with a greater rate of destruction each year. The National Board of Fire Underwriters has published a detailed statement of fire losses in the United States for the last five years, which shows the enormous total of $1,416,375,845 most of which is preventable. The total tribute which fire exacts is vastly greater. For example, the wool which is sheared from the sheep's back is insured. The wool fabric which comes from the mills is insured. As clothing on the merchant's shelf it is insured. The total of all these insurances is added to the bill of the consumer. Almost everything we own has the cost of the "fire tax" added to it. Of course the danger of fire can not be eliminated altogether, but if the average fire loss was half as great, the average premium would be approximately half as large.

The statistics of the Fire Underwriters show that electricity causes more fires than any other single cause, and of that, electric irons produce 57 per cent.! The second most prolific source is matches and smoking; the third is defective chimneys, and so on. Gasolene must answer for a large share of the increase of fires in recent years. There are many housewives who use gasolene for cleaning purposes, and who let the open can of it stand near the hearth or the kitchen stove. Those people would not let dynamite lie around in such places, yet *it takes eighty-three pounds of dynamite to equal the explosive power of a single gallon of gasolene!* When the fire is not there—then is the time for learning the use of a fire extinguisher, and in planning a course of action—the first five minutes at a fire is worth more than the next five hours.

There is an average of 1,500 fires a day in this country. But those to-morrow and thereafter have not yet occurred. In order that some of them may never occur, and that this impending loss may be reduced, everybody should be posted on the causes of the first five minutes of fire and how to behave at that time.

To Mr. Hays, Postmaster-General

NOT long ago the *Weekly Review* called the Postmaster-General's attention to the clause in the postal regulations which classified any book review which mentions the price of the book discussed as advertising. The classification was important because the postal rates on advertising are much higher than on reading matter.

It would have been equally sensible for the post-office to classify the financial pages of all papers giving the quotations on stocks, bonds, produce, and commodities as advertising, or to so classify an article on aviation which gave the price of an air passage from Paris to London.

Mr. Hays saw the point of the *Weekly Review's* arguments and in about the time it would take a well run private business to make a similar decision, he reversed the ruling.

The ruling which Mr. Hays reversed was one of the regulatory nuisances with which the post-office, in the last few years, has bothered the press of the country.

The spirit that prompted these nuisances probably grew out of the conflict between the post-office and the press upon postal rates.

The post-office contended that rates on newspapers and magazines were so low as to amount to a subsidy. Some of the publishers contended that the rates were high enough and countered with the charge that the post-office was inefficiently operated. Others asked that the post-office find out what the cost of handling second class matter actually was, and charge that. In a complicated business such as that of the post-office, that is difficult to do, and the post-office never produced any convincing figures. It did, however, produce a measure for raising rates—the zone system. This method affected the newspapers but little, for few of them circulate outside of one zone. It did affect the magazines of national circulation. On a magazine like the WORLD'S WORK, for instance, the postage on a year's subscription to a man in California is about forty-five cents more than to one in New York. Under these conditions magazines can hardly be expected to strive for subscribers in California with the same effort as for subscribers in zones nearer the "places of publication." The zone system's tendency is to make the magazines sectional. A universal postal rate for letters and periodicals was one of the most unifying forces in the United States. Under the last Administration this unifying force, in so far as the periodical press is concerned, was penalized by the adoption of the zone system. It is now cheaper to send a magazine from New York to Montreal than from New York to Omaha. Likewise it is both cheaper and faster to send magazines by express to many parts of the United States than to send them by mail. About one third of the edition of this magazine now goes by express.

Mr. Hays might well consider the zone question. The fact that it has lost some business to the post-office or charged the public and the magazines more is not very important, but its influence toward sectionalism is a matter of real public concern. The main question is whether one rate, be it high or low, is to cover the United States as a whole.

There is still another post-office matter which Mr. Hays will soon be confronted with if it has not already engaged his attention. At various times the post-office has been both active and successful in using its detective force to prevent the get-rich-quick fraternity from using the mails to defraud the public. Of late years the post-office, either from lack of interest, inclination, or funds has not pursued this useful work with much energy or success. The get-rich-quick people have responded to this partial immunity with energetic campaigns against the public's savings. Mr. Hays could do nothing more useful than reinvigorate the forces which at one time or another have kept these frauds down.

The Last Vestige of the Civil War

MR. HAYS'S formula for the appointment of postmasters in the South is that he will appoint only men who have the confidence and respect of the best elements of their communities. This ought to be a test to govern appointment in any part of the United States, which would not arouse criticism. Probably it would pass without notice anywhere but in the South. But applied to the South it will raise an instant argument in certain quarters in the North, for that formula means the elimination of most Negro office-holders. Ever since the Civil War the Federal Government has discriminated in favor of the Negroes in an effort to make good the theory of the post Civil War Congress, that all the slave needed to make him a capable citizen was his freedom. There are still many

people who feel intensely that, whether or not the Negroes fulfil other conditions for office, the fact that there are 10,000,000 Negroes (1910 Census) demands that they be represented in the Federal Service in large numbers. But if the Postmaster-General adopts his principle of getting the best qualified men he can get (even if they are not Republicans) for office, in the South he will get more Democrats than Republicans, and comparatively few Negroes.

This will not only lose him the control of various Negro delegations at the next Republican Convention, it might even lose the Republican Party a considerable number of Negro votes, and it will certainly bring down upon his head a storm of criticism from various Negro sources, from Republican politicians, and from the considerable number of people who still believe that the way to help the Negro is to insist upon his having public office more in proportion to his numbers than his abilities.

The Negro's inabilities and comparative inexperience in modern life have made him a somewhat easy victim in politics, and he has been used as a bugaboo by one party and a catspaw by the other. For the Republican Party to stop using him as a catspaw in the South may make it impossible for the Democratic Party to use him as a bugaboo. If both these practices were to stop, the Negro would be far better off. Nevertheless, many Negro leaders would protest and many whites who are interested in the Negroes, some with high motives and some with low motives, would violently object.

Altogether, Mr. Hays will not have an easy time if he essays this fundamentally beneficial and far-reaching reform; consequently, it is incumbent upon all who do believe in it, to go out of their way to make known their support in as courageous and disinterested a degree as he will have to evince if he succeeds in this most laudable undertaking.

A Correction

IN THE "March of Events" of the May issue, it was asserted that only about 3 billion dollars of gold existed in the world; this should be corrected to read, about 10 billion dollars of gold.

A SKEPTIC'S DAY IN WILL HAYS'S OFFICE

By WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD

I HAVE counted Will Hays as a friend of mine for many years. Nevertheless, despite my personal friendship, I was frankly doubtful of the wisdom of President Harding in offering him the Postmaster-Generalship. I was doubtful of the President's wisdom, because I considered it as a purely political appointment, an appointment made in payment of a political debt. Past history has not generally sustained the wisdom of purely political appointments.

I also doubted the wisdom of Hays's acceptance of the post, because of the great handicap under which he would have to work. Public opinion was against him. The press was inclined to suspect all his acts of having political motives. Furthermore, I was not sure of Will Hays's fitness for the position he is occupying; not that he is not capable, but because his talents have been directed along other lines. He has not had executive experience. In fact, his past work would distinctly militate against success as an executive. I feared that he was too closely tied by political obligations and promises made during the heat of the campaign to administer his office without a

prepondering influence from political sources. As a candid friend I took occasion to tell him my opinion. He felt confident of his ability to succeed and he has a sincere determination to prove to the American people that he is more than an astute politician. He wants to prove that he is possessed of the ability to do constructive work as an executive head of a department. Knowing my skepticism he acquiesced in my suggestion that I be allowed to see how the wheels go round, to observe the inner workings of his department, and to see how he fitted into his new surroundings. One of the things that I was particularly anxious to observe was his handling of the flock of politicians that I knew would hover around his office. I told him that I would like to sit one day in his office, the day to be selected by me without advance notice, just taking the run of his visitors. He agreed.

On the chosen day I took a seat on a leather lounge near the window and about ten or fifteen feet from his desk, and pretended that I was sketching the new Postmaster-General. The sketch does not go with this story, for my artistic talent was neglected in my youth. Promptly at nine o'clock a constant stream of political visitors began coming in to see the man who occupies the dual position of "big boss" of the Republican Party and Postmaster-General of the United States. The Postmaster-General probably has more political plums to hand out than any other executive. He had some very distinguished visitors that day. Uncle Joe Cannon, Thomas W. Lamont, and Senator Frelinghuysen were among them. These men called to pay their respects, but most of his visitors came seeking political patronage. Here is a typical visit: Mr. X—— came in with great assurance. He was a Congressman from a strong Republican district: He had the air of a conqueror to claim his share of the spoils. "Hello, Will, old man," he exclaimed, as he warmly grasped the extended hand of the Postmaster-General. "I am glad to see you. First time I have had a chance to get around since you have been on the job. We certainly licked them good, didn't we?" Hays, as is natural with him, was equally demonstrative in the reception of his visitor. After passing the usual preliminary remarks Mr. X—— looked inquiringly at me, and I got extremely busy. Will Hays assured him audibly that it was all right to talk in front of me as I was a personal friend. Then he began: "Will, I called to see you about the postmastership at Blank City. I promised that job to 'Tom Jones,' who was a great worker in the last campaign. He carried his district overwhelmingly, and I would like to have his appointment made as soon as possible." There was no question in the visitor's mind about the appointment being made; the only thing was, how long it would take before his lieutenant could have his nose in the government feed bag. Then came the first disconcerting reply. In the calmest manner possible, Will Hays said: "What are his qualifications for the position? Has he ever had any postal experience? What is his standing in his community?"

A look of surprise came into the visitor's face. It said as plain as words: "Have I not already told his qualifications? Have I not said that he was the best Republican worker in the district? What is politics coming to anyway if the worker does not receive his reward?" Then Hays continued: "You know I intend to make this Department a success, and, in order to do so, I must have competent men as postmasters. I do not mean that your man is not the best man for the place, perhaps he is, but he must have other qualifications besides being a "wheel horse" Republican. You get together the facts about him and his record and send them to me, and I will do some investigating before I make the appointment. I am very much interested in the right kind of civil service and want the appointments made upon merit. I hope your man is the right man for the place, but I know you will agree with me that the Republican Party must make good during this Administration, and that the Post-Office is the Department through which the Government comes more closely in touch with the people than any other; therefore, it is incumbent upon us as leaders of the party to see that it succeeds, and I am certain of your assistance in my efforts to make it do so."

I listened to the man whom I had always considered as only a politician, tell this same story to an endless stream of office seekers. I talked with him after his visitors were gone; when I asked him if he didn't think that he would lose the support of the politicians, he frankly told me that maybe he would, but that there was one thing that he would not lose, and that is the confidence of the American people; when they saw that he was conscientiously trying to make a success of the Post-Office

Department. Do not misunderstand me to say that Will Hays is going to eschew politics altogether in the management of the Post-Office. If two men of equal ability are candidates for the position, he will give it to the active Republican; but he does not intend that successful Republican activity alone shall be a passport to political appointment under his régime.

I asked him what he meant by the right kind of civil service, and why the qualification was added? He replied—"I believe in honest civil service, which is intended to secure the right men for the work. I do not believe in trying to shield under the civil service cloak a lot of postmasters whose term of office had, or would soon expire, as was done near the close of the last Administration by a Presidential order. By that order thousands of Democratic office-holders through a sham civil service, where no examinations, or practically none were held, are kept in office. I expect, as soon as I can find some just way of doing so, to get the President to rescind that order. This has been done since my day with him. Civil Service that really means that a man has demonstrated by examination his fitness for the position is fine. I hope to see it applied universally in the Post-Office Department. It will result in removing politics from its management. It will be very beneficial to the Congressman for he will not have to make enemies by failing to appoint certain men to office. Some one has wittily said that he makes twenty enemies and one ingrate by each appointment. Under Civil Service he can tell each applicant, "Prove by examination your right to the place, before you get the job."

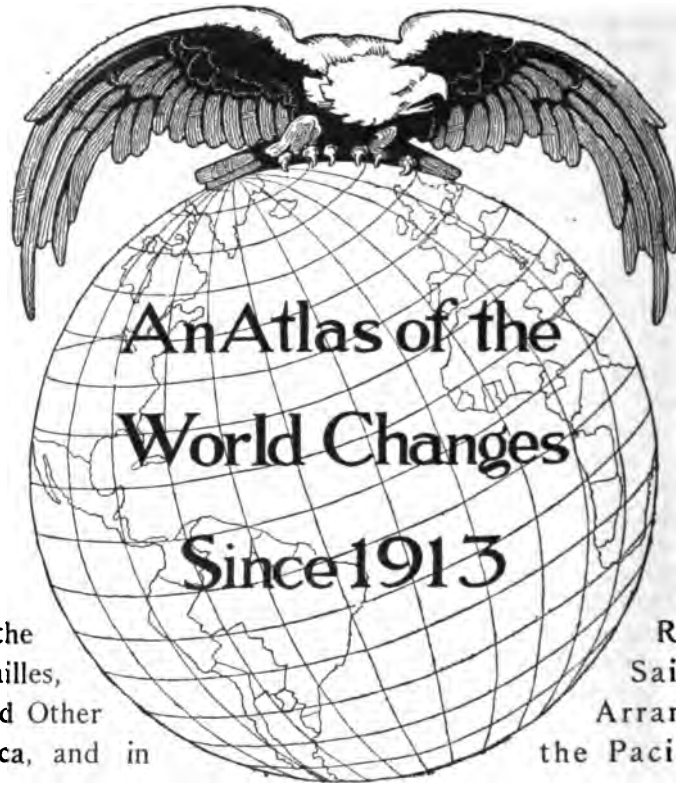
The limiting of political pull as a means of getting and keeping post-office jobs is not the only way in which Hays intends to try to make his department a success. He is attempting to establish complete coöperation and sympathetic understanding between the employees and executive heads of the Post-Office Department. He is not posing as the "big boss," but as the chief worker. He has not set himself apart; or beyond the reach of any man in the service who has a valuable suggestion to make, or who thinks he has a just grievance that he wants to present to the chief. I was much impressed by an incident that arose while I was in his office. A big, husky railway mail clerk came in, was received cordially, and in an embarrassed manner told Hays that he had been in the service for several years, but because of the dislike taken to him by his immediate superior he had been forced to resign. Later his oppressor had been transferred, and now he was anxious to reënter the service.

The Postmaster-General said—"Did you resign yourself, or were you discharged?" The man fumbled in his pockets for a few moments and produced a copy of his resignation. Will Hays pushed a button calling for the Assistant Postmaster-General, asked him to see if this was a copy of the resignation filed in the office, and if there had been any charges made against him. Eventually he turned to the man—

"I see that you are just in time. Reinstatements cannot be made in the Department after one year, and to-day is the last day that you can be reinstated without an examination and starting at the bottom of the list as an extra. I haven't heard the supervisor's story and do not know what he will have to say about you, but the Assistant Postmaster-General reports that there is no record in the office of any charges against you. I will write an order reinstating you in the Department, in order to save you from losing your seniority, but will not assign you to any work until I can make further investigation. I do not want to make you begin all over again if you are entitled to reinstatement. I hope it will be all right. Whenever you or any of your friends have grievances I wish you would come directly to me, as I want the post-office employees to feel that their chief is directly interested in their welfare. Good-bye."

He had taken a half hour of his time and an equal amount of the Assistant Postmaster-General's, as well as that of several clerks, to investigate this man's claim, though he had admitted himself that he had voluntarily quit the governmental service.

As I said, I had looked upon Will Hays's appointment as an error. My day with him and my general investigations, both inside his department and out, have convinced me that I was wrong. I still hold no brief for political appointments, but I had an interesting day in Will Hays's office which I am glad to pass along to others who are skeptically minded like myself for what the events of that day may be worth in their estimation. He has three years and a half in which to reverse a good start if he wants to, but to me at least his start looks most promising.



Maps Showing the Results of the Treaties of Versailles, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Sèvres, and Other Arrangements in Europe, Asia, Africa, and in the Pacific Since 1913

Maps prepared by the General Drafting Company, and

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THE President of the United States, in his address to Congress, said that it seemed the wisest course to engage under the existing treaty (the Treaty of Versailles), with the omission of the Covenant of the League of Nations and certain other amendments, to effect a settlement of such European affairs as concern us. This presages the general approval of the United States to the territorial arrangements arrived at under the Versailles Treaty and its companion Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye. All the other principal powers are likewise committed to these treaties.

The World's Work has felt that it is an opportune time, therefore, to present to its readers in the following sixteen pages an atlas of the world changes since 1913. The maps not only give the boundaries settled by the Treaty of Versailles, the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, the Treaty of Rapallo, the Treaty of Sèvres, and various other agreements, but in explanatory notes they give the fullest possible explanation of the boundary changes consistent with the restricted space available when instant reference is required. The very large amount of work necessary to put all this information in so small a space can be imagined from the fact that it took nine skilled men, under the direction of two expert cartographers, 1097 hours of labor to produce the plates.

The most striking phenomenon shown by these maps is the extent to which the principle of self-determination has shattered eastern Europe into small states. Another phenomenon is the appearance of mandate territories—a new thing in colonial administration. In the Near East the expansion of Greece, due chiefly to Venizelos, whom the Greeks repudiated in the last election, is one of the most noticeable phenomena. Other points are that the Turk is still in Europe, and that the Near East still shows signs of its historic ability to be a centre of infection for international jealousy.

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FRANCE AND BELGIUM

Showing the four small cessions from Germany to Belgium, and the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France. France also received additional territory in Africa from Germany and a sphere of influence in Asia Minor from Turkey which are shown on pages 246 and 245 respectively

EUROPE IN 1913

With middle Europe under the economically advantageous but politically incompetent sway of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Russian Empire

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EUROPE IN 1921

With middle Europe divided into small states chiefly on racial lines; the economic readjustments necessitated by these subdivisions mean new channels of trade all over this area
On other pages these changes are shown on a larger scale, as well as adjustments around the Ægean Sea and in the Near East

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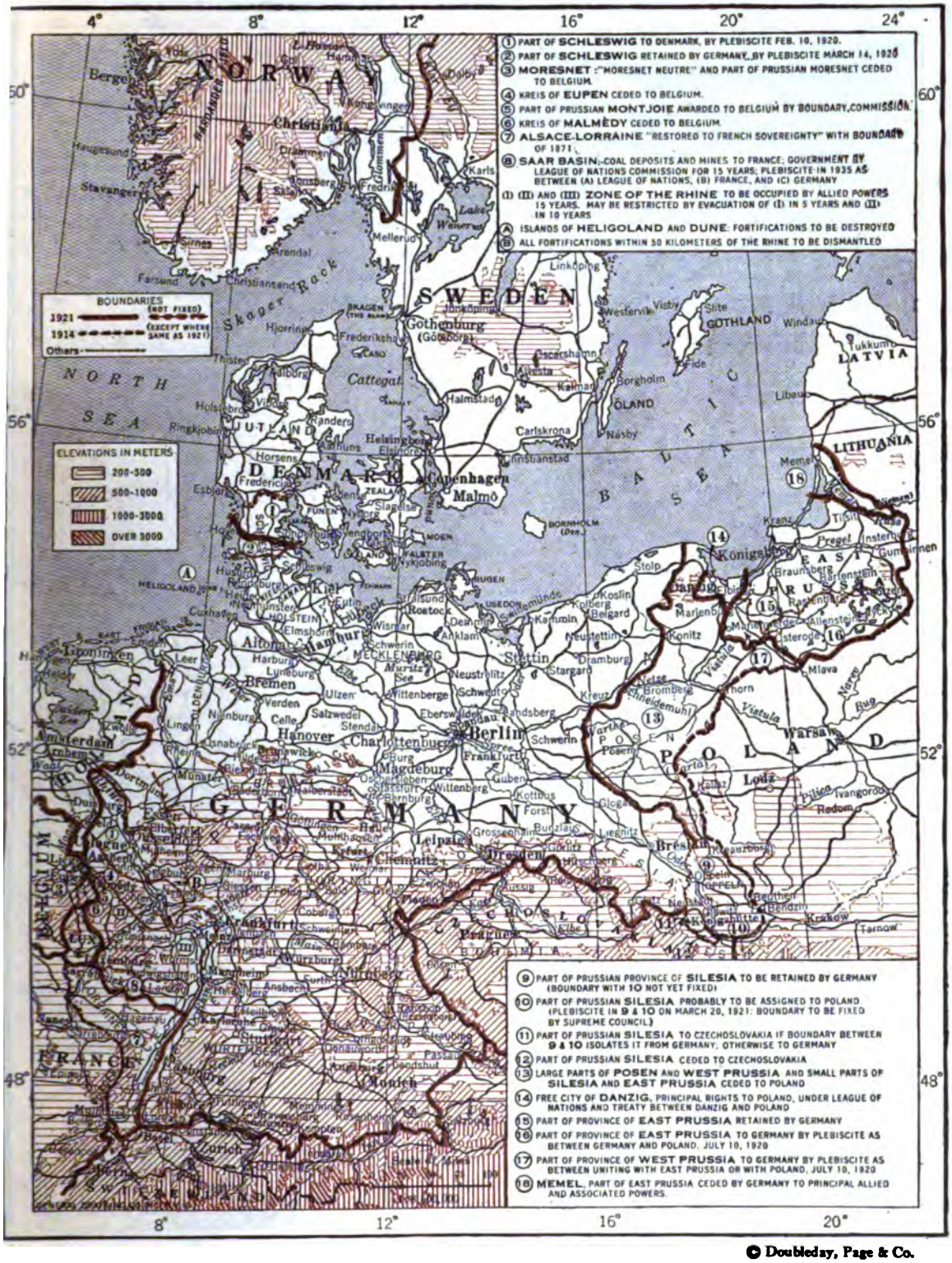
ITALY, 1921

By the treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye with Austria-Hungary, and by the Treaty of Rapallo with Jugoslavia, Italy acquired the Trentino, Gorizia, and Istria, partially on a racial and partially on a strategic basis. Italy also acquired Zara and Valona on the eastern Adriatic coast



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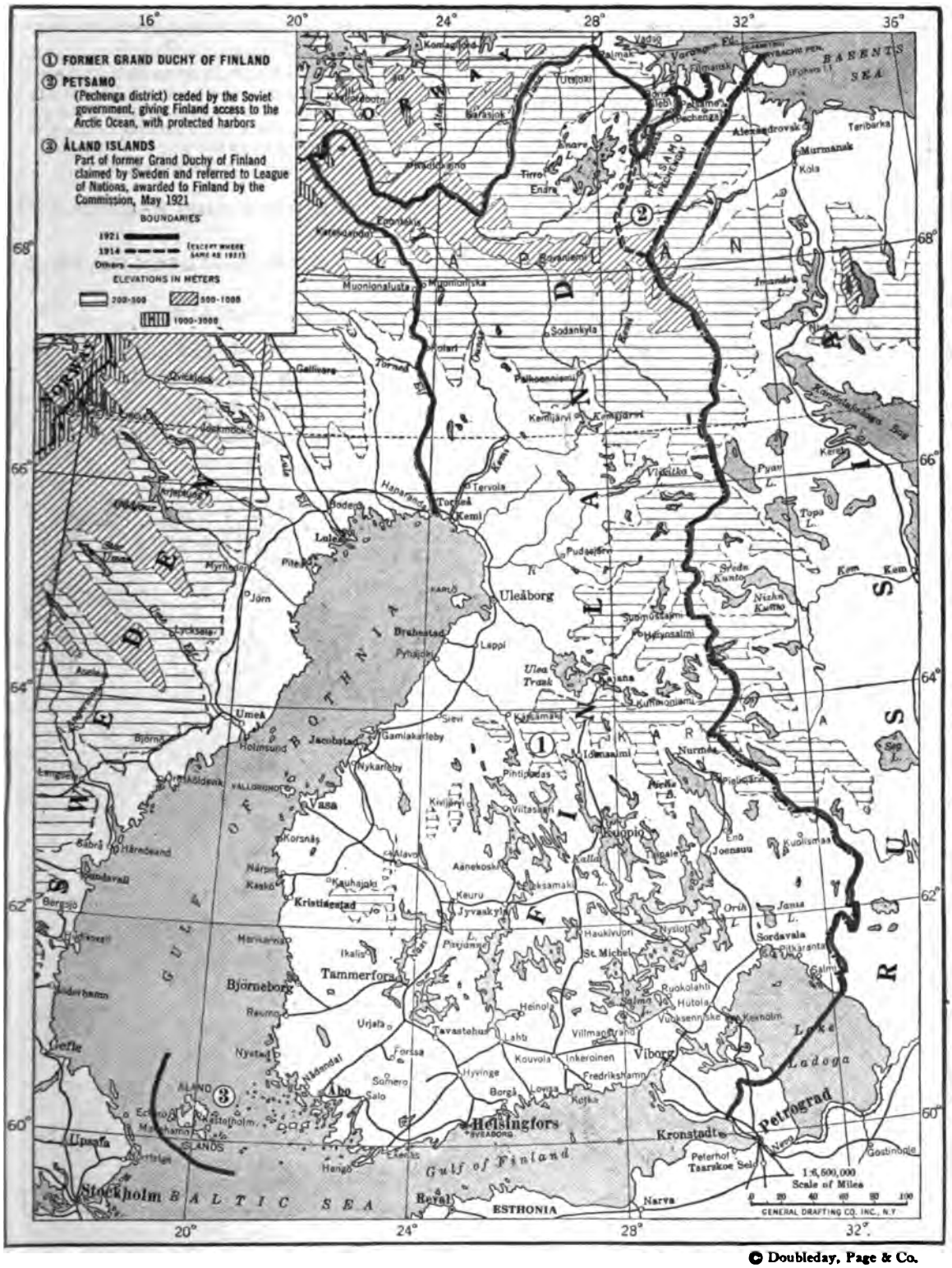
CONTINENTAL GERMANY OF 1921

Showing the restoration of territory taken from Denmark in 1864, from France in 1871, and cessions to Belgium and Poland, besides the cession of the ports of Danzig and Memel to the Allied and Associated Powers. The Allies may, under the Treaty of Versailles, hold areas 1, 2 and 3 for fifteen years as a guarantee of the fulfillment of the Treaty. The coal-mines of the Saar basin (8) belong to France and in fifteen years a plebiscite is to settle the political fate of this area

POLAND:
1 RUSSIAN POLAND AND PART OF THE GOVERNMENT OF GRODNO, FROM RUSSIA, ASSIGNED BY THE PEACE CONFERENCE, DEC. 8, 1919, AS MINIMUM RUSSIAN TERRITORY TO BE ADMINISTERED BY POLAND. (EASTERN BOUNDARY LATER KNOWN AS "CURZON LINE".)
2 & 1 TERRITORY CEDED TO POLAND BY SOVIET RUSSIA, MARCH 18, 1921 (EAST OF THE "CURZON LINE" IT INCLUDES PARTS OF RUSSIAN GOVERNMENTS OF VOLHYNIA, MINSK AND GRODNO.)
3 LARGE PARTS OF POSEN AND WEST PRUSSIA AND SMALL PARTS OF SILESIA AND EAST PRUSSIA, CEDED BY GERMANY
4 PART OF SILESIA PLEBISCITE AREA (GERMANY) PROBABLY TO BE AWARDED TO POLAND.
5 GALICIA, FROM AUSTRIA.
6 PART OF TESCHEN (AUSTRIAN SILESIA)
7 PART OF ORAWA DISTRICT, FROM HUNGARY
8 PART OF SPISZ DISTRICT, FROM HUNGARY.
9 PARTS OF RUSSIAN GOVERNMENTS OF VILNA AND KOVNO IN DISPUTE WITH LITHUANIA. TO BE SETTLED BY LEAGUE OF NATIONS COMMISSION IN BRUSSELS.
LITHUANIA
10 PARTS OF FORMER RUSSIAN GOVERNMENTS OF KOVNO AND SUWALKI AND NARROW STRIP OF THE RUSSIAN BALTIC PROVINCE OF COURLAND
TERRITORY IN DISPUTE WITH POLAND: SEE (9)
LATVIA
11 FORMER RUSSIAN BALTIC PROVINCE OF LIVONIA (IN PART) AND COURLAND (EXCEPT NARROW STRIP), AND FORMER GOVERNMENTS OF VITEBSK (IN PART) AND PSKOV (SMALL PART.)
ESTHONIA
12 FORMER RUSSIAN BALTIC PROVINCES OF ESTHONIA, AND LIVONIA (IN PART) AND FORMER GOVERNMENTS OF PSKOV (SMALL PART) AND ST. PETERSBURG (NARROW STRIP.)
INTERNATIONAL TERRITORIES:
13 FREE CITY OF DANZIG, UNDER LEAGUE OF NATIONS COMMISSION, PRINCIPAL RIGHTS TO POLAND. CEDED BY GERMANY TO PRINCIPAL ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED POWERS.
14 MEMEL, CEDED BY GERMANY TO PRINCIPAL ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED POWERS.
BOUNDARIES
1921 (NOT FIXED)
1914 (EXCEPT WHERE SAME AS 1921)
Others
ELEVATIONS IN METERS
200-500
500-1000
1000-3000
Scale of Miles
1:7,000,000
Gulf of Finland
Gulf of Riga
ESTHONIA
LATVIA
LITHUANIA
KOVNO
COURLAND
POLAND
GERMANY
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
HUNGARY
AUSTRIA
UKRAINE
RUSSIA
Warsaw
Lodz
Lublin
Brest-Litovsk
Vilna
Kovno
Grodno
Bielostok
Riga
Reval
Pskov
Dorpat
Yuriev
Memel
Konigsberg
Danzig
Stettin
Breslau
Posen
Frankfurt
Cracow
Lemberg
Tarnopol
Vienna
Pressburg
Brno
Czestochowa
Sosnowice
Kielce
Radom
Pinsk
Minsk
Dvinsk
Libau
Windau
Petrograd
Gatchina
Moloskovitsa
Narva
Rudnitsa
Plyussa
Ostrov
Pitalovo
Velikie Luki
Smolensk
Mogilev
Gomel
Bobruisk
Polotsk
Orsha
Vitebsk
Molodechno
Borisov
Grodno
Lida
Slonim
Baranovichi
Sluck
Pinsk
Luninets
Kobrin
Brest-Litovsk
Kovel
Chartorisk
Sarni
Rovno
Lutsk
Korets
Shepetovka
Berdichev
Khmelnik
Proskurov
Kamenets-Podolsk
Mogilev-Podolsk
Bendery
Kishinev
Ismail
Reni
Galatz
Braila
Jassy
Czernowitz
Kolomea
Stanislaw
Stryj
Lwow
Przemysl
Tarnow
Rzeszow
Jaroslaw
Lemberg
Brody
Tarnopol
Buczacz
Stanislaw
Kolomea
Kishinev
Bendery


① FORMER GRAND DUCHY OF FINLAND
② PETSAMO
(Pechenga district) ceded by the Soviet government, giving Finland access to the Arctic Ocean, with protected harbors
③ ÅLAND ISLANDS
Part of former Grand Duchy of Finland claimed by Sweden and referred to League of Nations, awarded to Finland by the Commission, May 1921
BOUNDARIES
1921
1914 (EXCEPT WHERE SAME AS 1921)
Others
ELEVATIONS IN METERS
200-500
500-1000
1000-3000
BARENTS SEA
Murmansk
Kola
Petrograd
Helsingfors
Kronstadt
Viborg
Lake Ladoga
Gulf of Finland
BALTIC SEA
Stockholm
Reval
ESTHONIA
Narva
Åbo
Tammerfors
Björneborg
Vasa
Uleåborg
Torneå
Kemi
Kuopio
Jyväskylä
Kristiinastad
Umeå
Luleå
Pitea
Tromsö
Hammerfest
Petsamo
Pechenga
Kemijärvi
Rovaniemi
Sodankylä
Muonionalusta
Muonioniska
Kittilä
Gällivare
Kiruna
Jokkmokk
Arjeplog
Storuman
Lycksele
Vilhelmina
Åsele
Sundsvall
Härnösand
Hudiksvall
Gävle
Uppsala
Upsala
Nystad
Åbo
Helsingfors
Hangö
Borgå
Kotka
Lappeenranta
Sordavala
Petrozavodsk
Petrograd
Tsarskoe Selo
Peterhof
Gostinbole
Kola
Murmansk
Teribarka
Alexandrovsk
Kandalaksha
Kem
Kemi
Tornea
Torneå
Pyhäjoki
Oulu
Uleå Träsk
Kajana
Kuusamo
Sievi
Kokkola
Jakobstad
Gamlakarleby
Nykarleby
Pietarsaari
Kristiinastad
Kaskö
Korsnäs
Närpes
Kauhajoki
Alavus
Aanekoski
Keuru
Jyväskylä
Pieksämäki
Mikkeli
Kouvola
Lahti
Tavastehus
Forssa
Somero
Salo
Ekenäs
Hangö
Karis
Ingå
Kotka
Lovisa
Borgå
Hyvinge
Inkeroinen
Fredrikshamn
Viborg
Vuoksenniska
Kexholm
Ruokolahti
Hutola
Sordavala
Joensuu
Kuopio
Nurmes
Kuusamo
Pudasjärvi
Suomussalmi
Hyrynsalmi
Kuhmo
Vuokatti
Kittilä
Muonioniska
Sodankylä
Tervola
Pello
Kemijärvi
Kemijärvi
Inari
Enare
Tiro
Enare
Petsamo
Pechenga
Vardö
Vadsö
Kirkenes
Kola
Murmansk
Teribarka
Alexandrovsk
Kandalaksha
Kem
Kemi

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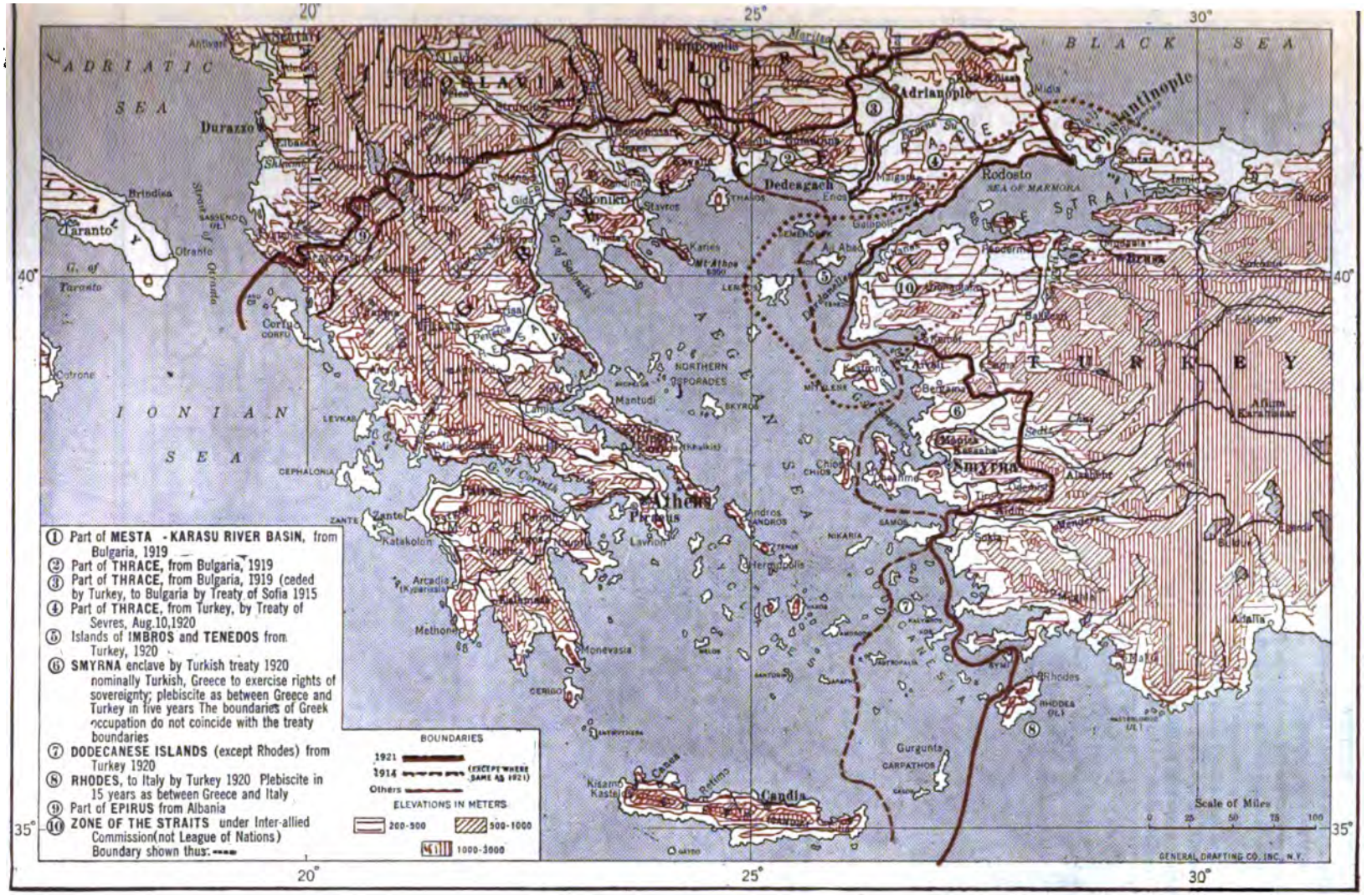
EUROPEAN RUSSIA

Showing the loss of the territories which have become the independent states of Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and part of what is now Poland and Rumania. Whether the creation of barrier countries cutting off Russia from its principal Baltic ports is permanent or wise, is open to question



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THE ENLARGED BOUNDARIES OF GREECE

Greece gained territory from Bulgaria in 1919 and from Turkey by the Treaty of Sèvres of August 10, 1920. Although the Turkish Government accepted this treaty the Nationalist Turks under Kemal Pasha do not accept it and the Greek armies are still endeavoring to make good the boundaries assigned to Greece

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, 1914
AUSTRIA
① Part of former AUSTRIAN EMPIRE constituting larger part of new Austrian Republic
② Southern KLAGENFURT zone to Austria, by plebiscite as between Austria and Jugoslavia, Oct. 10, 1920.
③ Northern KLAGENFURT zone to Austria, by result of plebiscite in southern zone
④ Part of HUNGARIAN KINGDOM constituting remainder of new Austrian Republic
BOUNDARIES
1921
1914 EXCEPT WHERE SAME AS 1921
Others
ELEVATIONS IN METERS
200-500
500-1000
1000-3000
OVER 3000
1:30,000,000
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
HUNGARIAN KINGDOM
POSSESSIONS IN NAME OF AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN MONARCHY
1921 BOUNDARIES
HUNGARY
THE BOUNDARIES OF NEW HUNGARY ARE ALL PRESCRIBED BY ARTICLE 27, AND IT REMAINS ONLY FOR AN INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION TO DELIMIT THEM ON THE GROUND.
THERE ARE NO PLEBISCITE ZONES HUNGARY RENOUNCES, SO FAR AS SHE IS CONCERNED, ALL RIGHTS AND TITLE OVER THE TERRITORIES OF THE FORMER AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN MONARCHY SITUATED OUTSIDE THE FRONTIERS OF HUNGARY, AS SHOWN ON THE ADJOINING MAP
Scale of Miles
1:4,150,000
GENERAL DRAFTING CO. INC., N.Y.
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
GERMANY
ITALY
JUGOSLAVIA
RUMANIA
POLAND
Vienna
Budapest
Debreczen
Szeged
Pecs
Subotica
Zombor
Temesvar
Arad
Szombathely
Steinamanger
Wiener Neustadt
Sopron
Gyor
Komarom
Kecskemet
Szolnok
Czegled
Hodmezo-Vasarhely
Bekescsaba
Szentes
Mako
Nagy-Kikinda
Laibach
Graz
Salzburg
Innsbruck
Passau
Landshut
Kaschau
Munkacs
Nyiregyhaza
Satmar
Carei Mari (Nagy-Karoly)
Grosswardein (Oradea Mare)
Donau
Drau
Save
Maros
Tisza
Raab
Marburg
Luttenberg
Steyr
Wels
Neumarkt
Brannau
Kempten
Lindau
Bregenz
Innsbruck
Trento
Bozen
Udine
Gorizia
Trieste
Fiume
Zagreb
Varaždin
Sisak
Osijek
Szabadka
Szeged
Baja
Mohács
Pécs
Szigetvár
Barcs
Siklós
Villány
Kaposvár
Szekszárd
Szombathely
Sopron
Mosonmagyaróvár
Komárom
Esztergom
Budapest
Ujpest
Nagykata
Monor
Czegled
Szolnok
Kecskemet
Kiskunfelegyhaza
Kiskunhalas
Szeged
Hodmezo-Vasarhely
Mezotur
Szarvas
Mezoberony
Bekes
Gyula
Oroshaza
Szentes
Bekescsaba
Mindszent
Kiskoros
Kalocsa
Dunapata
Dunaföldvár
Sárbogard
Siófok
Tapolca
Keszthely
Zalaegerszeg
Kőszeg
Sopron
Szombathely
Steinamanger
Graz
Leoben
Bruck
Wiener Neustadt
Vienna
Pressburg
Komarom
Esztergom
Budapest
Gyor
Sopron
Szombathely
Steinamanger
Graz
Leoben
Bruck
Wiener Neustadt
Vienna
Pressburg
Komar

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND JUGOSLAVIA

The two independent countries which embrace practically all the Slavic race outside of Russia and Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia being a combination of the Czechs and Slovaks with a certain number of German Austrians, and Jugoslavia being a combination of the various divisions of the southern Slavs and their blood relations, the Serbians

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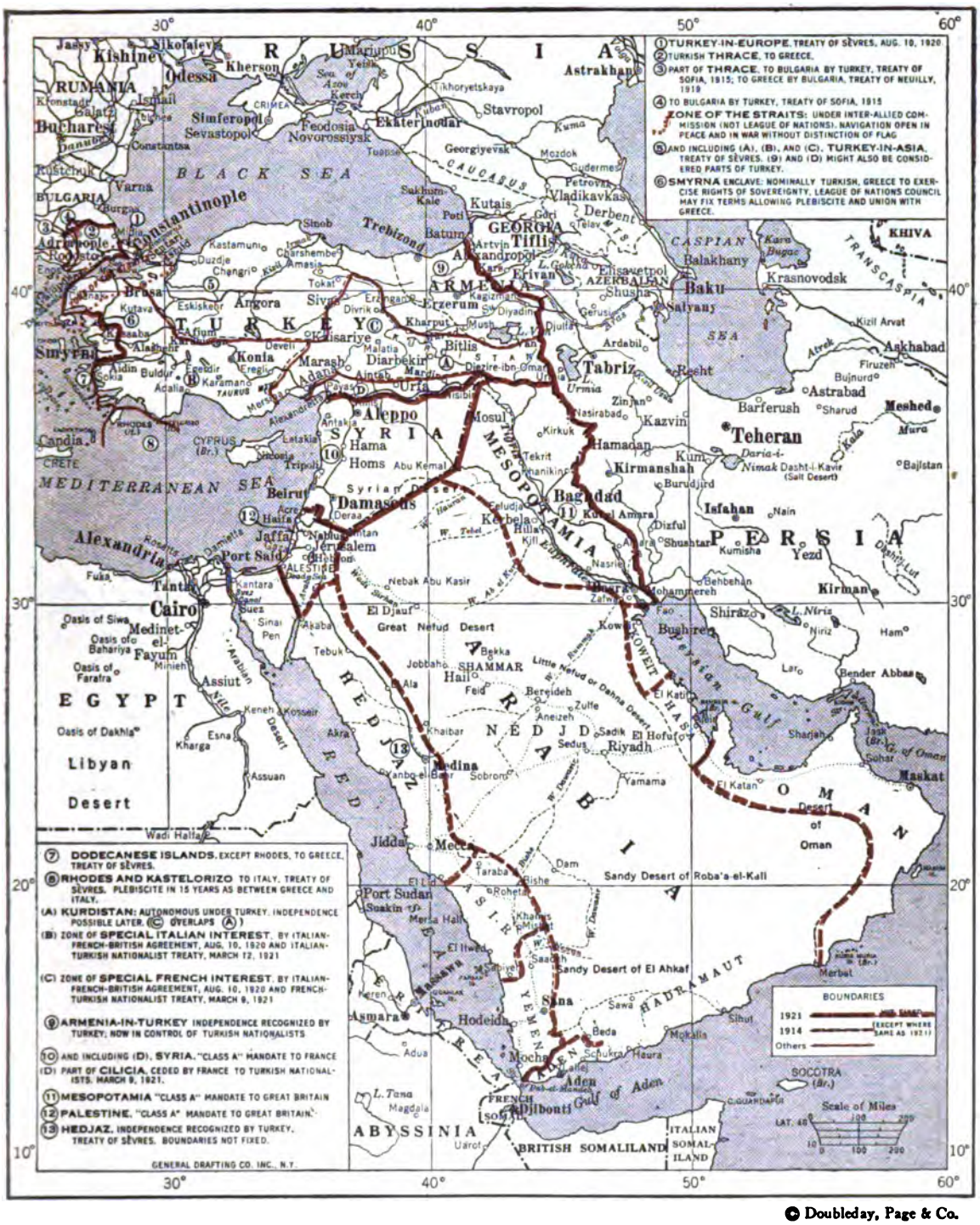
BULGARIA AND RUMANIA

Showing the large territorial acquisitions of Rumania from Hungary and from Russia, and the Bulgarian losses of territory to Greece and Jugoslavia



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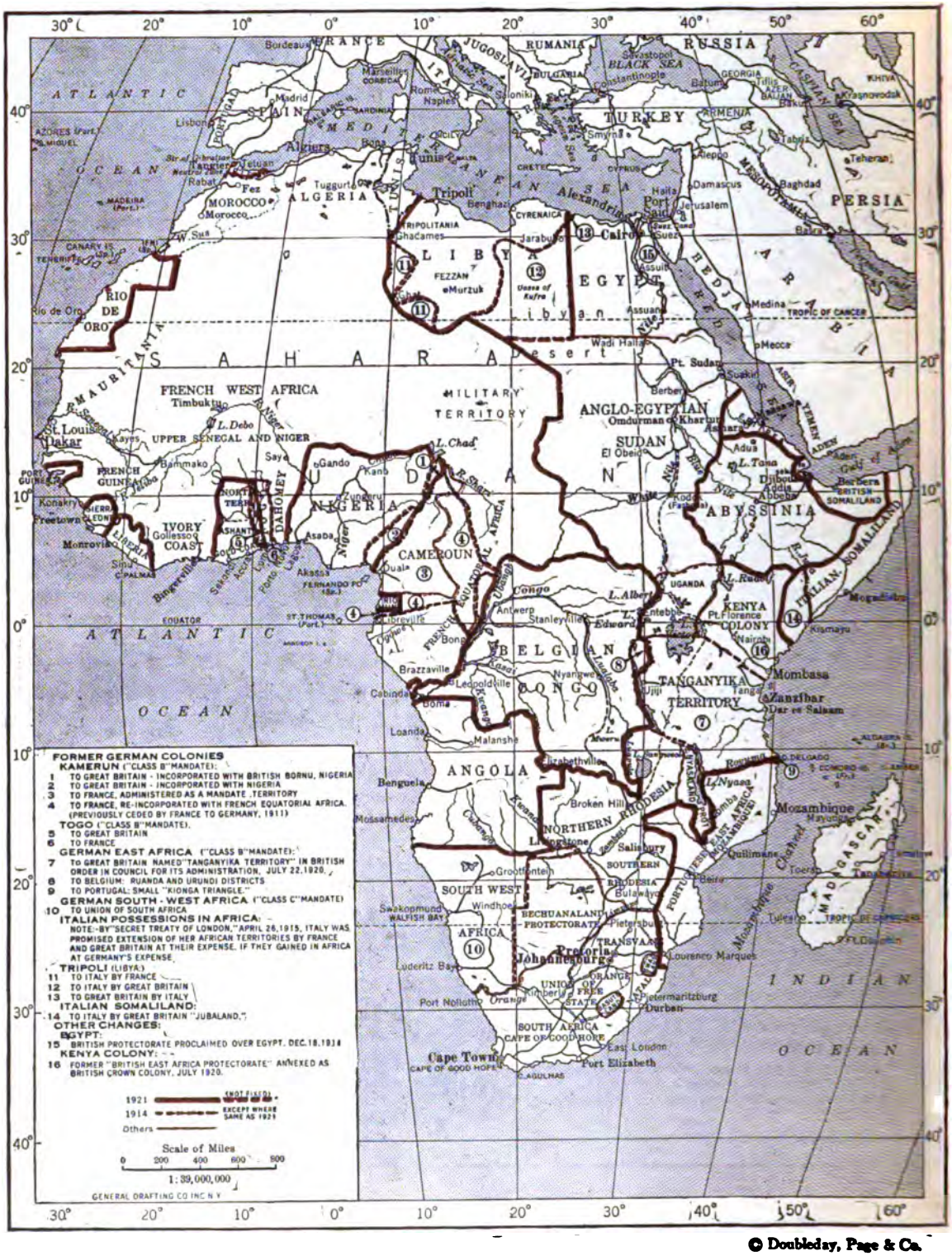
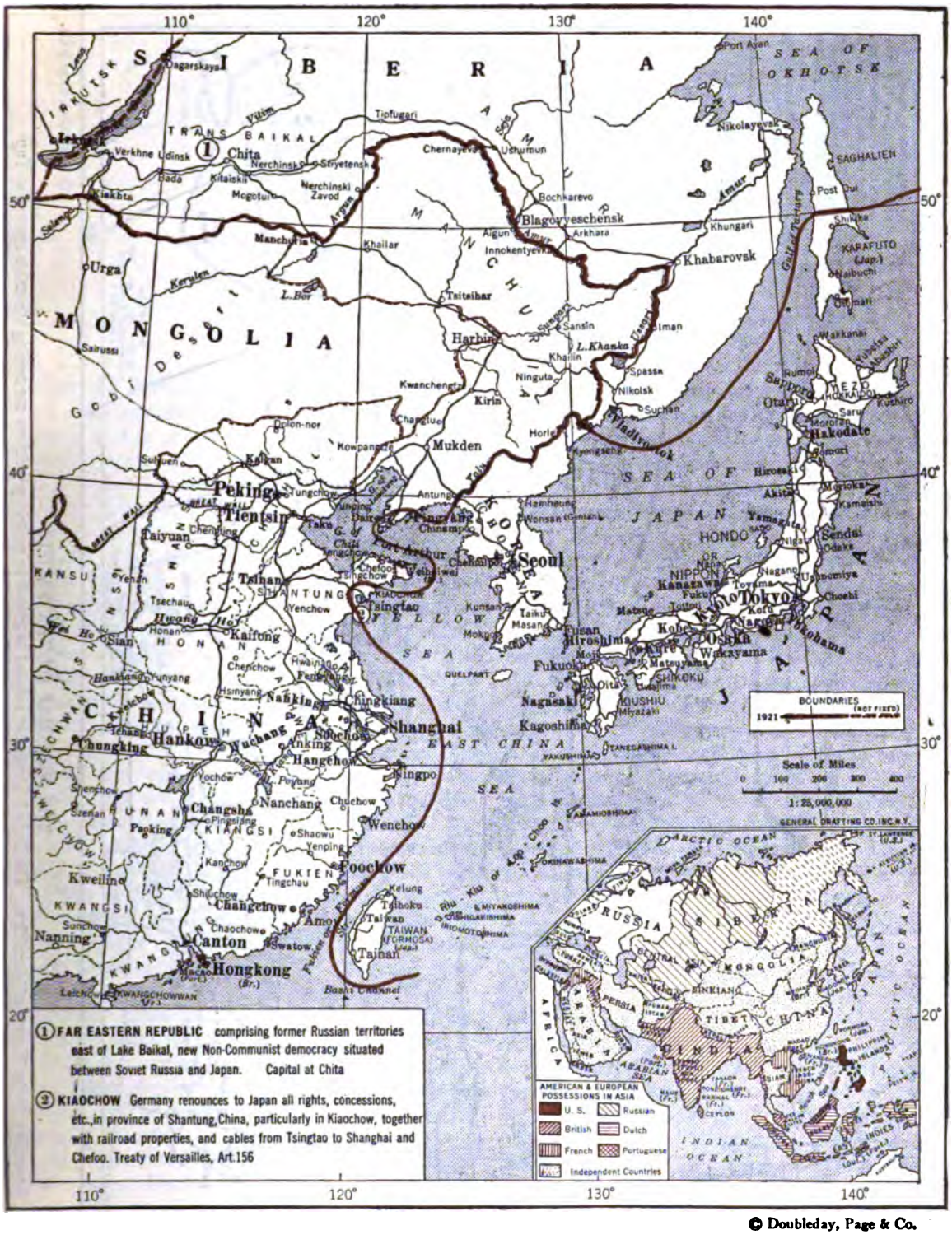
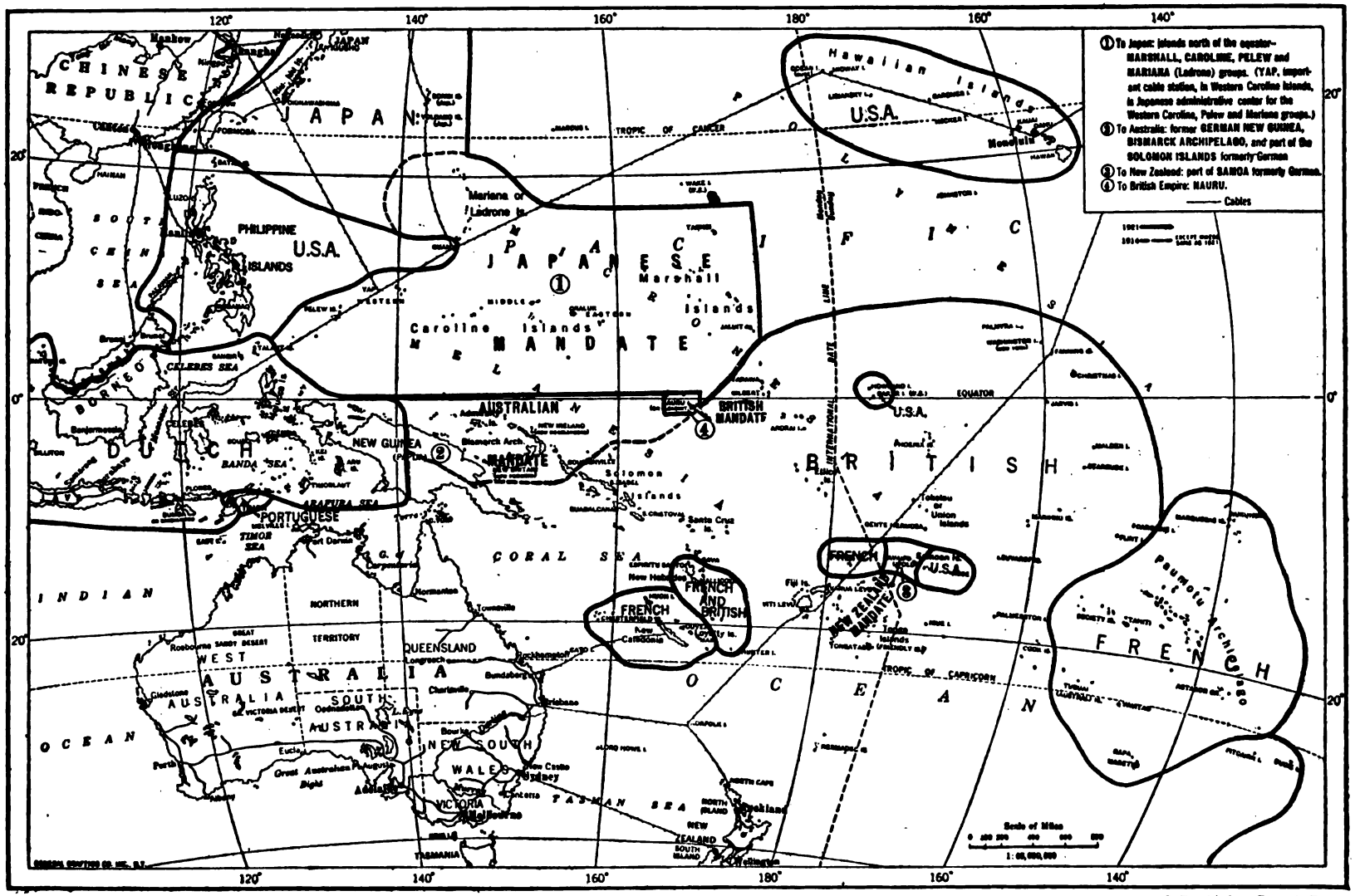
THE NEAR EAST

The still somewhat unsettled centre of war infection. The lines marked by the Treaty of Sèvres have not been accepted by the Turkish Nationals under Kemal Pasha and there are many unsettled and overlapping boundaries. Constantinople itself is under the control of an inter-Allied commission responsible to the Great Powers and not to the League of Nations


FORMER GERMAN COLONIES
KAMERUN ("CLASS B" MANDATE):
1 TO GREAT BRITAIN - INCORPORATED WITH BRITISH BORNU, NIGERIA
2 TO GREAT BRITAIN - INCORPORATED WITH NIGERIA
3 TO FRANCE, ADMINISTERED AS A MANDATE TERRITORY
4 TO FRANCE, RE-INCORPORATED WITH FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA. (PREVIOUSLY CEDED BY FRANCE TO GERMANY, 1911)
TOGO ("CLASS B" MANDATE).
5 TO GREAT BRITAIN
6 TO FRANCE
GERMAN EAST AFRICA ("CLASS B" MANDATE):
7 TO GREAT BRITAIN NAMED "TANGANYIKA TERRITORY" IN BRITISH ORDER IN COUNCIL FOR ITS ADMINISTRATION, JULY 22, 1920.
8 TO BELGIUM: RUANDA AND URUNDI DISTRICTS
9 TO PORTUGAL: SMALL "KIONGA TRIANGLE."
GERMAN SOUTH-WEST AFRICA ("CLASS C" MANDATE)
10 TO UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
ITALIAN POSSESSIONS IN AFRICA:
NOTE:-BY "SECRET TREATY OF LONDON," APRIL 26, 1915, ITALY WAS PROMISED EXTENSION OF HER AFRICAN TERRITORIES BY FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN AT THEIR EXPENSE. IF THEY GAINED IN AFRICA AT GERMANY'S EXPENSE.
TRIPOLI (LIBYA):
11 TO ITALY BY FRANCE
12 TO ITALY BY GREAT BRITAIN
13 TO GREAT BRITAIN BY ITALY
ITALIAN SOMALILAND:
14 TO ITALY BY GREAT BRITAIN "JUBALAND."
OTHER CHANGES:
EGYPT:
15 BRITISH PROTECTORATE PROCLAIMED OVER EGYPT, DEC. 18, 1914
KENYA COLONY:
16 FORMER "BRITISH EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE" ANNEXED AS BRITISH CROWN COLONY, JULY 1920.
1921
1914
EXCEPT WHERE SAME AS 1921
Others
Scale of Miles
0 200 400 600 800
1:39,000,000
GENERAL DRAFTING CO. INC. N.Y.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
SAHARA Desert
FRENCH WEST AFRICA
MILITARY TERRITORY
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
ABYSSINIA
BELGIAN CONGO
TANGANYIKA TERRITORY
KENYA COLONY
ANGOLA
NORTHERN RHODESIA
SOUTHERN RHODESIA
SOUTH WEST AFRICA
BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE
TRANSVAAL
ORANGE FREE STATE
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE
Cape Town
Johannesburg
Pretoria
Durban
Port Elizabeth
Mombasa
Zanzibar
Dar es Salaam
Mozambique
MADAGASCAR
Cairo
Alexandria
Tripoli
Tunis
Algiers
Tangier
Fez
Rabat
Dakar
Khartum
Omdurman
Addis Abeba
Asmara
Aden
Jerusalem
Damascus
Baghdad
Teheran
Baku
Tiflis
Sevastopol
Constantinople
Smyrna
Aleppo
Haifa
Port Said
Suez
Jeddah
Mecca
Medina
Khiva
Krasnovodsk
Bordeaux
Marseilles
Madrid
Lisbon
Rome
Naples
Salonika
Bucharest
Sofia
Belgrade
Vienna
Berlin
Paris
London
Lagos
Accra
Freetown
Monrovia
Bamako
Timbuktu
Kano
Zungeru
Gondar
Asmara
Massawa
Berbera
Mogadishu
Kismayu
Nairobi
Entebbe
Stanleyville
Leopoldville
Brazzaville
Cabinda
Loanda
Benguela
Mossamedes
Lourenco Marques
Beira
Durban
East London
Port Elizabeth
Walfish Bay
Windhoek
Luderitz Bay
Port Nolloth
Kimberley
Pietermaritzburg
Salisbury
Bulawayo
Broken Hill
Livingstone
Tanga
Mombasa
Tripolitania
Cyrenaica
Fezzan
Murzuk
Benghazi
Jarabub
Uoasa of Kufra
Port Sudan
Suakin
Berber
Omdurman
Khartum
Asmara
Massawa
Aden
Adua
Harrar
Jubaland
Kismayu
Mogadishu
Zanzibar
Dar es Salaam
Mozambique
Quilimane
Beira
Tete
Tulear
Tananarive
Port Florence
Kampala
Mombasa
Nairobi
Kisumu
Lake Victoria
Lake Tanganyika
Lake Nyasa
Lake Chad
Lake Albert
Lake Edward
Lake Rudolf
Lake Tana
Lake Kivu
Lake Bangweulu
Lake Ngami
Lake Nyasa
Lake Tchad


SIBERIA
MONGOLIA
MANCHURIA
CHINA
KOREA
JAPAN
HONDO
NIPPON
SEA OF OKHOTSK
SEA OF JAPAN
YELLOW SEA
EAST CHINA SEA
Peking
Tientsin
Mukden
Seoul
Tokyo
Shanghai
Hongkong
Canton
Hankow
Chungking
Chita
Blagoveschensk
Khabarovsk
Vladivostok
Harbin
Tsitsihar
Urga
Port Arthur
Tsingtao
Foochow
Hakodate
Sendai
Kobe
Osaka
Nagoya
Yokohama
Fukuoka
Nagasaki
Kaifong
Nanking
Hangchow
Ningpo
Changsha
Nanchang
Wenchow
Kweilin
Nanning
Amoy
Taiwan
TAIWAN (FORMOSA)
Tainan
SAGHALIEN
KARAFUTO (Jap.)
HOKKAIDO
Port Arthur
Dairen
Chinampo
Fusan
Hiroshima
Shimonoseki
Kanazawa
Niigata
Sapporo
Otaru
Kushiro
Morioka
Akita
Yamagata
Nagano
Toyama
Fukui
Matsue
Kochi
Wakayama
Mateuyama
SHIKOKU
KYUSHU
Kagoshima
Miyazaki
Ryukyu Islands
Okinawa
Amami
Miyako
Ishigaki
Iriomote
Bashi Channel
Taiwan Strait
Gulf of Tartary
Amur
Sungari
Ussuri
Yalu
Yangtse
Hwang Ho
Wei He
Hankiang
Kiang
Mekong
Salween
Irrawaddy
Kerulen
Selenga
Lena
Yenisei
Ob
Volga
Dnieper
Don
Danube
Rhine
Seine
Loire
Rhone
Po
Tiber
Nile
Congo
Niger
Zambezi
Orange
Murray
Darling
Murrumbidgee
Indus
Ganges
Brahmaputra
Irrawaddy
Salween
Mekong
Chao Phraya
Menam
Euphrates
Tigris
Jordan



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THE NEW MAP OF THE PACIFIC

According to the Treaty of Versailles. The United States has refused to assent to certain provisions concerning the cable control at Yap

Zionism a Surrender, Not a Solution

"Wrong in Principle, Unsound in Its Economics, Fantastical in Its Politics, and Sterile in Its Spiritual Ideals"

By HENRY MORGENTHAU
Former American Ambassador to Turkey

EDITOR'S NOTE—*Last month, the Convention of American Zionists was the scene of the dramatic climax of an internal conflict within the world organization of Zionism. The most distinguished leaders of the American Zionists—Judge Julian W. Mack, President of the American branch, Justice Louis D. Brandeis of the United States Supreme Court, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise of the Free Synagogue, Mr. Felix Frankfurter and Mr. Jacob de Haas of Boston, and Mr. Nathan Straus of New York—all resigned as officers, as a result of what amounted to a vote of lack of confidence. This vote took the form of the rejection by the Convention of Judge Mack's report of the activities of these officers for the past year. This dramatic event, which has stirred the Jewish community of America to its depths, and which has its echoes throughout Europe, came about in the following manner:*

The situation which provoked the controversy at Cleveland arose from the arrival in this country of Dr. Chaim Weizmann from London to share in its deliberations. Dr. Weizmann is the head of the world organization of Zionists. This world organization has a highly centralized form of government. This consists of an international committee, including representatives from all countries that have a local organization. But the real control is vested in what is known as the "Inner Actions Council." This is a compact body of only seven men; and it is dominated by the Jews of Europe.

At Cleveland, Dr. Weizmann complained that Judge Mack and his associates had not succeeded in enlisting the financial support of the older, wealthier element among the American Jews. On the other hand, Judge Mack and his associates complained of Dr. Weizmann that he refused to grant representation to the American branch on the financial committee which is to control the expenditure of the money—notwithstanding that America is expected to provide the greater part of the funds of the world organization. This savored of "taxation without representation," and provoked a controversy. Dr. Weizmann settled this controversy by appealing to the Russian-Polish Jews in the Convention to reject the annual report of the officers. When this motion to reject was carried, Judge Mack and his associates resigned; and new officers, acceptable to Dr. Weizmann, were elected from the Russian-Polish contingent. In effect, this amounted to an assertion of the supreme authority of the international organization (whose headquarters are in London and whose officers are entirely of European doctrine) over the actions of the hitherto autonomous American branch. It deprived American Zionism of its "state's rights," and left the "federal," or European, committee in full control. Judge Mack and his friends have announced that they will continue as Zionists, but that their activities will be independent of the international organization.

This breach in American Jewry has thrown the whole policy of Zionism into controversy. It even suggests the advisability of re-appraising the Zionistic conception itself. That conception is gravely disputed by many American Jews of the first rank.

Mr. Henry Morgenthau is one of these leaders among the American Jews who reject the Zionist theory. The editors of the WORLD'S WORK *have been following with great interest Mr. Morgenthau's recent labors in writing his autobiography, a large part of which will shortly be published serially in this magazine under the title, "All in a Lifetime." They sought Mr. Morgenthau's views on this question, because they felt that, in the light of the happenings at Cleveland, it was a subject in which not only the whole body of American Jews was interested, but also a very large percentage of the American Gen-*

tiles. Mr. Morgenthau's reply to our request for information was to consent to complete at once the article which follows, which he had already planned as one of the last chapters in his forthcoming autobiography. The magazine had already gone to press when this opportunity came, and for this reason an additional eight pages has been added to make space for this article and inserted at the only place in the text that was feasible for binding.—THE EDITORS.

ZIONISM is the most stupendous fallacy in Jewish history. I assert that it is wrong in principle, and impossible of realization; that it is unsound in its economics, fantastical in its politics, and sterile in its spiritual ideals. Where it is not pathetically visionary, it is a cruel playing with the hopes of a people blindly seeking their way out of age-long miseries. These are bold and sweeping assertions, but in this article I shall undertake to make them good.

The very fervor of my feeling for the oppressed of every race and every land, especially for the Jews, those of my own blood and faith, to whom I am bound by every tender tie, impels me to fight with all the greater force against this scheme, which my intelligence tells me can only lead them deeper into the mire of the past, while it professes to be leading them to the heights.

Zionism is a surrender, not a solution. It is a retrogression into the blackest error, and not progress toward the light. I will go further, and say that it is a betrayal; it is an eastern European proposal, fathered in this country by American Jews, which, if it were to succeed, would cost the Jews of America most that they have gained of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

I claim to speak with knowledge on this subject. I have had occasion to know the Jew intimately in all the lands where he dwells in numbers, and to study his problems on his own ground, with the intensity and sympathy which were required by my duty to help in each place to formulate the plans for his immediate assistance. I was born among the Jews of Germany, and by natural association with German Jews in New York, and by repeated visits to Germany, am familiar with their life and problems. As an American of fifty-five years' residence, as a director of the Educational Alliance and of Mt. Sinai Hospital, as president of the Bronx House and the Free Synagogue for more than ten years, and as one who has traveled on speaking tours from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Canada to New Orleans on behalf of the American Jewish Relief Committee, I am thoroughly familiar with the American Jews. As American Ambassador to Turkey, I came into daily official contact with the Jews from all parts of the Near East, not only the Jews of Turkey and of the Turkish Protectorate in Palestine itself, but also the Jews of Egypt, Asia Minor, Greece, Rumania, and Bulgaria, to say nothing of the accredited representatives of the Zionist Party in Constantinople. As the head of President Wilson's Commission, which was sent to investigate the alleged pogroms of the Jews of Poland following the Armistice in 1919, I spent several months on the ground in Poland and Galicia, and talked with thousands of Jews in every walk of life in that greatest centre of Jewish population in the world. They told me their troubles; the indignities and the perils they endured; the hatred of their neighbors because of their religion; the deliberate efforts that were being made to stifle their economic life; the political discriminations to which they were subjected; and the social barriers which did not permit them to enjoy a full life as members of their community.

I speak as a Jew. I speak with fullest sympathy for the Jew everywhere. I have seen him in his poverty—despised, hated, spat upon, beaten, murdered. My blood boils with his at the thought of the indignities and outrages to which he is subjected. I, too, would find for him, for me, the way out of this morass of poverty, hatred, political inequality, and social discrimination.

But, is Zionism that way? I assert emphatically that it is not. I deny it, not merely from an intellectual recoil from the fallacy of its reasoning, but from my very experience of life: as a seeker after religious truth, as a practical business man, as an active participant in politics, as one who has had experience in international affairs, and as a Jew who has at heart the best interests of his co-religionists.

THE ORIGINS OF ZIONISM

FIRST, let me trace briefly the origins of Zionism. I shall not attempt to give a complete resumé of these origins, but shall sketch only a broad picture of the facts.

Zionism is based upon a literal acceptance of

the promises made to the Jews by their prophets in the Old Testament, that Zion should be restored to them, and that they should resume their once glorious place as a peculiar people, singled out by God for His especial favor, exercising dominion over their neighbors in His name, and enjoying all the freedom and blessings of a race under the unique protection of the Almighty. Of course, the prophets meant these things symbolically, and were dealing only with the spiritual life. They did not mean earthly power, or materialistic blessings. But most Jews accepted them in the physical sense; and they fed upon this glowing dream of earthly grandeur as a relief from the sordid realities of the daily life which they were compelled to lead.

Zionism arose out of the miseries of the Jews. It was offered as a remedy, a release, a plan of action which would provide a road to happiness. This is the secret of its hold upon its adherents. The promises which it offers are so dazzling, that Jews everywhere have rushed to embrace its faith, without stopping to examine them closely, or to calculate whether they can be made good.

Zionism is not a new idea, but it gained a fresh impetus following the outbreak of wholesale massacres in Russia beginning with Kiev and Kishinef, and all through that ghastly trail of bloodshed following the recrudescence of anti-Semitism. The Jews, in their agony and peril, sought afresh for a path toward safety. Zionism was then re-stated as the remedy. Theodore Herzl gained new power as its fiery apostle, and Jews the world over embraced the doctrine as a drowning man grasps at a straw. This largely accounts for the present intense agitation of the Zionists.

"PALESTINE RESTORED TO THE JEWS"

LET me now define Zionism more fully. To the average Jew, unread in other histories than his own, ignorant of the great currents of world progress in science, industry, and the art of government, it is a blind and simple faith in the imminence of realization of the dream I have just described, of the re-erection of Zion as an earthly Kingdom. By those intellectual leaders of Jewish thought who have embraced this fallacy of a panacea, Zionism is defined in more subtle, and in more plausibly rational, terms. There are, first, those intellectual Jews who conceive of "Zion" (that is, Jerusalem restored to the Jews) as being a physical symbol of spiritual leadership, lifted up before their eyes and inspiring them all to a common purpose; as a demonstration of Hebraic civilization; a centre from which should proceed instruction and exhortation to the Jews of all the world.

This analogy, however, is not complete. For these leaders conceive the Jews to be, not merely a religious congregation, but to be, besides, a nation. They think that not merely should spiritual power be centralized in Zion, but temporal power as well. In their view, the discrimination against Jews in other countries will greatly diminish, once there is erected a Jewish state in Palestine.

A "NATIONAL HOME FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE"

I SAY that this *is* the programme of the Zionists: perhaps I should say *was*. It is true that they have, for the moment, altered the structure of their dream, to accept the compromise held out to them by the Balfour Declaration. They have stepped down from their plans for a sovereign Jewish state in Palestine: they now accept the ideal of a "National Home for the Jewish People"—to quote the words of that declaration. This is, however, only a temporary compromise—a truce. Nothing short of the full glory of their Zion will long content the ambitious apostles of Zionism.

It is worth while at this point to digress for a moment from my main argument, to point out that the Balfour Declaration is itself not even a compromise. It is a shrewd and cunning delusion. I have been astonished to find that such an intelligent body of American Jews as the Central Conference of American Rabbis should have fallen into a grievous misunderstanding of the purport of the Balfour Declaration. In a resolution adopted by them, they assert that the declaration says: "Palestine is to be a national home-land for the Jewish people." Not at all! The actual words of the declaration (I quote from the official text) are: "His Majesty's Government views with favor the establishment *in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people.*" These two phrases sound alike, but they are really very different. I can make this obvious by an analogy. When I first read the Balfour Declaration I was temporarily making my home in the Plaza Hotel. Therefore I could say with truth: "My home is in the Plaza Hotel." I could not say with truth: "The Plaza Hotel is my home." If it were "my

deeply they would offend their myriad Mohammedan subjects to the East.

Exactly the same political issue of religious fanaticism applies to the question of Christian sensibilities. Any one who has seen, as in 1914 I saw at Easter-tide, the tens of thousands of devout Roman Catholics from Poland, Italy, and Spain, and the other tens of thousands of devout Greek Catholics from Russia and the East, who yearly frequent the shrines of Christianity in Palestine, and who thus consummate a lifetime of devotion by a pilgrimage undertaken at, to them, staggering expense and physical privation; and who has observed, as I have observed, the suppressed hatred of them all for both the Jew and the Mussulman; and who has noted, further, the bitter jealousies between even Protestant and Catholic, between Greek Catholic and Roman—such an observer, I say, can entertain no illusions that the placing of these sacred shrines of Christian tradition in the hands of the Jews would be tolerated. The most enlightened Christians might endure it, but the great mass of Christian worshippers of Europe would rebel. They regard the Jew not merely as a member of a rival faith, but as the man whose ancestors rejected their fellow Jew, the Christ, and crucified Him. Their fanaticism is a political fact of gigantic proportions. A Jewish State in Palestine would inevitably arouse their passion. Instead of such a State adding new dignity and consideration to the position of the Jew the world over (as the Zionists claim it would do), I am convinced that it would concentrate, multiply, and give new venom to the hatred which he already endures in Poland and Russia, the very lands in which most of the Jews now dwell, and where their oppressions are the worst.

The political pretensions of Zionism are fantastic. I think the foregoing paragraphs have demonstrated this.

ZIONISM A SPIRITUAL WILL-O'-THE-WISP

IS ZIONISM a spiritual will-o'-the-wisp? I assert, with all the vigor of my most profound convictions, that it is. Its professed spiritual aim is the re-assertion of the dignity and worth of the Jew. It is a mechanism designed to restore to him his self-respect, and to secure for him the respect of others. The means by which it proposes to accomplish this have been described above. How pitifully inadequate these means are, has been demonstrated.

The effort of the Jews to attain their legitimate spiritual ambitions by means of a political mechanism needs hardly further to be controverted in the negative, or destructive, sense. I prefer to meet this issue on positive and constructive grounds. My answer to the spiritual pretensions of Zionism is the positive answer that the solution has already been discovered—the way out has been found. The courageous Jew, the intellectually honest Jew, the forward-looking Jew, the Jew who has been willing to fight for his rights on the spot where they were infringed, has won his battle, and has found all the glorious freedom which Zionism so impractically describes. The brave Jews of England did not surrender their cause. They did not seek a moral opiate in an Oriental pipe-dream of retreat to a cloud-land Zion, pictured by fancy on the arid hills of Palestine. They stayed in England; they fought on English soil for their rights as men. Their courage enlisted the admiration of the nobler spirits amongst the English, and it allied to them such Britons as Macaulay and George Bentinck, whose splendid eloquence and political acumen assisted in the repeal of the Jewish Disabilities in 1858. This epochal legislation gave the Jews every right enjoyed in Britain by the Christians. It made possible the splendid political career of Beaconsfield (for many years Prime Minister of Great Britain), and the brilliant experience of Sir Rufus Isaacs (now Earl Reading) who has progressed through the highest political honors of the nation as Lord Chief Justice, Ambassador to America, and Viceroy of India.

Do not forget that in this victorious struggle the Jew made no compromise whatever with his conscience. He did not abandon his racial, religious, or cultural heritage.

The courageous and wise Jews of France and Italy have fought this same battle to this same victorious conclusion.

THE GLORIOUS FREEDOM OF AMERICA

BUT this article will be read chiefly by Americans: such influence as it may wield will be particularly upon American minds. Need I elaborate the argument in its American setting? The facts lie upon the surface for the dullest eyes to see them. Nowhere in the world has so glorious an opportunity been offered to the Jew. Generous America has thrown wide the doors of opportunity to him. The Jew possesses no talents of the mind

or spirit that cannot find here a free field for its most complete expression.

Does he seek political office? Jews in this country have been or are members of every legislature, including the Senate of the United States; ambassadors representing the person of the President at foreign courts; officers of the judiciary in every grade from justice of the peace to justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Does he seek freedom of conscience? He may freely choose his mode of worship, from the strictest of orthodox tabernacles to the most liberal of free synagogues.

Does he seek a field for business talent? The evidence of opportunity in this direction is so overwhelming that it need not here be wearyingly recapitulated. The progress of Adolph S. Ochs, from a printer's devil in Knoxville, Tenn., fifty years ago, to owner of the greatest newspaper in the greatest city in the world, is characteristic of dozens of like successful Jewish careers in this country; and it is emblematic of hundreds of thousands of Jewish careers less spectacular but equally momentous in their own degree.

Does he seek social position? Here, indeed, his path is made more difficult. But the social barriers are not insurmountable. Where they seem so, calm judgment will reveal that the social environment where this irrational prejudice exists is not worthy of the entrance of the Jew. Leave the intolerant to associate with their own kind. The Jew who has raised himself to the highest level will have put himself beyond the reach of prejudice, and he will find himself welcomed in the highest Christian circles.

AMERICA THE TRUE ZION OF AMERICAN JEWS

THE enlightened Jews of America have found the true road to Zion. To them Zion is no mere political mechanism, existing by the political sufferance of the greater Powers. It is not defined by geographical boundaries, circumscribing an arid plot of ground which their ancestors of two thousand years ago conquered from its aboriginal inhabitants and occupied for a brief, if glorious, period before they, in turn, were driven onward by a new conqueror. To them, Zion is a region of the soul. To them, it is an inner light, set upon the hill of personal consciousness, inspiring them as individuals to fight, each for himself, the battle of life where he meets it; demanding in virtue for his own worth the respect of those about him; winning through to the dignity and position to which his native gifts and his self-developed character entitle him. This is the only true Zion. All other definitions of it are unreal.

The proudest boast of all these men, and my proudest boast, is: "I am an American." None of us would deny our race or faith. We are Jews by blood. We are Jews, though of various sects, by religion. But as for me (and here I am sure I speak for a vast body of Jews in the United States), if I were pressed to define myself by any single appellation, I would unhesitatingly select the one word *American*. Neither I nor the humblest worshipper in the most orthodox congregation can hope for anything from Zionism that is not already ours in virtue of our participation in the freedom of America. And neither of us need make the smallest compromise with any conviction that we hold dear. I have found it more convenient (as well as quite within the approval of what I regard as my somewhat more enlightened conscience) to cast off the other symbols of the Hebraic faith, such as the Kosher observances, the untouched beard and the distinctive dress: but there are thousands of Russian Jews in the United States to-day who retain these excrescences of antiquity, with only a small inconvenience that is certainly very far short of persecution. From observation and experience I know full well that these same orthodox devotees will themselves become enlightened—if not they, then certainly their children—and will perceive, as I and others have perceived, that the Mosaic admonitions were purely temporal devices, expedient truly for the age in which they were promulgated, useful until modern sanitation and modern education did their work, but now become empty of those first values.

A LOOK FORWARD

HERE lies the crux of my affirmative argument against Zionism. We anti-Zionist Jews of America have found that the spiritual life, after whatever formula of faith, in modern times can be most fully enjoyed by those people who accept the beneficent progress which the world at large has made in science, industry, and the art of government. We have learned the folly of persisting in the sanitary regulations taught by Moses, in this age when all civilized peoples have the benefit

of the more advanced sanitary knowledge of Lister, Pasteur, Metchnikoff, and Flexner. We have learned the folly of persisting in a distinctive style of clothing, beard, and locks (imposed upon the Jews extraneously as a badge of slavery and oppression), and of ascribing a spiritual significance to such a costume in this age when saints like Montefiore and Baron Edmond de Rothschild, the great patron of Palestine, find sanctity not incompatible with the ordinary dress of those about them. We have come to see that the worship of the God of Israel, the acceptable obedience to His will, is not contingent upon the clothes one wears, upon the meat one eats. His kingdom is the soul of man. In that boundless temple He receives the priceless sacrifices of the true believer. That time and place and mode are most acceptable to Him in which the human spirit brings its richest offerings.

It follows, then, that the Jew everywhere (in Poland and Russia, as well as in France and America) can acceptably serve the God of his fathers and still enter fully into the life about him. We in America refuse to set ourselves apart in a voluntary ghetto for the sake of old traditional observances.

I have often used a figure of speech—it was brought to my mind by a meeting with rugmakers in Turkey—as follows: The Jew has been content, in most lands and down the ages, to be the fringe of the carpet, the loose end over which every foot has stumbled, where every heel has left its injuring impression on the disconnected individual strands. What the Jew should do is, to become a part of the pattern of the carpet itself: weave himself into the very warp and woof of the main fabric of humanity; and gain the strength which comes from a coördinated and orderly relation to the other strands of human society. His peculiar beauties (his peculiar talents), which in the fringe are soiled and hidden, take on new value when they become part of the main carpet; and they find their glory in lending to the pattern a unique splendor and a special lustre.

I for one, will not forego this vision of the destiny of the Jews. I do not presume to say to my co-religionists of Europe that they shall accept my programme. But neither do I intend to allow them to impose their programme upon me. They may continue, if they will, a practice of our common faith which invites martyrdom, and which makes the continuance of oppression a certainty. I have found a better way (and when I say *I*, it is to speak collectively as one of a great body of American Jews of like mind). I resent the activities of Dr. Weizmann and his followers in this country. In the foregoing pages I have given my reasons for opposing Zionism. They make plain why I asserted in its first paragraphs that Zionism is not a solution; that it is a surrender. It looks backward, and not forward. It would practically place in the hands of seven men, steeped in a foreign tradition, the power to turn back the hands of time upon all which I and my predecessors of the same convictions have won for ourselves here in America. We have fought our way through to liberty, equality, and fraternity. We have found rest for our souls. No one shall rob us of these gains. We enjoy in America exactly the spiritual liberty, the financial success, and the sócial position which we have earned. Any Jew in America who wishes to be a saint of Zion has only to practice the cultivation of his spiritual gifts—there is none to hinder him. Any Jew in America who seeks material reward has only to cultivate the powers of his mind and character—there are no barriers between him and achievement. Any Jew in America who yearns for social position has only to cultivate his manners—there are no insurmountable discriminations here against true gentlemen. The Jews of France have found France to be their Zion. The Jews of England have found England to be their Zion. We Jews of America have found America to be our Zion. Therefore, I refuse to allow myself to be called a Zionist. I am an American.

American Super-Power Plans, and the Potentialities of Our Waters Where 40 Million Horse-Power of Energy Is Undeveloped

By FLOYD W. PARSONS

THE future will show us a world largely electrified. Every mountain stream will be utilized to supply energy for industry. All power plants whether hydroelectric or steam, will be tied in to the main system of the region. Electricity will supply the world with power just as the railways have supplied the world with transportation. The cost of this energy will be relatively lower as the years pass and the electric systems expand.

In years to come every home will be a miniature power plant. In each house there will be an installation that will be no more difficult to operate than it is now to run an electric motor. Fuel will be burned under a small high-pressure boiler instead of under the now common low-pressure boiler. The steam which is produced will not go direct to the radiators, but will travel first through a very simple steam-turbine generator, which will take out all the electric power that can be obtained. Some of this electric power will be used by the householder for lights and for performing labor, but what is not needed will be turned back to the company that operates the central station. Full credit will be given the householder for what he turns back by the electric meter, which will operate both ways, giving credit for current received and charging for current that is consumed. Of course the credit given the householder for electricity he turns back will be based on a rate per unit of current that is much lower than the rate charged by the central station. The central company must be given allowance for the cost of distribution and for the expense incurred in supervising household plants and keeping the equipment in proper condition.

At the present time every commodity needed to satisfy our economic wants, whether it is a suit of clothes, a book, or a pie, contains so many horse-power hours of energy. It is for this reason that we can definitely measure the degree of civilization in which we live by computing the number of horse-power hours or kilowatt hours of energy that are consumed per capita per year. If we remove from the earth all the power-driven machines that are now operating, it would be impossible to crowd upon this globe sufficient people to produce an equal amount of the commodities that are now being made with the aid of labor-saving devices. Wherever automatic machines are not employed to-day, you are likely to find the cannibals eating the missionaries.

This is the age of the electric motor. Only thirty years ago the total horse-power produced by electric motors in the manufacturing industries of the United States amounted to less than 16,000. At the present time, the horse-power produced by motors is about

POWER FROM MOUNTAIN LAKES

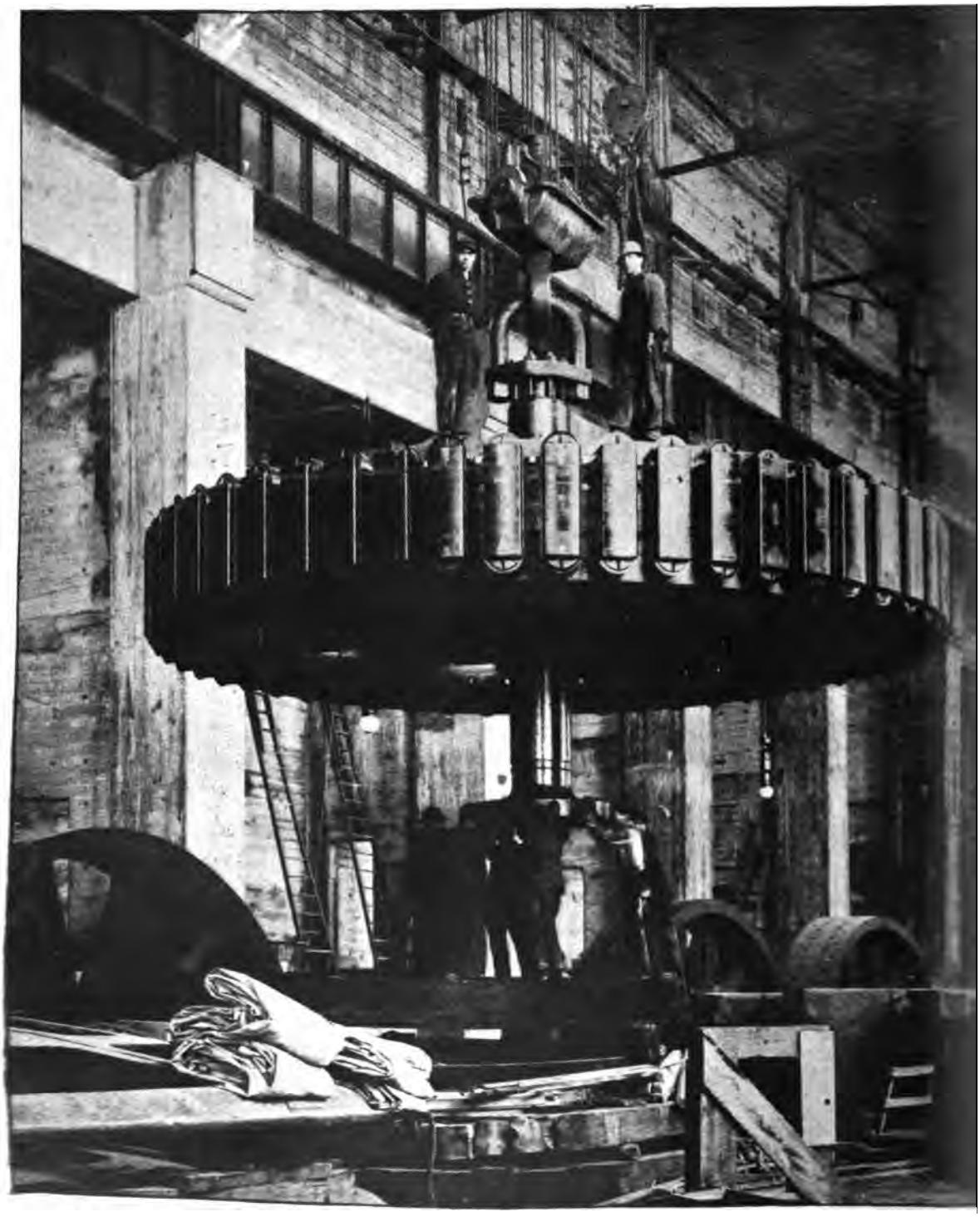
Water which drops 2,000 feet accumulates tremendous power which Big Creek Power-House No. 1 of the Southern California Edison Company has captured. The upper picture shows the power-house far below, looking from about the same height as Huntington Lake from which the water is drawn through great steel pipes seen descending the hill in the lower picture

A SPENDTHRIFT STREAM

Enough hydroelectric energy is running to waste in the United States to equal the daily labor of 1,800,000,000 men

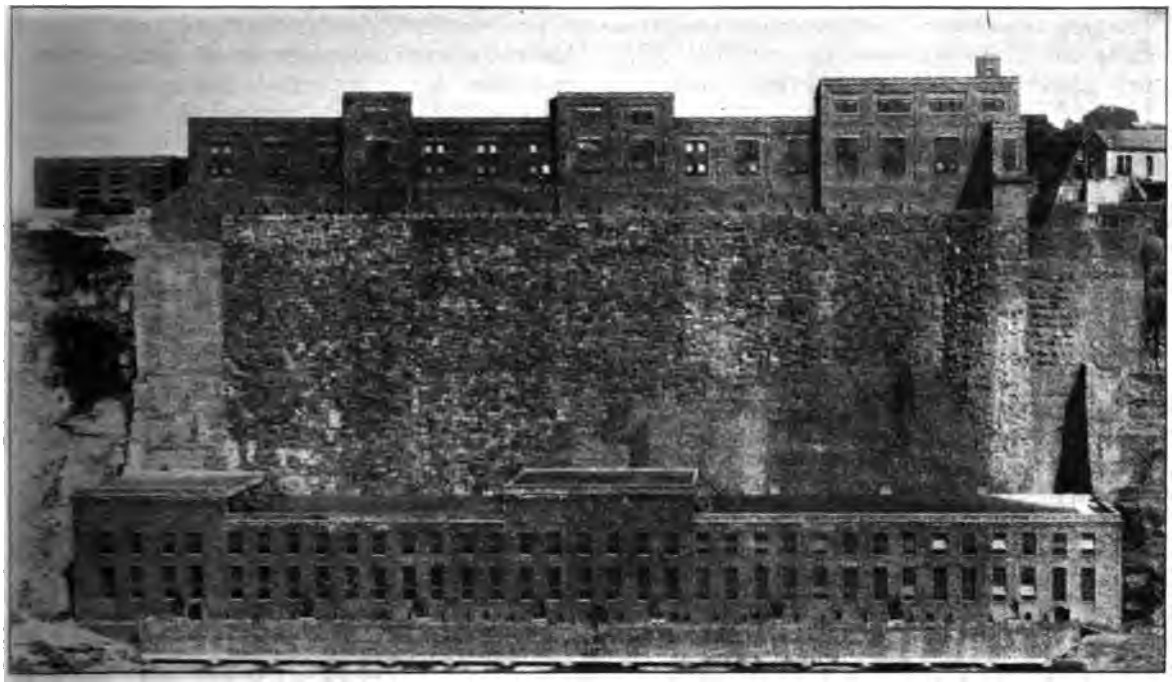
MELTING SNOWS

Contribute to such streams as shown in the upper picture, and their power is turned to good advantage by this California station



THE FIELD FOR A GENERATOR

The great size of the generators which the Mississippi River Power Co. has installed at Keokuk, Iowa, may be seen by this picture which shows a field being installed



A HYDRAULIC PLANT AT NIAGARA FALLS

The water-power of Niagara Falls is estimated at 6 million horse-power, of which three fourths could be practically applied. Experts declare that the development of the economic value does not necessarily involve a corresponding diminution of the scenic feature of the falls.

10 million. What this substitution of mechanical power for human labor actually means may be illustrated by stating a fact concerning the steel industry: During a recent period of ten years, the production of steel in tons increased 71 per cent. while the increase in workers amounted to only 20 per cent.

The progress we have made during the last generation in the development of our electric and power industries will appear small in comparison with the great advances along these same lines in the future. Enough hydroelectric energy is running to waste here in the United States to equal the daily labor of 2,800,000,000 men or thirty times the actual population of the nation. The total industries of the country require about 4 million mechanical horse-power annually. Of this amount approximately 25 million horse-power is used in manufactories. Three fourths of this latter energy is developed by coal. Conservative estimates indicate that we have at least 40 million water horse-power in the United States undeveloped, or a total greater than the power now employed in all the manufacturing and electric plants in the entire country.

In mining, transporting, handling, and firing each thousand tons of coal used in our central power stations, the total operations require the services of 2.73 men for one year's time. Average practice in central stations has shown that a thousand tons of good steam coal produce 128 horse-power for a year of time. Therefore, if we were to develop all our available 40 million water horse-power and put the same into service, we should do away with the necessity of mining 312,500,000 tons of coal a year. If we carry the investigation a little further we discover that in the mining, hauling, and utilization of this vast quantity of coal we must employ 853,125 workers of one kind and another. But to operate the 40 million available water horse-power we should need only 40,000 men. Therefore it is plain that the harnessing of all our water-power would release more than 800,000 men for other work than mining and handling coal. In other words, for every fifty hydroelectric horse-power we develop and utilize in this country, one man is released from a mine, railroad, or power plant.

Before long the United States will be divided into six or eight power zones, each having a

complete system of transmission lines which will carry electricity wherever it is wanted. The first power zone will cover the region adjacent to the North Atlantic seaboard and will have as a base a super-power line from Washington to Boston. W. S. Murray, who is in charge of the survey for this initial system, believes that by electricity we can transmit 500,000 horse-power 300 miles with only a 10 per cent. loss.

In the region covered by this eastern power zone there is a population of 24 million people, but the territory represents only 2 per cent. of the total land area of the United States. Within this small district there is burned 40 per cent. of the total coal produced in the country, and in this same area, which is America's finishing shop, 80 per cent. of the skilled labor of the country is assembled.

An investigation of conditions in this congested manufacturing region has shown that if steps are not taken soon to solve the power problem of Pennsylvania, New York, and New England, there will be an advance in the cost of power that will curtail the development of manufacturing because factories and skilled workers will be compelled to migrate to other regions where power is cheap. It is estimated that the coal savings in this eastern zone when the super-power system is fully in service will be approximately 53 million tons of coal annually. The big system will not be a competitor of the present utilities, but on the other hand will merely carry on to a higher degree and with greater economy the work the utilities have already begun. The public, not the Government, will be asked to finance this great undertaking.

AN UNHARNESSED FALLS

Which is typical of thousands throughout the country where energy could be saved and still leave the most beautiful falls unhurt for the pleasure of nature-lovers

In practically every part of the United States where there are great water-power resources, there appears to be a division of opinion as to the best method of utilizing the available energy. Niagara is the bone of contention in the East. Niagara's total practical energy equivalent is in excess of 6 million horse-power. This stream of energy is kept constantly renewed by the action of the laws of nature and it finds expression through the medium of noise. The falling water at Niagara presents a grand spectacle which is viewed each year by less than 1 per cent. of the population of the country. But this spectacle, though grand, is a traveling show, for the falls have receded 955 feet since the first survey was made in 1764.

The truth is that thousands of horse-power now going to waste at Niagara could be utilized in such a way that the scenic grandeur of the falls would not be destroyed. It is entirely possible so to construct remedial works at Niagara that a very much smaller quantity of water will produce an equal amount of scenic effect, and at the same time such useful development work would prevent any further rapid recession of the Horseshoe Falls. Investigation has also shown that the water of Niagara may be utilized to a much greater extent without materially reducing the water level of the navigable part of the Niagara River. Niagara is a wonderful national heritage which might be used more largely to benefit the nation without destroying its esthetic value.

Activity in the development of water-power, however, is largely centred in our

Western States. Out West the resources are far greater and the controversies more intense. The rivers and mountain streams having a western flow from the crests of the Rockies and the Sierra ranges possess potential energy which, when harnessed, will turn arid plains into fertile farms and supply the power necessary in the development of new industries and the creation of great cities. These water courses which flow toward the Pacific Ocean and the Gulf of California possess 43.6 per cent of the total maximum potential water-power of the United States. It would be difficult to say whether or not the unprecedented growth of the Pacific Coast country has forced the rapid development of the local water-powers, or the availability of these valuable resources attracted the new residents. Probably it worked both ways.

In considering the water-power resources of the various states, the following figures which show the distribution of this water-power in horse-power per square mile are interesting: Washington has 125 horse-power per square mile; Oregon, 68.4; Idaho, 60.4; California, 49.4; Montana, 28; Utah, 15.5; Colorado, 15.3; and Arizona, 14. As compared with these resources in the West, we have the following figures for our Eastern States: West Virginia, 43.5; New York, 34.3; Connecticut, 27.6; Massachusetts, 27.5; New Hampshire, 26.3; Maine, 24.4; South Carolina, 21.8; Virginia, 20.6; and Vermont, 17.6.

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THE SHOSHONE DAM

This dam has already reclaimed 150,000 acres of land for the production of food crops in Wyoming

Water-power development is being pushed ahead more rapidly in California than in any other state at the present time. California possesses 4 million water horse-power, of which one million horse-power has already been developed. The new water-power plants which will be completed and put into operation in California this year by one big company, will total 92,000 horse-power. They will make possible the conservation annually of 1,800,000 barrels of crude oil, which would have been required to generate the equivalent amount of electric energy by steam at a fuel cost of about $3,000,000. The water-power of California when completely developed will represent an invested capital of more than one billion dollars. At the present rate of growth of power demand, it is estimated by engineers that the entire 4 million water horse-power of California will be fully developed and in use within the next fifteen years. If the electrification of the steam railways of the Pacific Coast is not deferred, the total development of this horse-power will probably be consummated within the next ten years. The character of the hydroelectric work on the Pacific Coast may best be judged from the fact that energy is now being transmitted to Los Angeles, a distance of 241 miles, over two transmission circuits operated at an electrical pressure of 150,000 volts, the highest operating voltage now in use in this country for the commercial transmission of electric power. Other lines which will be completed next year will transmit energy at a pressure of 220,000 volts.

The question has arisen as to what California will do when all of the near-by water-power has been fully developed. It is likely that before that time the production of oil on the Coast will be on the decline. This brings to the front the most interesting and probably the

most important water-power possibility in the United States, if not in the world.

One of the mighty rivers of the world is born on the snow-capped mountains of Wyoming and among the Alpine lakes in the heart of the Rocky Mountains in Colorado. Hundreds of rivers and creeks unite to form the most magnificent river on earth, the Colorado, which flows a mad, turbid stream through an almost inaccessible country of lofty mountains and vast deserts into the Gulf of California. Engineers say that 3 million horsepower can be developed on the Colorado River. But right here the situation becomes quite interesting and somewhat complicated, for water is the salvation of the desert when used for irrigation, just as it is a valuable asset in the generation of energy for industry.

The power interests want to harness the Colorado River to manufacture horse-power. Thousands of farmers and other citizens in the seven states drained by this, the third largest stream on the American continent, want to control the waters of the Colorado in order to convert their desert lands into productive farms. An effort is being made to satisfy the dual necessities of the power and irrigation interests. But the problem is far from settled and will likely be the cause of stirring times in Washington during coming months.

Before we get at the kernel of the question let me quickly build a background of general facts. The Colorado Basin, embracing an area equal in size to Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, and Missouri, is the backbone of one third of the continental area of the United States, and is capable of supporting a population of at least 75 million people. It is conservatively estimated that the Colorado Basin contains between 6 million and 7 million arable acres, an area greater than the combined areas of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Delaware. The virginity of this territory is proved by the fact that in the whole basin, from Wyoming to Mexico, there are not more than 500,000 people. Each square mile of this sparsely settled region supports less than two persons. Certain parts of India have a population of more than 500 per square mile; several of the European countries support 300 persons or more on each square mile, while here in the United States our most populous state supports more than 200 people per square mile. The principal outlets of the region will be Denver, Salt Lake City, and Los Angeles, which cities, for all practical purposes, may be considered a part of the basin.

From its source to its mouth the Colorado River drops almost two miles. At some points along its course, particularly in the Grand Canyon, it has cut its channel more than one mile below the level of the surrounding plateaus. The Colorado is the least-known stream in the Western Hemisphere. It is the tomb of civilizations that flourished in ages past. The stark cliffs, chiseled by the river, are furrowed with the deserted dwellings of peoples of mystery. Centuries ago these early races constructed irrigation systems which are still visible in part and which arouse the respect of engineers even to-day.

The desert through which the Colorado has bored its way is the home of the Navajo, the Hopi Indians, the Pueblos, and the Penitentes, famous for their mixing of medieval Christianity and ancient barbarism. The Colorado basin was once the sanctuary of the Mormon, and the home of rugged "two-gun" men. One authority states that since the hazardous Powell expedition in 1869, less than two dozen men have traveled the length of the roaring river.

The Colorado is officially classified as a navigable stream, but its navigation was always limited to that third of the course below the Grand Canyon. The building of the Laguna Dam, which extends for a mile across the river at a point twelve miles north of Yuma, Arizona, finally ended the navigability of the stream. But this is no great loss, for the cataracts and rapids of the river have always made navigation of the stream difficult and practically impossible on any large scale.

The country comprising the lower part of the Colorado basin is similar in appearance and topography to the region of the Nile in Egypt. After the river leaves the mountains it has the proportions of the Nile, and like the latter, flows through the huge cone-shaped delta it has built up during the centuries that have passed. Every crop that is grown in the valley of the Nile can be grown in the vicinity of Yuma in Arizona. The sunshine is so persistent in this section that the local restaurateur at Yuma started business a generation ago with a free offer to all travelers to serve them meals without charge on any day that the sun fails to appear. It is stated that one day last year was the first time in two decades that the boniface had to make good his offer.

The United States Reclamation Service has

THE COLORADO RIVER

Engineers say that 3 million horse-power can be developed on the Colorado River. Power and irrigation interests are now engaged in a discussion of a proposed dam, 700 feet high, which will back up, for power and irrigation, a volume of water equal to two years' flow of the mighty stream

TWO INTERIORS

Power stations where the high cost of coal is no worry. The polished neatness of the hydraulic plants and their engineers is conspicuous

A POWER PLANT ON KERN RIVER, CAL.

Completed in 1921. The annual output of this plant is estimated to have a commercial value of two and one half million dollars to the agricultural and industrial interests which it serves

transformed parts of this hot desert land into the most productive farming districts in the United States. The silt soil is incredibly fertile. Several months ago they sank a well in the Imperial Valley to test for oil. At a depth of 1,500 feet the drills were still going through soft silt loam. As many as twelve cuttings of alfalfa, averaging one ton each cutting per acre, have been taken from some of the irrigated land along the Colorado River in Arizona, during a year. The soil has produced garden truck to the value of more than $1,000 per acre. It has yielded as much as $1,000 per acre in Bartlett pears. The region is becoming famous for its production of long-staple cotton, which is the only cotton said to give complete satisfaction in the manufacture of automobile tires. It is estimated that not less than four pounds of long-staple cotton are used in the manufacture of an average tire, so it is evident that an enormous amount of this grade of cotton is needed to satisfy the demands of the automobile industry of the United States each year.

Summed up, the Colorado basin south of the Grand Cañon in Arizona is actually an agricultural miracle-land. Thousands of people are waiting and ready to settle the region just as soon as more water can be turned upon other sections of desert land. Approximately a million acres have been wrested from the arid waste, and 3 million acres are yet to be reclaimed. Extensive surveys have been made, and the people of the Southwest, under government leadership, are planning to build the highest dam in the world, which will be thrown across the Colorado River at Boulder Cañon near the southeastern tip of Nevada. Director Davis of the United States Reclamation Service, plans a structure which will hold back a volume of water equal to two years' flow of the entire 1,800 miles of rushing river. The dam is to be 700 feet high, approximately the height of the Woolworth Building in New York City. This new dam will be twice as high as the Arrowrock Dam in Idaho, now the loftiest barrier of the kind in the world. The building of the dam at Boulder Cañon will back up the waters of the Colorado River, forming a reservoir having an area of 200 square miles and an average depth of 350 feet. This body of water will be comparable with

ELECTRIFYING A RAILWAY
The dam and power-house at Great Falls, Mont. where vertical generators feed the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railroad electrification

some of the great lakes in New York State, and will constitute the largest artificial lake in the world. One western railroad system is already planning to operate a fleet of steamers to carry tourists over this man-made lake to the Grand Canyon, the wonder spot of America. The Panama Canal is the only undertaking ever attempted in America which may be compared in magnitude or boldness of conception to this engineering project, which will transform an empire of waste into a region of productivity.

All of which indicates plainly why great numbers of people in our Southwestern States have formed themselves into a league to prevent the Colorado River from being utilized primarily for power purposes. They argue that if the development work on the stream falls into the hands of the so-called "power interests," the people of the Southwest, as well as new settlers who will come in to populate the region, will become actually tenants of the power interests. Without doubt such a situation would be unfortunate and undesirable. On the other hand, it is essential to the nation's welfare that selfish extremists in the irrigation crowd shall not prevent the full utilization of the bountiful supply of energy that the falling water of the Colorado River makes available. The problem is one containing pitfalls for those who are willing to be influenced by one set or arguments based on a single point of view.

Perhaps the question has no more interesting phase than the mild opposition of many people living near the upper stretches of the Colorado River in what is known as the Upper River country. This latter region consists of high plateaus walled in by famous mountain ranges. While it is practically frostless in the lower part of the Colorado basin, the frost bites nearly every night in the highlands in the northern section of the region. In certain sections of the Upper River country, the climate may be designated as having four seasons known as June, July, August, and winter. The sturdy folk who live in this rugged country have to fight hard for a living and are compelled continually to battle the forces of nature. It is a rich land but one not easy to conquer.

There are approximately 1,250,000 acres under cultivation in the Upper River country of Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and Wyoming. It is estimated that more than 1,500,000 additional acres, may be brought under cultivation by utilizing the waters of the Colorado River. Because the problems of reclaiming the desert lands in this difficult northern country are much more serious than they are in the semi-tropical region below, it is only natural that the Upper River folk

A PROSPECTIVE DAM
A project on the Rio Grande in New Mexico. Where the river has potentialities which will turn the desert into farmlands

contemplate the rapid development of the country south of Boulder Cañon with much apprehension. They fear the supply of water for their own acres may be imperiled by developments farther down the stream.

There is a law governing the use of water diverted from streams that is well known in the West, but seldom heard of and rarely understood by people in the East. It is a law which has been developed in arid countries, governing the relations of people who seek to irrigate their lands from a common stream. The essence of this ordinance is that he who comes first is served first; and if there is not enough to go round, the later comers shall be denied.

One authority explains it this way. Just assume that Jones has 10,000 acres located 600 miles downstream. He spends his money on more or less costly works to irrigate his land. Several years later Smith, who owns 10,000 acres 500 miles upstream, closer to the source, determines to put his land under cultivation. The river runs through his acres long before it reaches Jones's land. But Jones's acres drink up every inch of water the stream produces. If Smith should divert any of the water, some of Jones's acres must inevitably revert to their desert state. So, the law says, since Jones made prior beneficial use of the water, he has the sole right to it. Consequently, Smith must not divert one spoonful of the water of that stream although both banks of the river for many miles are his property. If he takes the water, the law declares he must go to jail.

This explains the opposition of the people of the Upper River country to the proposed development work that is projected for the southern stretches of the river. The northern folk fear they may find themselves in Smith's predicament. They have had several bitter experiences which make them somewhat distrustful. A few years ago there was built near the line between Wyoming and Nebraska in the North Platte River, a barrier known as the Pathfinder Dam. It brought a great deal of Nebraska acreage and some Wyoming land under cultivation. But one fine morning the people on the upper reaches of the stream in the vicinity of Douglas and elsewhere in Wyoming, woke up to find they were absolutely prohibited from using the waters of the North Platte, whose main course runs through the fertile but arid lands of their state. The Pathfinder project, located mainly in Nebraska required all the water. Very naturally, when they helplessly saw the water that meant the difference between prosperous fields and useless lands slide past their acres, they went into the courts to force the Pathfinder folk to share the water. After long and costly

Courtesy General Electric Co.

LONG LAKE, WASH.

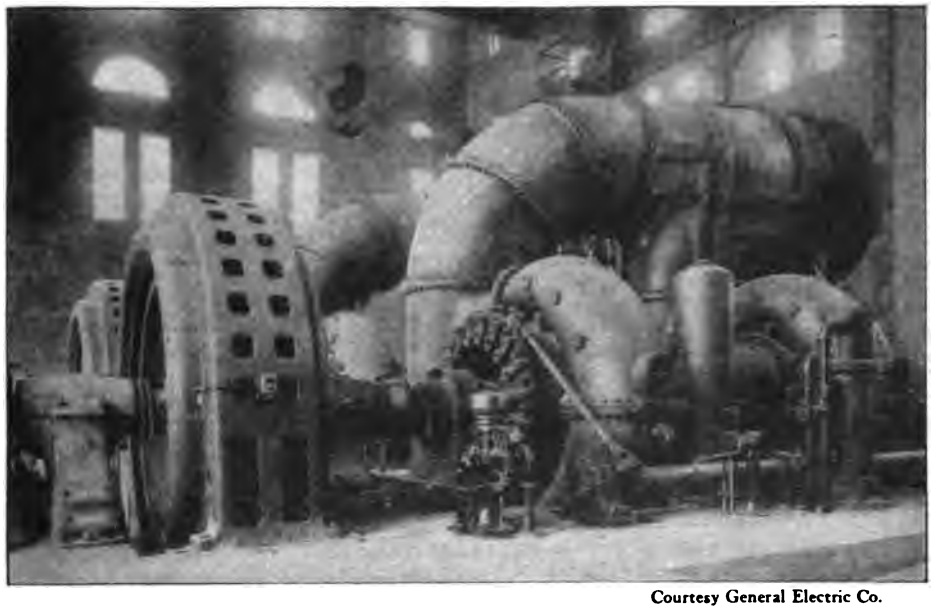
This picture and the one on the opposite page show the comparative simplicity of the operation of making water work. The force of gravity drives the water down the great steel pipes which conduct it to the turbines

litigation, the arid land law of first come, first served, was sustained; and many subsequent adjudications, locally and interstate, have hardened the principle into basic law.

Arnold Kruckman, Secretary of the League of the Southwest, told me of another water problem which the Federal Government must eventually adjust in order that there may be no international complications in the gigantic enterprise of harnessing the Colorado River. Mexico has approximately one million acres of amazingly arable land in the Colorado Basin, for the river does not empty into the Gulf of California until after it crosses the boundary into Mexico and flows more than one hundred miles through that country. Most of this Mexican acreage is either owned or controlled by American interests. The Government of Mexico has no agreement with the Government of the United States concerning the uses of the waters of the Colorado for irrigation. An American organization located in the Imperial Valley of California owns a subsidiary Mexican corporation through which it transacts business in Mexico and sells water to the owners of the Mexican lands. The arrangement, however satisfactory to the Mexican landowners, has caused growing irritation on the American side of the border. To remove the cause of this dissatisfaction, the American interests are proposing to abandon their main works on the Mexican side and to bring the diverted water from the Colorado River in a canal running entirely through American territory. The American interests will continue to supervise and distribute the water to Mexican lands. There are those who believe that the Mexican Government eventually will demand a definite adjustment of the question by agreement between the governments. There is a precedent for such an agreement in the contract by which the United States bound itself to deliver a stated quantity of water to Mexico annually in the stream channel of the Rio Grande at the international boundary.

There is yet another phase of the Colorado River development which is an international problem. Under the treaty made at Guadalupe-Hidalgo, in 1848, the United States has agreed with Mexico to maintain the Colorado River as a navigable stream. This provision has never been changed. It clearly defines the status of the Colorado as a navigable river. This last-mentioned provision is something that will give the power interests who are seeking to harness the energy of the river, much to think about before they start the construction of their projected works. Perhaps it is unfortunate but nevertheless it is true that the terms of the Water-Power Act specifically prohibit power works on navigable streams. With so much at stake it is altogether likely that those interested in utilizing the energy of the stream will put up a strong fight for the abrogation of the clause of the treaty with Mexico which makes the Colorado a navigable river.

It is evident, therefore, that this greatest of all American hydroelectric projects is sur-



INTERIOR AT LONG LAKE
Showing how the steel pipes which convey the water enter the power-house. Modern turbines can get 90 per cent. of the actual power in the flow of a stream

Courtesy General Electric Co.

rounded by numerous difficulties which must be carefully ironed out. Engineers have declared that the 688 billion cubic feet of water that now go to waste each year in the Gulf of California are more than sufficient to take care of the irrigation needs of all the lands throughout the entire Colorado Basin. This quantity of water contains 160 million tons of solid matter which would fill a reservoir one mile square and 125 feet deep. The annual loss of this enormous tonnage of rich soil which is swept into the ocean, constitutes a national waste.

This great problem in the West is not unlike other regional problems which have been satisfactorily settled here in the United States. Out in Ohio is a great fertile region known as the Miami Valley. In 1913 a flood swept over the district, dealing death to several hundred persons and causing a property loss of many million dollars. Following this disaster the people of Ohio gave a splendid demonstration of unity and coöperation, although there were many groups with widely divergent interests. First they got a real leader, a noted engineer; then each group subordinated its more immediate personal advantage to the ultimate good of the whole project. Politics was thrown into the discard and politicians were banished from the considerations. The people prepared their own law which was drawn up from the standpoint of engineering efficiency. The job of making the fertile Miami valley safe forevermore was classed as a public work and was carried out despite the objections of those who contended that the proposed plan meant the surrender of the rights of home rule.

Although the harnessing of the Colorado River will be a greater feat than the engineering work just being finished in the valley about Dayton, Ohio, the two jobs have elements that are quite similar. The work in Ohio has been the biggest engineering project launched in this country since the building of the Panama Canal. It has been handled without graft and in a way that is not only a credit to the skill of American engineers, but also is a lasting monument to the good sense of the people of several communities who were wise enough to bury self-interest and work for the common good. Just as the people of the Miami Valley once lived in constant dread of a terrible flood which finally came, so the people of the rich Imperial Valley in the Colorado basin now live in perpetual fear that the turbulent river which to-day is their friend may burst all bounds to-morrow and sweep away not only their hard-earned wealth but their very lives.

The water problem of the West and the Southwest is not merely a question of power or a question of irrigation, it is a matter that covers both these things. In many cases it goes even farther and includes flood control. The only way such a problem can be satisfactorily handled is by turning conflict into coöperation.

THE COUNCIL TABLE

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President, University of Virginia

CHARLES H. BRENT
Bishop of Western New York

CHARLES W. ELIOT
President Emeritus, Harvard University

CASS GILBERT
Architect

JAMES G. HARBORD
Major-General, U. S. Army

HENRY J. HASKELL
Of the Kansas City *Star*

HERBERT HOOVER
Secretary of Commerce

ERIE C. HOPWOOD
Editor, Cleveland *Plain Dealer*

ROBERT S. LOVETT
Railroad President

DANIEL D. MOORE
Editor, New Orleans *Times-Picayune*

HENRY MORGENTHAU
Former American Ambassador to Turkey

WILLIAM S. SIMS
Rear-Admiral, U. S. Navy

HENRY L. STIMSON
Ex-Secretary of War

BOOTH TARKINGTON
Novelist and Publicist

CASPER S. YOST
Of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

In order to present in one place wise and informed thought and stimulating counsel, month after month, the editors of the WORLD'S WORK *have created this special section in the magazine and invited the gentlemen whose names appear above to contribute to it. The magazine wishes to express its appreciation of their willingness to coöperate in this undertaking.*

The views expressed by each author are his alone, there being no group responsibility for any of the opinions, but no opinions will appear in this section except those belonging to some individual of this group.—THE EDITORS.

THE GROUP AND ITS DANGERS

BY ERIE C. HOPWOOD
Editor the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*

THE old man in the fable taught strength of union by giving his sons a fagot to break. While it was bound together none could overcome it. Then the old man untied the fagot and broke the sticks one by one.

The times bespeak another such great teacher. We tend dangerously to group thinking. In group thinking are the elements of disunion and in disunion are the elements of national self-destruction. No greater example of national and international thought, of oneness of purpose, is written in the chronicles than the conduct of the United States at war. An hundred millions of people with no thunder of guns in their ears, no visualization of

the sickening horror of the flat fields of Ypres or scourged and blackened Verdun, stood almost as a man behind the war. Group thinkers went to jail or the internment camp. Then the crisis passed and with it, for the time at least, national solidarity.

A great questioning was going on before the war. Industrialism had a limp that needed attention. The church and religion were under the glass. Education was vivisected. Certain of the high-browed and chinless analytical destructionists, scoffing at the wisdom of the fathers, were for taking the Government itself apart to see what makes it go, quite regardless of the fact that they never would be able to get it together again without a good many essential wheels and bolts missing.

The war had one merit; it demanded undivided attention. But at its end when interest was no longer centred on that apocalyptical circumstance, those whose vocations brought them in touch with public opinion noticed the sudden development of an intense querulousness. Everything was wrong that had ever been wrong before, and much besides. The intense mass psychology of the war became the acute group psychology of the reconstruction.

The safety of nations within themselves is in properly balanced social relativity. In all the world there are not two thumbs on which the whorls and loops are exactly alike. There are not two individuals who think in every respect exactly alike, but there are sufficient elements of common interest as between certain individuals so that society tends to group division. This grouping is natural and desirable. The world would be a most distressing place if all minds always went along together. The danger comes when sound social relativity is thrown off balance, and group interest threatens to transcend the common interest. Two things are inherently dangerous; first, not to think at all, and, second, always to think subjectively.

In these latter days we have seen a great treaty blocked by a group in the Senate of the United States. We have passed through the disorders attendant on the May 1st labor settlements, with group thinking capital on one side and group thinking labor on the other. We have seen the Dearborn *Independent* voice still other group thinking—a group pleasingly small, to be sure, and hardly vocal without its Angel of quantity production, and we have seen, quite naturally, the people under attack crystallize the group instinct in defense. Deflation pinches certain industries and their roaring at the Federal Reserve bank is the roaring of Stentor. Agriculture finds hard going and rushes to Congress for relief through a tariff. Economic progress is checked or hard aground in the cross currents of conflicting group interest. Social development suffers. Justice goes lame because of politics. The strong, clear note that made the world listen in 1917 and 1918 is lost in din and confusion as though the nation were cursed after the manner of the builders at Babel.

The safety of any country is in the level heads and the sound common sense of the mass of the people. But there is activity of group against inertia of mass. That is why bad government exists and false economic doctrines are practised. But mass interest is always latently most powerful and once in motion is irresistible.

Mass interest of the nation met the group interest of the South and overcame it after compromising slavery for forty years. The long battle which has been raging since the close of the Civil War against abuses of corrupt politics, domination by big business, and the intrigues and bravado of special interests has always been the battle of mass against group. In this war there is not likely ever to be an armistice but one after the other the group strongholds are falling or running up the white flag.

In the present situation there is nothing to fear if the mass will does not hesitate

too long in asserting itself. That is what happened in Russia. Mass America is too patient with her naughty children. The haven for the persecuted, she has permitted liberty to be turned to license. The dreamland of opportunity, she has permitted exploitation and abuse. It is high time now, in the reconstruction period when the seeds of division fall on a quick soil for her to set in order with whatever vigor may be needed every group which, either with ignorance or intent, is putting selfish interest before the common good, or by loose tongues and crooked minds, stirring up disunion and disorder among the people. And this can be done without menace to a free press or to free speech or to the right of assembly. It can be done and hold inviolable those groups so essential to the progress of nations in which new thoughts originate and take form in the march of advancement.

But now we must go even further than national thinking. Thought must be international. Whether we like it or not we are now not only in the world but of it. Natural barriers fall. There is no more sea. Isolation ceases. Hence national thinking in such a world relation becomes itself group thinking. "*Deutschland Über Alles*" answers that.

The war taught many things. It should have taught a better understanding of other peoples. In some cases it did. There were those who learned that a tremendous commerce was borne on the funny little four-wheeled wagons of the British railways; that it was possible to issue a great Scottish newspaper without any typewriters at all; that behind the *demi-mondaine* of Paris and her boulevardier companion, were the keen alert men and women of France, exemplifying the spirit which blazed forth at the Marne, turned back the invader, and never wavered until the war was done. And so with Belgium and with Italy and all the rest, and so even with Germany, where she was not dulled and sodden by the domination of the military group.

Unless she forgets the lesson America can no longer hold aloof from such a world. And she can no longer think in the terms of her national interest alone. We protest Yap. We protest the Mesopotamian oil fields. We do protest too much, unless we are willing to admit that this is not a world of all take and no give. Let us not forget that while American interests follow the sun in his course, so will American responsibility compass the earth.

Truly the times are troubled, but the trouble is but a passing one if we will to make it so. If every man and woman were inspired by the high pride of citizenship of a St. Paul—a citizenship which left no place for selfishness—and if every group would weigh its issue always in the light of the mass interest, all would be well. So may it be, but may the heavy hand of the nation fall on all who deal otherwise. And then in turn we must as a people search our hearts that the Golden Rule as between men be also as between nations.

LAW AND ORDER

By CHARLES H. BRENT
Bishop of Western New York

ONE of the miserable defects of language is that it lends its best phrases, such for instance as "law and order," to the tricks of selfish minds, sometimes to the extent of excusing and defending the very evils they were created to combat and destroy. In its purer sense law and order is the bulwark of the common weal, as jealous for the rights of each as for the well-being of all, without favoritism or distinction of persons. But by the wiles of interpretation, even in our own America, it is so perverted on occasion as to countenance tyranny, thwart the free play of justice, and make a mockery of liberty, especially as touching idealists and those who decline to accept a static view of our religious, social, and industrial life. Even as I pen these words, I can conceive of some of the very people who use law and order chiefly to shelter their own petty safety at the cost of injustice to others, finding self-vindication in what is aimed at their discomfiture. But that is probably inevitable, for the devil himself quotes Scripture to promote his ends! With this preamble I proceed.

Our American democracy is no exception to other democracies. It cannot survive, much less thrive, unless law and order burns with steady flame. Just now it is flickering in a perilous way, notably in quarters where there is least excuse. The volume of crime made public, which is great, is equalled if not surpassed by that which is hushed up or kept secret. The national conscience is blunted, so that the daily record of shame and violence which defaces the press has become for too many just a sensation and excitement, mere reading, rather than a moral shock, an offense in which every citizen is involved and for which he shares responsibility.

Twelve years have passed since President Taft said: "It is not too much to say that the administration of criminal law in this country is a disgrace to our civilization, and that the prevalence of crime and fraud, which here is greatly in excess of that in European countries, is due largely to the failure of the law and its administration to bring criminals to justice." Since then matters have become worse rather than better. There are those who comfort themselves by attributing growth in lawlessness to the consequences of the war. I wish I could believe this a sufficient explanation. Such a book as Raymond Fosdick's "American Police Systems" allows of no such conclusions. His pitiless tables of comparative statistics proclaim America to be the most criminal country among those cited. His equally pitiless examination of the causes reveals great facility in breaking laws and little zest in obeying them. The end of law is to contribute effectively to order, whereas "we must confess failure in the elemental responsibility laid on all people who call themselves civilized, of preserving order in their communities."

Reverence for law must be supplemented by intelligent respect for laws. This is eminently the case in a democracy in which, speaking in terms of majorities, laws are never superimposed but always self-imposed. It is as stultifying and degrading for a community as it is for an individual to lay down regulations to govern life and conduct, only to ignore them when formulated. The breaking of promises made to oneself is an offense of

the same order as that of breaking faith with a friend. After all, respect for others has its roots in self-respect.

I am not unmindful of the fact that restrictive legislation is often imposed by a majority, who do not need it, on a minority who do need it; or that an unenlightened and conservative majority can temporarily block the way to an enlightened and progressive minority. Regarding the former, there can be no demurrer: regarding the latter, we find comfort in the fact that a minority that is right, eventually becomes a majority. This is the history of reform.

Lawlessness is sporadic or unorganized revolution, a fact which receives too scant recognition. Of course there are various kinds of revolution. There is, for instance, revolution against a bad administration of good laws, which may be salutary in so far as it aims to promote law and order. Or there is revolution against a crystallized system of bad laws, which likewise may be justifiable. Or, again, there is revolution against law and order itself, which is always evil and disastrous. The lawlessness which is imperiling our nation is chiefly of the latter sort. The very citizens who deprecate revolution are themselves revolutionists if they confine their obedience to law only to those laws which protect their interests, and which do not run counter to their desires. It is part of order to recognize the authority of majorities in law making, and the minority are as much bound by the law thus made as the majority, provided that the law in question is morally sound.

Other nations may be able to get on without a written constitution. So far as America is concerned it is good that we have one. Our aptitude in constructing laws needs the check of our Constitution, which determines the nature of legislation, and which itself is so difficult to alter that in its lifetime it has known but nineteen alterations or additions. When it comes to laws, "it is estimated that there are on the average 16,000 statutes, federal, state, and local, applicable to a given city." The most alarming feature of the situation just now is not merely disregard for the laws but also symptoms of disregard for the Constitution. The Eighteenth Amendment is just as much a part of the Constitution as any of the original articles. I am not concerned with the character of this amendment. I am viewing it solely as an integral part of the most sacred and binding obligation governing American citizenship. The only possible excuse for disobeying it is self-indulgence. Unless my reasoning is wholly wrong, the man who disregards it is as disloyal a citizen as if he were a slave owner, and he is sowing the seeds of revolution. He is putting himself in a position in which he has no right to condemn or proceed against those who may be plotting against other portions of the Constitution. The more entrenched such criminals are by privilege and position, the deeper their guilt and the more provocative of danger to the commonwealth.

There is no sanctity or guarantee of security in mere democracy. There can as easily be a bad democracy as a good democracy, just as there are good monarchies and bad monarchies. Democracy has lived, as Lord Bryce points out, by lack of virtue as well as by virtue. Viewed as a mere mass movement, democracy is simply an aspect of mob life. We can put no trust in a multitude as such. Everything depends on the character of the individuals who make up the multitude. If it is of a low order, then the corporate life will be likewise. If it is of a high order, then and only then will the social body be worthy. This fact needs no demonstration and yet, curiously enough, the contrary conclusion is widely accepted —we look for salvation in numbers. It is worse than useless "making the world safe for democracy" unless concurrently we make democracy safe for the world, which it is far from being. Of what

value is a jewel casket if there be no jewel to enshrine in it?

The fact of the matter is that successful democracy presupposes individual self-respect and self-restraint for the sake of the commonwealth. Furthermore, such self-respect and self-restraint must be a permanent feature of the lives of the majority. There can be no corporate self-control where every citizen is part of the Government unless there is personal self-control. Towering above all public measures and mass movements to-day, stands the need of a new steadiness and a new determination to discipline our tastes, our customs, our recreations. Let no devotee of law deceive himself into thinking that restrictive legislation is capable of much, especially when such legislation is directed against the other fellow and not against himself. Our chief need to-day is an enhanced willingness to obey the laws we have rather than the enactment of additional laws of the Lusk variety.

It is natural, perhaps, that there should be a general rush for happiness after the strain and darkness and cruelties of war. It would be heartless to attempt to check the desire for some real compensation for what we have gone through. I have too great an unsatisfied craving for happiness myself to pose as a kill-joy. But I also realize that the best happiness depends on two things—self-respect and respect for others. It is difficult not to quote Lord Bryce after reading his "Modern Democracies. He says that "though the Prussian doctrine of the state is unwelcome to English-speaking peoples, the policies it has suggested have been slowly, almost insensibly, supplanting the individualism of the last century. The ideal of happiness may change from that of birds wantoning in the air, to that of bees busy in carrying honey to the common hive." This is true. No nation can find happiness unless its citizens, in both work and recreation, have an eye to the commonwealth.

I have been giving chief attention to law. Now I would turn to order. The partnership between law and order may not be broken. Law stands for the corporate and individual privileges and restraints that make for the order of the whole. If the combination is to succeed, the desire for order must inspire the enactment of law; for order, *i. e.* harmony throughout the body politic, is the one justification of law. Law is never an end in itself. It is the handmaid of order. Order, in turn, hints at liberties and opportunites which enrich the community and make it glad, even though it sets metes and bounds, checks and balances, which may not be slighted.

Now may I sum up? I am somewhat disconcerted to find that what I am trying to say is simple and elementary, and that I have used many words to express it. It is this. Social salvation is dependent upon the sustained effort of the individual to develop himself for the sake of and with reference to the community. I am not unmindful of many other considerations. But they all come second, and are of no particular value if the "salt of the earth" and the "light of the world" are eliminated. As even secular journalists are plainly saying, our primary need is the imitation of Christ and belief in the mutability of human nature. If we are in doubt what standard of life and conduct to accept, the "Sermon on the Mount" has the unique distinction of being the only coherent body of social doctrine that has never been really put to the test by a considerable group of men for a considerable period. Why not accept it as being an obligation? We might find that it is the one rock on which a stable social order can be built.

THE REAL REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA

Bolshevism, Denikinism, and Wrangelism Only Passing Phases of a Great, Heartening, and Forward-looking Movement of the People

By LT.-COM. HUGO W. KOEHLER

SINCE the Armistice I have approached Russia from the Baltic once, approached it from the Black Sea once, and left Russia overland via Poland. I have been with Denikin's forces and Wrangel's forces which were fighting the Bolsheviki, and have traveled inside the Bolshevist lines. I have talked at length with many hundreds of soldiers, peasants, workmen, bourgeoisie, commissars, and generals in an effort to get a fair picture of Russia and its problem.

The Russian Revolution was a real revolution toward human freedom. It deserved the enthusiastic reception which its news evoked in America. And despite the fact that it did prolong the war it will bulk large in any real history of human progress. With all that it has cost it still is a highly profitable venture for the mass of the Russian people.

The Russian problem must be worked out from within. Denikin and Wrangel failed, and their successors will fail. The Bolshevist idea is bad, but the Russian peasant prefers it to Czarism. Until a better idea than Bolshevism arises in Russia the Bolsheviki will control, for, in a nation like Russia, you can't beat an idea with an army alone. Only a better idea with an army will beat it.

At present the emergence of a better idea is handicapped by the complete ignorance of outside world conditions with which the Bolshevist leaders have been able to enshroud the Russian people.

The United States stands high in the estimation of Russians. In the future the friendship of a free Russia, if we maintain it, will be a vast asset to this nation.

I came through this experience with a great liking for the Russians, a profound belief in their future, and a conviction that they will, after a period of dictatorship, pass the stage of the Bolshevik as the French did the Commune. Ninety per cent. of the Russians now see a better future than they did in 1913. Clouded by a veneer of Bolshevism, the birth of a great free nation is in progress. Before telling in detail what I saw in Russia as the evidence of why I believe that Russia is coming up in human progress, I want to put down several convictions I have formed that they may be tested by the evidence of my experience.

To reach Russia, it is necessary to pass through a zone of intrigue and extraordinarily contradictory explanations, all repeated with an equal intensity. This chaos of report prepares one somewhat for the chaos which in fact exists in Russia. The worst offenders on this score are the Russians themselves. After having been in Russia and talked to a good many hundreds of Bolshevist and anti-Bolshevist peasants, commissioners, workmen —all kinds of men, I came to the conclusion that somewhat more than 90 per cent. of all I heard about Russia, on the outside, was unrelated to actualities. And curiously enough the Russians on the outside seemed the most prolific centres of misinformation. These Russian émigrés one sees in the capitals of Europe are practically all of one very small class, the former aristocracy, and they have about the same view of their country's problems and prospects as the nobles of Louis XVI's court had of France in 1789.

The Russia of the past belonged to the noble class. The Russia of the future is a people's Russia. The Russian Revolution was a real revolution. It will loom large in history. Its importance should not be obscured by the Bolsheviki any more than the importance of the French Revolution should be clouded by the period of the Commune.

Toward the end of 1919, I arrived at Novorossiisk, the great Caucasus port of the Black Sea, whose fine harbor and docks were laid out by an American engineer about forty years ago. After Odessa, it is the greatest grain port in southern Europe.

We took up our quarters here in an old second class railway coach in a corner of the

railway yards, and although at first I thought it was about the filthiest place I had ever seen, I soon realized that it was about the most favorable situation in the town. Our neighbors, also in coaches and abandoned freight cars, were beggars and princes, ragged refugees, Grand Dukes who had lost most everything they owned except their ballet-dancers and a few jewels, railroad officials, a few stray Grand Duchesses, and more refugees, so bruised and beaten by all that they had suffered these last months that they seemed mere lumps. Poor devils, I often wondered what they could have done to deserve all this! Their sins were surely not positive and active—they had not really done any definite thing which deserved so horrible a fate—their sins were almost entirely the sins of omission; it must be that they had sinned simply in that they did not take the steps necessary to prevent all this. There was indeed much food for thought as one made one's way through all this misery and ruin, through cattle cars crowded with the sick, the dying, and sometimes even the dead, all sprawling on unspeakably filthy floors in station rooms and halls and corridors of practically every public building. For hotels, hospitals, stables, stores, barracks were crowded to the very door-sills with the sick, the dying, and those about to die, simply because they could not fit into the existing order of things. And all with a patience so exquisite that to me it was maddening even more than pathetic. One's constant thought was of how surely God helps those who help themselves—how certainly He abandons those who give up the struggle!

Our nearest neighbors in the squalid freight yard were the former president of the Vladikavkaz Railroad, the best system in Russia, who, with his children and grandchildren, occupied one small coach. The Grand Duchess Marie Pavlova with members of her former suite and their families also had a single coach, while her son, the Grand Duke Andrey, with his son of oddly indefinite parentage and said son's mother, a famous ballerina in her day, likewise lived for months in a tiny railroad coach on the opposite side of our mudhole. The Grand Duchess was a charming old lady, nor did the terror of her situation and the utter squalor of our surroundings take one whit from her delightful sense of humor and her quality of *une Grande Dame*.

I think I shall always remember Novorossiisk more especially because it marked such a definite change in my own point of view. It happened one day when I was returning from a visit to the Grand Duchess Olga, the Czar's sister, a very nice, simple, and gentle old lady. As I picked my way through the mud and filth, I commented rather feelingly on the terrible tragedy of this poor old lady who had spent almost all of her life at Court, with everyone bowing abjectly before her and now her Court was reduced to a single, feeble old servant, who still addressed her mistress as Imperial Highness as she laid before her the proceeds of the last visit to the pawnbrokers. Later that evening in discussing the situation, I remember the whole company expatiating loudly upon the tragedy of this case and that, of all the poor Grand Dukes who were now living such pathetic existences, sometimes with no suite at all and only a single pair of servants—and almost no amusements, no diversions! Think of all the fine times they used to have! Oh! it was terrible, terrible! So echoed one and all of the company. And then suddenly the utter folly of it all came over me and I suffered an almost complete revulsion of feeling. Why was her case, and that of the Grand Dukes and the other former great personages who were now idle in Novorossiisk or in comparative ease in the various capitals of Europe, so much more tragic than that of the thousands of other Russians who were suffering much greater hardships in their attempts really to do something for Russia. I remember the look of startled horror that came over the company as I said that, in my opinion, the only tragedy of the Grand Duchess Olga was that she was an old lady separated from her family, many of whom had suffered a still unkinder fate. Except for that I did not see that she was deserving of greater sympathy than all these other people who were suffering more, even if the contrast with their past was not as great.

As for the Grand Dukes, with one or two rare exceptions, I had precious little sympathy for them. What had they ever done to deserve any such sympathy? They had been wasters pure and simple, they had never done one useful thing for themselves or their race or their country. Had they not themselves helped very materially to bring about this very state of affairs of which they complained so tearfully? With a single exception, had one ever heard of a Grand Duke going out to fight

for his country? Or did one know of a Grand Duke ever doing anything whatever except to become more profligate and a greater waster? Had any of the number ever contributed a single idea that had helped country or civilization or any of the people on whom they had battened fat? And suddenly in a very torrent of passion I recounted the various things that I knew of these Grand Dukes, facts which were far from a secret among these people to whom I was talking, who, in fact, knew them even better than I did. Nor did I omit the account that little Lupokova, the famous Russian dancer, had given me of the orgies each year when the famous Kojinska, a former dancer, would give a party at her palace for the young girls of the Imperial ballet school who had just finished their training; girls who had been raised almost as in a convent and were then turned over to the Grand Dukes—really nothing more than throwing children to the wolves. Of course, this was all true, they said, but what will one have? These wolves were after all Grand Dukes; and even my friends looked at me with mixed surprise and horror—surprise, because what did I expect of Grand Dukes? Did I not know what a Grand Duke was? And horror, as they wondered how a man with such terribly unorthodox ideas had ever arrived in this august assembly. This was a new and most pernicious form of anarchy, they felt, and with such ideas I must indeed be as dangerous as if I carried a bomb.

We delayed little in Novorossiisk and hurried on to Ekaterinodar, the capital of the Don Cossack province, which was then General Denikin's headquarters. We saw the General almost immediately, and after a long interview, during which the General explained his ideas very frankly, we dined with him. He and his numerous staff and friends were extraordinarily cordial. This welcome was not only very pleasant, but it was also prophetic of the Russian attitude toward us during the entire year that followed. Although the Russians are by all odds the most hospitable race under the sun, their attitude toward us always seemed even more than cordiality, for even from the very beginning, their frank friendliness had a naturalness and a spontaneity that betokened a real understanding. This was due in large part, I think, to the simple fact that we were Americans, and, somehow or other, Americans and Russians seem to get along together splendidly. Whenever I saw Russians and Americans together, in work, in play, in business, they got along splendidly; which is rather more than can be said for most other Russian-foreign combinations.

"GETTING ALONG" WITH RUSSIANS

THERE were many examples of this fact. For instance, at this time the British were weekly pouring millions of pounds sterling worth of supplies into south Russia to support Denikin; in fact, they were almost the entire support of the Denikin effort. There was a large British Mission, political and military, with Denikin, and the hundreds of British officers there were splendid fellows—I do not know that I have ever seen a finer lot of soldiermen. But still, save in exceptional cases, they never seemed to get along at all well with the Russians. I do not think this is the fault of either the British or the Russians; it is merely a fact.

Nor were the French particularly successful with the Russians. Although many more Russians spoke French than spoke English, one very rarely saw French and Russians playing about together—they seemed to have little in common. Next to the Americans, the Italians mixed with the Russians better than any one else, although they were doing nothing for Denikin and were even strongly suspected of trafficking with the Bolsheviki. Yet the Russians found them agreeable and sympathetic; they were always on excellent terms with all classes, they liked the Russians and in turn were liked.

ADMIRAL McCULLY

THIS question of two races getting on together does not always have a logical explanation, or perhaps the logic is fundamental and not on the surface. For certain it is that we do not always like the people who do the most for us, although we usually like those who like us. In our own case, I think the attitude of my chief, Admiral McCully, had a great deal to do with the Russian attitude toward us all. At a time when most other people were impressing the Russians with their own particular importance and the absolute necessity that the Russians provide them with special quarters, private cars, and goodness knows what, Admiral McCully was busy explaining to the Russians that he himself was of no importance whatever, that he

had no power or influence, and was only there to see what was going on simply because Americans were very much interested in the Russians and the future of Russia; and as for quarters, he always insisted that inasmuch as in the towns where we were the people were crowded in at the rate of about one family per room, we not only needed no more room than the Russians had, but under no conditions would accept any more. The result of this was that no matter how crowded the Russians were they were always trying to do things for us. But month after month we jammed ourselves into quarters that our orderlies considered far beneath their dignity. All this time the Admiral ate tinned corned-beef, which he had brought along, simply because he felt it was not playing the game to buy food at the market when it was frightfully scarce, even though the rate of exchange would have made it possible for us to buy out the whole market for almost nothing, had we cared to do so.

DENIKIN AND HIS ENTOURAGE

GENERAL DENIKIN proved to have as much charm as he had good looks, which is no faint praise, for he is a very handsome man, and indeed looked the part of the courageous leader that he was. He is a typical Russian—shaved head, full beard, long flowing mustaches, broad of shoulder, broader of waist, natural, cheerful, and friendly; and with it all, dignified and without the slightest trace of snobbery, or what we call "side." His dominant characteristics were honesty, sincerity, and obstinacy. He seemed undismayed by defeat, and showed every confidence in his eventual success, but my impression was definite that he was neither brilliant nor receptive to new ideas, and much less a creator of ideas. I felt that he was an honest man and a patriot, and he was reputed to be a good soldier, but he certainly was not a great leader. In the months that followed, when I saw a lot of him, these impressions became convictions.

I was a little worried at first when I saw his beautiful sweeping mustaches with every hair so perfectly and exquisitely trained in place that I rather revolted at the thought of the enormous cost in time and effort; it seemed to indicate rather a lack of sense of proportion in any one who, during such a crisis, would be willing to spend that amount of time on mustaches. However, I dare say, fine mustaches and that sort of thing are very important to a Russian General, no small part of whose stock in trade is swank and swashbuckling; so it may have been worth it.

I was very much interested in General Denikin's entourage. Like the General himself, his ministers were forceful men and patriots perhaps, and there were good soldiers on his staff, but they all had one fundamental in common. Not one of them realized that there had been a revolution in Russia—a revolution which had affected the thought of the people no less than it had affected things political. These generals did understand, and very thoroughly, that there had been some sort of a disturbance, rather a violent one to be sure, that they themselves had lost their estates, that everything was going to rack and ruin in Russia, and that certain evil beasts called Bolsheviki had to be wiped out before they could ever get back their estates and live the fine old life of the Imperial days. Yet I doubt very much whether a single one of them knew there had been a real revolution; and I doubt, too, whether any of them could realize it. Certain it was that I never got from them the faintest trace of any idea broader than the thought that the Bolsheviki had to be smashed somehow or other, and that then the good old days would automatically come back.

From Ekaterinodar we went to the front, at that time about six miles from Rostov. Our first news was of the retreat, of wounded officers left behind and murdered by the Bolsheviki, and of the utter demoralization of the great bands of men, women, and children trekking across the steppes—almost the whole countryside moving *en masse*. The Volunteer Army, as General Denikin's forces were known, had just had a pretty severe drubbing at the hands of the Bolsheviki, and had lost most of its supplies, but nevertheless the men actually at the front all seemed cheerful, despite the most frightful hardships; and they were even planning an advance. As a matter of fact, I never did go to the front without finding the same optimism there. But in exact proportion to the distance from the front the optimism would lessen; in the rear there was always the most frightful pessimism even on the very heels of news of a victory.

I think that one can best understand General Denikin, and for that matter all the anti-Bolshevist movements of the last two and a half years, for they differed only in detail, by a scene in the Cossack Krug early in

January, 1919. This Krug is a sort of super-parliament composed of some fifty members from each of the three great Cossack parliaments, the Don, the Terek, and the Kuban. The Cossacks have always enjoyed great liberties, even under the most autocratic of Czars; and, as a matter of fact, they always will be free simply because they will not live under any condition other than freedom; every man jack of them has it ingrained that he was born free and that he will die rather than give up an iota of the freedom that is his birthright. Cossacks are by birth and by profession warriors, and this Krug was a collection of as fine a lot of clean-limbed, stern-jawed fighting men as could be assembled anywhere. At the session I describe, these legislators were in uniform, of course, for they live in uniform; and in addition to the enormous curved sabre, dagger, and revolver which each man carried, many had carbines slung across their shoulders, and all had cartridges.

DENIKIN BREAKS WITH THE COSSACKS

THEY were indeed an earnest, hard-headed lot, these Cossacks, with their usual wildness and impatience rather tempered by the fact that this was a most momentous session, for the decision to be taken would very definitely settle the fate of their country one way or the other. At this time, although the Cossacks were coöperating with General Denikin, the feeling against him was bitter because of his autocratic methods and what they considered his infringement on their age-long rights. The question under consideration was the demand of the Krug that General Denikin's Minister of Railways for the Cossack territory be responsible to the Krug and not only to General Denikin personally. At the very height of the bitterest discussion of the subject, General Denikin stalked into the turbulent assembly and in no uncertain tone told them what he thought of them and their attitude—which wasn't much! He concluded with the ultimatum that they could accept his programme in entirety or they could leave it in entirety, and that in the latter case he would employ his army elsewhere and they would see then what would happen to their fine Cossack country when the Bolsheviki overran it. There was some point in what he said, because it was obvious that if he withdrew with his volunteer army the Bolsheviki would make short work of the Cossack country. However, there was exactly as much point in the Cossack rejoinder to the effect that if he persisted in his autocratic methods the Cossack armies would take their own course, and General Denikin would then have a splendid chance to see what would happen to his fine Volunteer Army.

But this Denikin was too blind to see; and the result was that both predictions came true. As the Cossacks declined to fight, the Bolsheviki promptly overran the Cossack country, and at the same time Denikin's army was pushed into the sea. It took very real courage, moral as well as physical, for Denikin to go into that angry assembly and try to ram his ideas down the throats of those warrior legislators; but unfortunately, it also required complete political idiocy on his part for him even to attempt to do so, since it meant the entire alienation of his most valuable support. But General Denikin loved issuing ultimatums —I think he issued about as many as the famous Allied Supreme Council did in 1919, when several times a week they would send an ultimatum on the same subject to the same people, and usually got just about as much result as did General Denikin; in fact, about the only result was that the definition of the word ultimatum changed. For people used to wonder whether these very drastic ultimatums were after all really final, or whether they were simply the first or second or third pronouncements on the subject.

The above quarrel with the Cossacks is only a single incident of the General's policy, for Denikin did the same thing in the case of the Ukrainians. At the very moment he needed all his strength against the Bolsheviki, he despatched his three best divisions to fight the Ukrainians under Petlura, simply because the Ukrainians considered that they had a right to a voice in the government of the Ukraine. Almost simultaneously he picked a quarrel with the Georgians on the score of Georgian independence, and only the fact that he was wiped out a little later prevented him from attacking them. In short, sincere and honest, great patriot, fine soldier, that he was, he had no conception at all of the primary necessity of uniting all efforts that were fighting for the regeneration of Russia, if he would make headway against the Bolsheviki. He had no idea with which to appeal to Russians everywhere, and in consequence he got no support outside his own army. That this absolute opaqueness

to progressive ideas must mean the doom of his movement, never entered his consciousness. He felt that putting down all ideas other than his own was as essential to eventual victory as was the winning of a battle; nor did he ever reckon that such repression meant a dissatisfied army, and there is precious little fight in a dissatisfied army. In fact, the entire Denikin group always felt that to consider the popular feeling was a weakness to be avoided at all costs. Their characters as well as all their training made it impossible for them to understand that the first axiom of a civil war is that it can be won only on a popular issue, and that the repression of popular ideas can result only in killing all enthusiasm for the cause in the very people on whom the cause must depend for success. They didn't recognize that there had been a real revolution.

Small wonder then, that the Bolsheviki pushed Denikin into the sea. The wonder is, rather, that the large British political mission then with General Denikin allowed him to pursue so stupid a course, for rarely does the British Foreign Office pursue idiotic policies; and in view of the enormous support that the British were giving Denikin, it would appear evident that they could have brought great pressure to bear.

DENIKIN'S ELIMINATION

THE Bolsheviki's tactics were simple: there was no front as we knew the term in Europe, for here the front consisted merely of an imaginary line between outposts on the railroads. Accordingly, the Bolsheviki who had been retreating rapidly almost up to the very moment of the disaffection of Denikin's Cossacks, had only to push forward a column of cavalry parallel to Denikin's railroads and about forty miles distant from them, or just far enough to avoid an action, and then the dread of being outflanked and attacked in the rear would do its work among troops whose one fear is a flanking movement; and almost automatically the Denikin troops were forced to retire. That they were not pushed into the Black Sea until March, 1920, was due simply to the extraordinary bravery of the rear-guard troops, who fought like demons, despite the demoralization that spread as soon as the retreat began. For these troops were advancing troops, they had not the morale to hold or to retire in order.

Even at that time there were a few far-seeing Russians who felt that the elimination of Denikin and all his entourage was the best thing that could happen for Russia even though it meant the temporary prolongation of the Bolshevist régime. For Denikin and his ministers and more intimate supporters were reactionaires at heart, and no reactionary régime can now exist for long in Russia. Russia has progressed far beyond that. All of Denikin's group belonged to that class who are extraordinarily liberal when they have no power, and as soon as they gain power become less and less liberal, until finally, when they have real power, they become so despotic that they crash. Time and again the Bolsheviki in their propaganda, which was so effective in stirring up the peasants against Denikin, made statements against Denikin and his programme which were absolutely untrue at the time they were made; but oddly enough Denikin by his later actions gave truth to what had originally been false. In short, he did the very things which the Bolsheviki, with their keen knowledge of the peasant mind, knew would arouse the people against him.

Early in February, as the Bolshevist line bent toward Odessa, we headed in that direction and arrived there in the painful interim between the evacuation by the Denikin forces and the actual taking over by the Bolsheviki. Various Ukrainian forces claimed to have taken Odessa, but various Ukrainian forces claim many things! Apparently no one in Odessa knew that the city had ever been captured by the Ukrainians!

We found the harbor crowded with ships packed with refugees to an extent I did not know ships could be packed. As we stood in the harbor, men and women on their knees on the outer edge of the breakwater beckoned to us with uplifted arms, beseeching us to save them. Despite the heavy sea running at the time and the complications of the Bolshevist situation, we eventually got them off, wet, frozen, nearly starved, and snatched just in the nick of time from what they felt was certain death. When finally they got on board they were too dazed even to gulp down food or coffee, and for days seemed almost dumb. Their story was a most harrowing one, but their sufferings had too thoroughly wrecked their sense of proportion for them to be of much value as observers of what had taken place in Odessa or of what the Bolsheviki were doing.

So although we could all but toss a stone into the town, it was impossible to get any idea of what was actually taking place or even of what had happened.

AMONG THE BOLSHEVIKI IN ODESSA

ACCORDINGLY, the only thing to do was to get into the town myself, and as the report that a number of Americans had been left behind in the town during the terror of the evacuation presented a fairly plausible pretext, I started out to see what I could see. Landing at the lighthouse in the early morning, I finally managed to bribe and cajole the keeper into going to the outpost of Red troops, at the end of the Mole, and inform the officer in command that I was landing unarmed and wished to communicate with the commander of the forces of occupation concerning the safety of the American citizens still in town. And in this way, after numerous small adventures, I finally arrived at the Bolshevist headquarters, accompanied by a commissar and a rather motley crowd that increased as we proceeded. There we were joined by another Bolshevist commissar, a very intelligent, earnest, and forceful looking man, who gave a really comprehensive and apparently very frank account of the recent campaign. He explained that only a short time before, the Reds had been retreating before Denikin so fast that they had all been footsore and weary to the point of death, but that at Orel the retreat had suddenly been interrupted by their taking up the advance themselves. This advance had been easy, he said, much marching and scrambling along but little fighting, because in their advance the Denikin troops who lived on the country had robbed and plundered the peasants, whereupon the peasants as promptly turned against them and became so hostile that the way was prepared for the Red advance. His comrade now took up the story and held forth at length concerning the outrages perpetrated by the Denikin troops, such, for example, as cutting off the tongues of some four thousand soldiers of the Red army, the chopping off of the hands of an even greater number, lining the streets of a certain village with rows of men strung up on telephone wires, and many other stories bearing a striking and sometimes almost verbatim resemblance to the accounts in the Bryce report concerning German outrages, except that Denikin generals and Russian names were substituted for German—nor was the famous story of a well full of babies' hands omitted. As a matter of fact, the stories of atrocities were mostly the results of Red propaganda, but other than that there was considerable truth in what the commissar said, for the Denikin troops had pillaged their own friends; and small consolation it is to a robbed peasant that the man who has robbed him proclaims himself his friend. The commissar omitted to mention, however, that the greatest contribution in alienating the peasant support from Denikin was the mass of Red propaganda to the effect that the Denikin régime was returning to the former owners the lands which the peasants had seized. This was not true at the time the Bolsheviki stated it, but incredibly stupid as it may seem, Denikin himself made it true shortly afterward by allowing some of the reactionaries in his entourage to take back land which the peasants had seized. Of course, Denikin thus furnished the Bolsheviki with the greatest weapon against him that they ever had.

Although my visit was occasioning great excitement, and the surrounding crowd was rather unruly, this was due more to curiosity than anything else—there really was no very dangerous demonstration at all. On the contrary, as we walked along together even the two commissars became more and more frank, and eventually almost friendly. Poor devils, they were hungry to the point of starvation for news of the outer world. Here I first realized how very many Russians thought that the terrible state of affairs in Russia was simply a part of the universal European chaos. And later, in the interior, it became very evident that to the great majority it never even occurred that conditions elsewhere were one whit better than in Russia. Even the best informed considered England on the brink of revolution—and many included America in the general chaos. To a people who believe that they are no worse off than the rest of the world, the example of the rest of the world means little. As long as the Bolsheviki can keep Russia in darkness and isolation their chances of continued power are improved.

In the August number Lieutenant-Commander Koehler will continue this account of his experience among the Bolsheviki

WITH FEISAL AT COURT AND AFIELD

I. Adventures in Arabia with the Prince of the Hedjaz and the Desert Tribes

BY COL. THOMAS E. LAWRENCE

In August, 1914, Thomas E. Lawrence, a young Englishman of twenty-six, was engaged in some archæological investigations in Arabia, and upon the outbreak of the war was called to Cairo and given a commission as second-lieutenant in the British army. Few men in the British service knew much about the interior of Arabia and Lawrence was known to have acquired familiarity with the topography and peoples of the great peninsula. Before the war broke out he had already spent seven years in Arabia. Even before he finished his archæological studies at Oxford he had made a journey to the East, and had tramped barefoot and in Arab costume for hundreds of miles across the deserts, living with the different tribes he came across.

Although he had had no military training whatever, it took but a short time for him greatly to impress his superiors, despite the fact that his modesty constantly caused him to go to the utmost length to avoid attracting attention. He had been in Cairo only a short time when the great revolt of the Arabs against the Turks began, and because of his intimate knowledge of Arabian affairs, he was sent into the desert in order to observe and report on the activities of the Arabs. From that moment, his genius took command.

Fortunately he was not so overburdened with instructions as to be held back: and so valuable were his contributions to the Allied cause that in less than seven months he was raised to the rank of colonel, directly from that of second-lieutenant.

For centuries Arabia has been inhabited by warring tribes, whose feuds were carried on for generations. And among them no man had been born who could weld them into a nationalistic entity. Yet this youthful, blue-eyed archæologist, whose remarkable knowledge of the Arabian people enabled him to make himself so at home among them, by his individual efforts overcame their inter-tribal strife, and succeeded in uniting them under the banner of Feisal, Prince of the Hedjaz, and in building up an army of more than two hundred thousand sons of the desert, whose ferocity and dash, under his leadership, drove the overbearing Turk out of Holy Arabia.

For months Lawrence was almost a myth. Nothing definite was known of him except by a chosen few, and even when he had so impressed the King of the Hedjaz with his ability that he was allowed to sign the King's name to important state papers, practically no one knew of the undersized, youthful Colonel. But Lawrence became the moving spirit of the Arabian revolt against Turkish oppression. Only five feet three inches tall, modest almost to bashfulness, he became, in four years, Prince of Mecca, Commander-in-Chief of the Arabian army, and the uncrowned king of the Desert Empire.

Asked why the Arabs so greatly admired Lawrence, old Auda Abu Tyi, leading sheikh of the Howeitat, replied: "By the beard of the Prophet, he can do everything we do better than we ourselves."

And that was a principal reason for Lawrence's amazing success. He could ride a camel with the best of Arabia's riders. At all of the sports of the Arabs he surpassed the men of the desert themselves. Without military training, he had instinctive military genius. And with it all he possessed the power, rarely given to outsiders, to understand and interpret every action of his desert allies. He lived among them, ate their food, dressed as they dressed, and viewed their problems from their point of view. The result was that for the first time in centuries Arabia was united, the Turk was driven out, and once again a direct descendant of the Prophet came to sit upon the throne, while an outsider, a European, a Christian, was raised to the dazzling position of Shereef, and made a Prince of Mecca, a position never held before save by a direct descendant of Mahomet.

The following article (the first of a series of four) is part of Colonel Lawrence's personal record of his adventures, intended originally to be kept only for his own use in after years, and now published for the first time.—THE EDITORS.

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IN DECEMBER, 1916, we were very busy and confident, and I was just starting for Kheif to consult with Feisal about the El Wijh expedition, when news came that the Turks had suffered a repulse near Bir ibn Hassani. A cavalry reconnaissance had pushed too far into the hills, and had been intercepted and cut off by the Arabs. This sounded good, and I mounted happily with my sponsor, Abd el Kerim el Beidawi, who was half-brother of the Emir of Yenbo, but to my astonishment pure Abyssinian in feature. They told me later that his mother was a slave girl, and that consequently he was ineligible for office.

He was of middle height and thin, coal-black and debonair, about twenty-six years old, with a tiny tuft of beard on his sharp chin. He was restless and active, endowed with a salacious easy humor. With him were three or four of his men, all well mounted, and we had a rapid journey, for Abd el Kerim is a famous rider, proud of doing his stages at three times the normal speed. It was not my camel, so I had no objection, and we cantered for three hours on end. His lunch was then shaken down enough for him to feel capable of more food, and so we stopped and ate bread.

After we re-started an hour's mad race in the dark brought us to the end of the Tehama and to the foot of the low range of hills (rock and sand) cutting off the coastal plain from Wadi Yenbo. Last time I had passed south of it. This time we crossed it, going up Wadi Agida, a narrow, winding, sandy valley between the hills. It had run in flood a fortnight earlier, and the going was good for our panting camels —but the ascent was so steep that we had to take it at a foot's pace. This pleased me, but angered Abd el Kerim, and when in a short hour we had reached the watershed, he thrust his mount forward again, and for half an hour we dashed at breakneck speed downhill in the black night (a fair road, fortunately with sand and pebbles underfoot); then the land flattened out, and we came within reach of the outlying plantations of Nakhl Mubarak, the chief date-gardens of the southern Juheina.

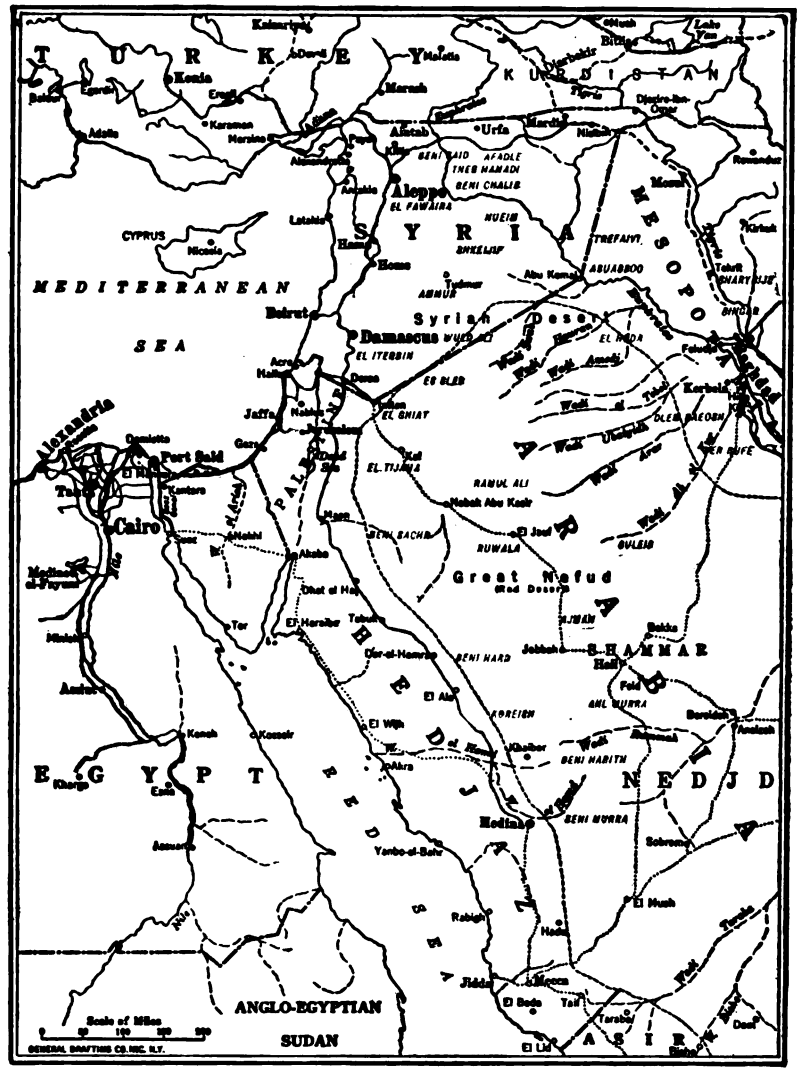
When we got near we saw through palm trees the flames, and flame-lit smoke of many fires; and the hollow ground reëchoed with the roaring of thousands of camels, volleys of shots, and the shouting of men lost in the darkness and looking through the crowd for their companions. In Yenbo we had heard that Nakhl Mubarak was deserted, so this tumult meant something strange, perhaps hostile. We crept quietly past an end of the grove and down a narrow street between man-high mud walls, to a silent group of houses. Abd el Kerim forced the courtyard door of the first on our left, led our camels inside, and tied them down by the walls to hide them: then he slipped a cartridge into the breech of his rifle and stole off on tip-toe down the street toward the noise to find out what was happening. We waited there for him, the sweat of the ride slowly drying in our clothes as we sat about in the chill night, watching.

He came back after half an hour to say that Feisal with all his camel corps had just arrived in the village from Sueig, near Kheif, and that I was to go down and join him at once.

The mass of Feisal's army filled the valley from side to side. There were hundreds of brushwood fires burning, with Arabs round them making coffee, or eating, or sleeping like dead men muffled in their cloaks, as closely as they could get in the confusion of camels. I had never imagined so many camels together, and the mess was indescribable, as they were

couched or tied up here and there all over the camping ground, and more were always coming in, and the old ones leaping up on three legs to join them, roaring with hunger and agitation. Patrols were going out, and caravans being unloaded, and some dozens of Egyptian mules were bucking angrily all over the middle of the scene.

We ploughed our way through this din, and in an island of calm in the very centre of the *wadi*-bed found Shereef Feisal, and halted our camels by his side. His carpet was spread over the stones, and on it he was sitting between Shereef Sharraf, his cousin, the governor of Taif and chief justice, and Maulud, the rugged slashing old Mesopotamian patriot who was acting as aide-de-camp. In front of Feisal knelt a secretary taking down an order, and there was another reading reports aloud by the light of a silvered lamp which a slave was holding. The night was quite windless, the air heavy, and the unglazed flame burnt up straight and firm. Feisal was as quiet as ever and welcomed me with a smile while he finished his dictation. Then he apologized for the disorder of my reception, and waved the slaves back to give us privacy. They had hardly retired when a wild camel leaped into the open space in front of us, plunging and trampling. Maulud dashed to its head to drag it away. It dragged him instead, and its load of grass ropes for camel fodder came untied, and poured down over the taciturn Sharraf, the lamp, and myself in an overwhelming avalanche of hay. "God be praised," said Feisal, gravely, "that it was neither butter nor bags of gold"—and then he explained to me what had happened.



THE KINGDOM OF THE HEDJAZ

Which extends along the Red Sea from Syria to the Province of Asir and has its eastern reaches in the Great Nefud Desert, with its capital in the sacred city of Mecca. The red lines indicate the Hedjaz Railroad, and the red lettering shows the numerous tribes of Arabia which united under Colonel Lawrence and proclaimed their independence from Turkey in June, 1916

The Turks had slipped round the head of the Arab forces in Wadi Safra, by a side road in the hills, and in doing so had cut communications. The Harb in a panic had melted into the ravines on each side, and scaled them in parties of twos and threes, full of anxiety for their threatened families. The Turkish infantry had poured down the empty valley, as far as Wasta, and had then sent some camel corps and mounted infantry over the Dhifran Pass to Bir Said, where the easy Zeid had nearly been caught sleeping in his tent. However he

had just got warning, and with the help of Abdulla el Thawab, an old Harith campaigner, had delayed the enemy attack long enough to enable some of the tents and baggage to be packed on camels and driven away. He had afterward escaped himself, but his force, which was to cover the Subh hills and Wadi Safra and the Sultani road, had melted away to a loose mob of fugitives, riding wildly through the night for Yenbo.

The road to Yenbo was thereby laid entirely open to the Turks, and Feisal had rushed down there only an hour ago, with five thousand men to protect his base until something properly defensive could be arranged. His spy system was broken down temporarily as the Harb had lost their wits in the darkness and were bringing in mad and contradictory reports from one side and another, about the strength of the Turks and their movements and intentions. He had no idea whether they would ride straight at Yenbo, or be content with defending the northern passes into Wadi Safra while they threw themselves against Rabigh and Mecca. The situation would be serious either way: the best that could happen would be if Feisal's presence here attracted them, and they lost further days trying to catch his field army, while we fortified Yenbo. Meanwhile he was doing all he could, quite cheerfully, and I sat down beside him, and listened to the news, and the petitions and complaints and difficulties being brought in and settled by him publicly.

IN CAMP WITH FEISAL

THIS lasted till half past four in the morning. It grew very cold and the damp of the valley rose up through the carpet, and soaked our clothes, and a white mist collected over the whole camp, which gradually stilled as the tired men and animals all went one by one to sleep and the fires became thin slow pillars of smoke. Immediately behind us, rising out of the bed of mist, was the eastern end of Jebel Rudhwa, more steep and rugged than ever, and brought quite close by the moonlight so that it seemed to hang over our heads. Feisal had at last finished his more urgent work. We ate half-a-dozen dates each, and then curled up on the very wet carpet underneath us. I lay there shivering and watched the Biasha sentries creep up, and spread their cloaks gently over Feisal as soon as they were sure he was asleep.

An hour later we got up stiffly—the false dawn was too cold for us to go on pretending to rest—and the slaves lit a fire of palm ribs to warm us, while Sharraf and I searched about for food and fuel for the moment. Messengers were still coming in from all sides, and the camp was not far from panic. Feisal decided to move to another position partly because we would be washed out of this one if it rained anywhere in the hills, and partly to occupy the men's minds and soothe their restlessness. When his drum began to beat, camels were loaded instantly; and at the second signal everyone leaped into the saddle and drew off to left or right, leaving a broad lane up which Feisal rode. He was on his mare, with Sharraf a pace behind him, and then Ali, the standard-bearer, a splendid wild man from Nejd with a hawk's face framed in the long plaits of black hair falling downward from his temples. Ali was on a tall camel, and behind him were all the mob of shereefs and sheikhs and slaves—and myself—following pell mell. There were eight hundred in the bodyguard that morning.

Feisal rode up and down looking for a place to camp, and at last stopped on the farther side of a little open valley, the road to Yenbo. It was just north of Nakhl Mukarak village, but the houses lay so deep in the palm trees that few of them could be seen from our tents. Feisal had two tents, and he pitched them on a raised slope below some little knolls. Sharraf, who had a tent, and some of the others pitched theirs alongside. The guards put up booths and shelters, and near by our Egyptian gunners pitched their twenty tents, dressed beautifully in line, and looking very military. We stayed here for two days, most of which I spent in Feisal's company, and so I got at last a proper insight into his manner of work, at an interesting season, for the morale of his men had suffered a heavy shock, and now wild reports of the defection of the northern Harb made matters worse.

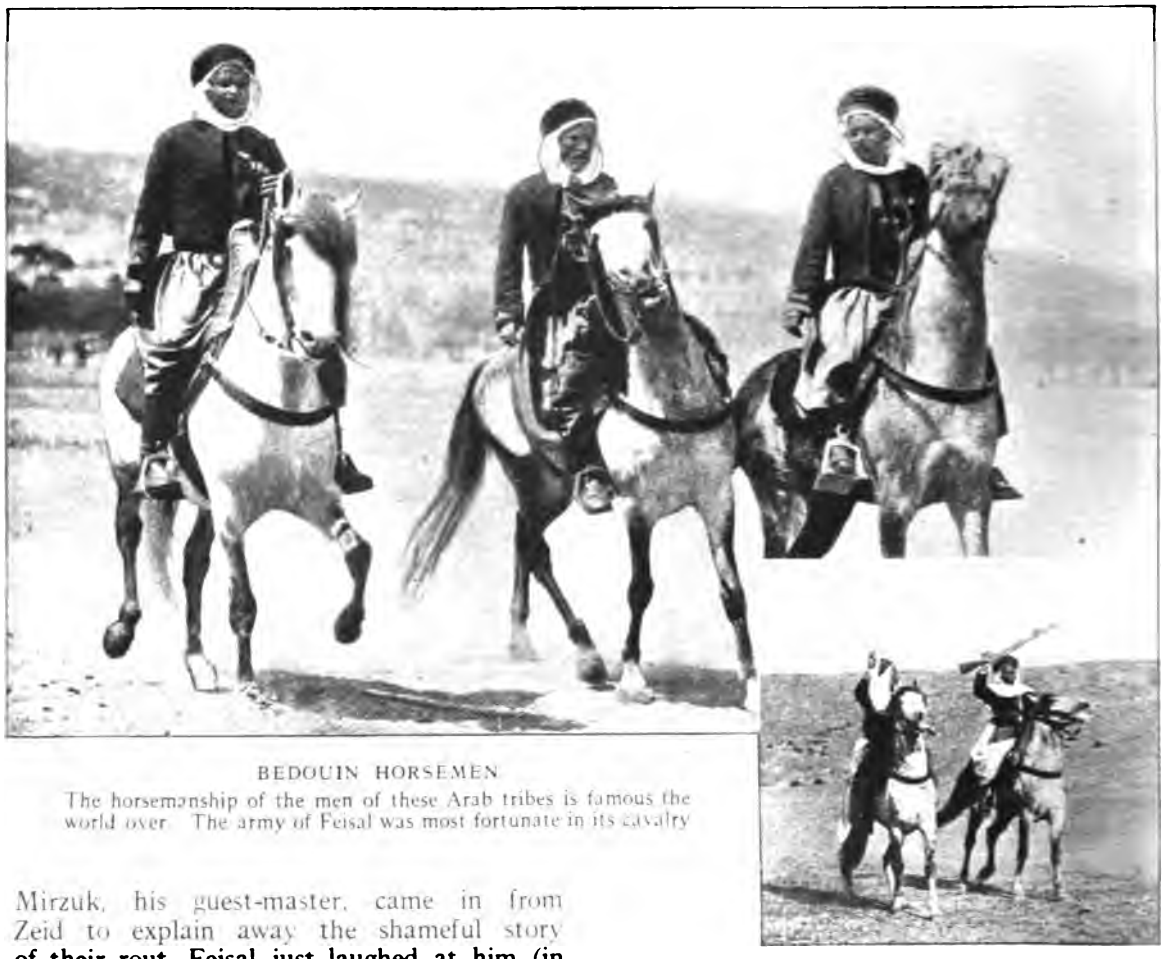
His first duty was to make up their lost spirits, and he did this by lending some of his own to every one within reach. He was accessible to any man who stood outside his tent and waited for notice: and I never saw him cut a petition short. He listened to every case, and if he did not settle it himself, called for Sharraf or Faiz to deal with it for him. His extreme patience was a lesson to me on what headship in Arabia meant.

His self-control seemed equally great. When

Courtesy *Asia* Magazine and Lowell Thomas

COLONEL LAWRENCE

The author of this article. Going to Arabia first as an English archæologist he learned their language and customs so that when the war came he was able to become the soul and brains of their successful struggle against the Turks



BEDOUIN HORSEMEN

The horsemanship of the men of these Arab tribes is famous the world over. The army of Feisal was most fortunate in its cavalry

Mirzuk, his guest-master, came in from Zeid to explain away the shameful story of their rout, Feisal just laughed at him (in public), and sent him aside to wait, while he saw the sheikhs of the Harb and the Ageyl, who had been really responsible by their carelessness for our surprise and disaster. He rallied them gently, chaffing them for having done this or that, for having inflicted such losses, or lost so much. Then he called back Mirzuk and lowered the tent-flap, a sign that there was private business to be done. I feared recriminations, but Feisal made room for him on his carpet and said: "Now tell us some more *Nights* and marvels of your battle. Amuse us;" and Mirzuk falling into the spirit of the thing (he was a very good-looking, clever fellow, a little too sharp-featured) began in his broad Ateibi twang to draw up word-pictures of Zeid in flight, and of the terror of Abdulla el Thawab, and of how Shereef Hussein el Harith lost his coffee-pots.

Feisal in speaking has a rich musical voice, and uses it carefully in addressing his men. To them he talked in the ordinary tribal dialect, but with a curious hesitant manner, as though faltering painfully among the phrases, looking inward to his mind for the just word. His thought moves perhaps only by a little in front of his speech. The phrases at last chosen are usually the simplest, which gave him an air of emotional sincerity. It seems possible, through the thin screen of words, to see a pure and very brave spirit shining. At other times he was full of humor, the invariable magnet of Arab good-will. He spoke one night to the Rifai sheikhs, when he sent them forward to occupy the plain this side of Fagir, a tangled country of acacia and tamarisk thickets. He told them quietly that the Turks were coming on, and that it was their duty to hold them up and give God the credit of their victory. He added that this would become impossible, if they went to sleep. The older men, and in Arabia elders are esteemed above youths, broke out into delighted speech,

THE PORT OF EL WIJH

The Arabian kingdom of the Hedjaz has a long coast line, the entire length of the Red Sea, but few ports. The illustration shows the flat tops of houses in a land where the sun seldom shines

STREET SCENE IN JIDDA

Jidda is the port of Mecca. Located about half way down the Red Sea it has been the port of entry for Mohammedan pilgrims to the sacred city

SUNDOWN WITH THE ARAB ARMY OF INDEPENDENCE
An extraordinary sight is afforded when the Arabian army goes into camp and the faithful camels kneel down to rest. Colonel Lawrence and the Emir Feisal were accompanied in their campaigns by 30,000 camels

and after saying that God would give him a victory, and then two victories, prayed that his life might be prolonged, to enable him to accumulate an unprecedented number of victories. Better than this they kept an excellent watch all night.

The routine of our life there in camp was simple. Just before daybreak the army *Imam* used to climb to the top of a little hill in front of the sleeping forces, and there utter an astounding call to prayer. His voice was hard and very powerful, and the hill seemed to act like a sounding-board, throwing echoes of his call everywhere in the valleys. We were effectually roused by him, whether we prayed or not; and most of us did not. As soon as his cry ended Feisal's own private *Imam* called gently and musically from just outside the tent. A few minutes later one of Feisal's five slaves (all freed men, but refusing discharge till it was their own pleasure, for it is good and profitable to be my lord's servant) came round to Sharraf and myself with a cup of sweetened coffee for each of us. Sugar is considered fitting in the first cup of coffee during the chill of dawn.

An hour or so later the flap of Feisal's sleeping tent would be thrown back, an invitation to us to go and call on him. There would be four or five present, and after the morning's news a tray of breakfast would be carried in. The staple in Wadi Yenbo was dates, but sometimes Feisal's Circassian great-aunt would send him a box of her famous spiced cakes from Mecca, and sometimes Hejris, his body-slave would give us odd biscuits and cereals of his own composition. After breakfast would come bitter coffee and sweet tea, in alternation, while Feisal's correspondence was answered by dictation to his private secretaries, one of whom was the adventurous Faiz, and the other the *Imam*, a sad-looking person, conspicuous

THE OASIS

A few palm trees in a hollow are more important than roads in Arabia. The photograph shows the camp of the Emir Feisal and some of his soldiers near an oasis

in the army for the great umbrella hanging to his saddle bow. Occasionally someone important was received in private audience at this hour, but very seldom, for this was Feisal's private tent and kept as such. It was an ordinary bell tent, furnished with a box of cigarettes, a camp bed, a fairly good Kurd rug, a poor Shirazi, and the delightful old Baluch prayer carpet that he used himself.

At about eight o'clock Feisal would buckle on his ceremonial dagger and walk across to his reception tent, which was floored with two horrible *Kilims*. We walked after him, the slaves brought up the rear, and clustered round the open walls of the tent to control the suppliants. Feisal would sit down at the end facing the opening, and we with our backs against the wall, in a semicircle out from him. The callers used to squat or lie down on the sand at the tent-mouth, and in circles beyond, waiting their turn. If any case was urgent it was whispered in a slave's ear, and the slave would tell Sharraf or another, who would hand it on to the Emir if he thought fit. Few cases were referred back; none postponed. If possible all business was got through by noon.

We then reassembled in the living tent, and Hejris and Salem used to carry in the luncheon tray, on which would be as many dishes as they could invent in their circumstances. Feisal is an inordinate smoker but a very light eater,

BEDOUIN IRREGULARS GATHERING FOR A MARCH

A RESIDENCE IN JIDDA
Arabian architecture is very distinctive. It is typified by dry mud, fancy scrolls, and great age

and he used to play about with the beans or lentils, rice, spinach, and cakes till he judged that we had had enough. He would then wave the food away, and the slaves would pour water for our fingers at the tent door. Fat men, like Mohammed ibn Shefia, made a comic grievance of the Emir's quick and delicate meals, and used to have food of their own prepared in their places when they came away from his dish. After lunch we would talk for a few minutes, while coffee and green tea re-appeared. Then till two o'clock the curtain of the living tent would be let down; Feisal was sleeping, reading, or doing private business. In the afternoon he would sit again in the reception tent till he had finished with all who wanted to speak with him. I never saw an Arab leave him dissatisfied or hurt, a testimony to his tact and memory, for he seemed never at a loss for words or mistaken over a personality.

If there was time after the second audience he would take a walk with his friends, talking about horses and camels, or the names and features of the country about him. The sunset prayer was sometimes public, though Feisal was not outwardly very pious. If there was prayer the *Imam* led it. After dark he returned to his living tent, and saw people individually, planning the reconnaissances and patrols of the night, for most of the fighting was done in the darkness, and for the last six months the enemy had always been only a few miles away.

Between six and seven they would bring in the evening meal, to which all present in headquarters were bidden by the slaves. It resembled the luncheon, except that many cubical fragments of boiled mutton were sorted through the rice, which was its mainstay.

This meal was the last incident of the day, except for the coffee and green tea at intervals till bed-time. Feisal did not sleep till very late, and never showed any wish to hasten our going. In the evening he relaxed, and so far as possible work then was forbidden. He would send out for some local sheikh, to tell him stories of the district, and histories of the tribe and its connections; or else the tribal poets would sing of their wars, long traditional epics, with stock epithets, stock descriptions, stock incidents grafted afresh on the efforts and feelings of the men of each generation. Feisal is a master of Arabic poetry, he would often provoke recitation, and reward the best verses of the night.

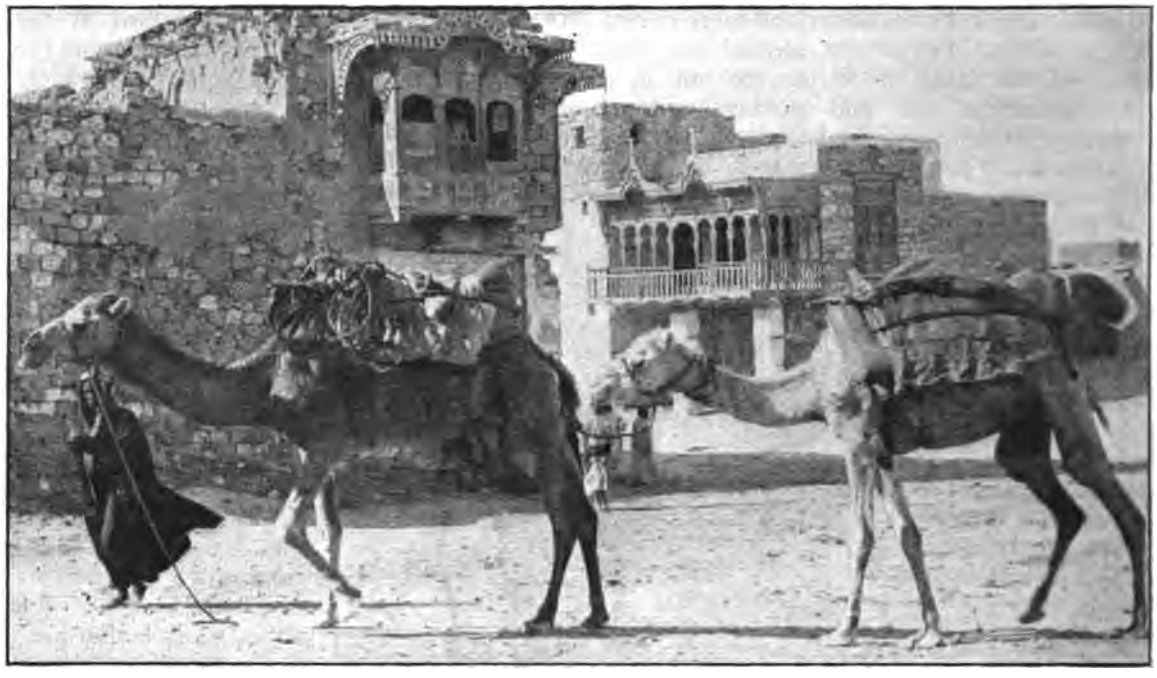
Feisal asked me if I would consent to wear Arab clothes like his own while in the camp. I would find it better for my own part, since it was more comfortable when living Arab fashion, as we were. Moreover, the tribesmen would then understand how to take me. Hitherto the only wearers of khaki in their experience had been Turkish officers, and before them they took up an attitude of instinctive defence. If I wore Meccan clothes, like him or like Sharraf, they would behave to me as though I were one of the leaders, to my very great advantage. Also I could then slip in and out of his tent without making a sensation that had to be explained away each time to newcomers. I agreed at once, gladly, for uniform clothes are abominable when riding a camel or sitting about on the ground, and the Arab things, which I had grown accustomed

to before the war are cleaner and more decent in the desert. Hejris was pleased too, and exercised his fancy in fitting me out in a splendid white silk and gold-embroidered wedding garment, which had been sent to Feisal (was it a hint?) from his family in Mecca. I took a stroll round the villages of Mubarak and Bruka, in the newness of these robes to re-learn their precise management, because one walks quite differently in skirts and sandals than in khaki.

Feisal's defence in Wadi Yenbo would be only a pause, in the nature of things, and it seemed best that I should return to Yenbo to think seriously about an amphibious defence scheme for its port. The British navy had promised every assistance, and we agreed that I should summon it, and arrange for shore coöperation with Zeid, as I saw fit. Feisal gave me a magnificent bay camel to take me back. We marched by a new road, Wadi Messarih, because there was a scare that Turkish patrols were on the Agida road. Bedr ibn Shefia was with me, and we did the journey easily in a single stage of six hours, arriving in Yenbo before dawn. As I had been up and about for three strenuous days, I went straight to our empty house and fell asleep on a bench. Two hours later I was called out by the news that Zeid was coming, and went down to the gate to see the beaten force ride in. There were about eight hundred of them, quiet but in no way mortified by their shame. Zeid himself seemed fairly indifferent. As he entered the town he turned and cried to Abd el Kader, the governor, "Why your town is in ruins. I will telegraph to my father for forty masons to repair the public buildings." . . . And this he actually did. I telegraphed at the same time to Captain Boyle (commanding the Red Sea fleet), saying that Yenbo was gravely threatened, and he at once replied that his ships would concentrate on it. This was a consolation, for worse news came next day. The Turks had thrown a strong force forward from Bir Said against Nakhl Mubarak, and had caught Feisal's levies while they were still unsteady. There had been a short fight, and Feisal had broken off and was retreating here. This was uncommonly near a disaster. I took my camera and from the parapet of the Medina gate got a fine photograph of them all coming in together. Feisal had nearly two thousand men with him, but none of the Juheina tribesmen. It looked like treachery, a real defection of the tribes, which both of us had thought impossible.

FOR INDEPENDENCE
The fine horses and riders of Arabia contributed greatly to the success of the war against the Turks, but actually Colonel Lawrence found camels more useful

I called at once at his house and he told me the history. The Turks had come forward with three battalions and many mounted men. They had got across Wadi Yenbo into Bruka village, thus threatening his communications with Yenbo. They had also been able to get their seven guns into action against him. Feisal threw out the Juheina on his left, to cut in between the Turks and Bir Said, down the bed of the great valley. His centre he had kept in Nakhl Mubarak, and he had put the Egyptian guns into Jebel Agida to keep the Turks out of it. Then he had opened fire with his two fifteen-pounders on the Turkish position. Rasim, a Syrian officer once in the Turkish army, was directing these two guns, and he made a great demonstration. They had been sent down from Egypt as a gift (like the sixty thousand rifles supplied the Shereef's army



STREET SCENE IN YENBO
A port on the Red Sea which was captured from the Turks by Colonel Lawrence and his Bedouins who swept down from the land side while British ships shelled the town from the sea

they were the worn or defective relics of the Gallipoli campaign), and so Rasim had no sights, no range-finders, no range tables, no high explosive. His distance may have been six thousand yards, but his fuses were of early period, full of green mould and if they burst it was sometimes soon after leaving the gun, and sometimes long afterward as they lay on the ground. As he had no means of getting any of his ammunition carried off if things went wrong, he blazed away merrily, laughing at this fashion of making war: and the Bedouins, seeing the commandant so pleased, took heart.

Things had been going well, and Feisal had hopes of a decisive success when suddenly his left wing, which was doing the envelopment in the valley, halted, and began to waver. Finally they turned their backs on the enemy, and returned tumultuously to their camping ground behind the centre. Feisal had been with the centre; he saw the movement, galloped back to Rasim and cried to him that the Juheina had broken, and he was to save the guns.

As I was listening to Feisal's story, and cursing the recreant Juheina chiefs, there was a stir about the door, and Abd el Kerim, the second of them, broke through the slaves, came up to the dais, kissed Feisal's head rope in salutation, and sat down beside us. Feisal looked really astonished, and said "How?" Abd el Kerim explained how cast down they were when Feisal fled, and how he and his brother had fought the Turks for another night alone and without artillery, till the palm groves became untenable, and they too had been driven through Jebel Agida and had made for Yenbo, the next watering-place. His brother and half the manhood of the tribe were just entering the gate. The other half had fallen back up the valley toward Kheif.

"And why did you retire to the camping ground behind us during the battle?" asked Feisal.

"Only to make ourselves a cup of coffee," said Abd el Kerim, "we had fought from sunrise, and it was dusk, and we were very tired and thirsty."

Feisal and I lay back and cried with laughter for the first and only time in the campaign, and then went out to see what could be done to repair our muddles, and to save this all-important base from the enemy attack.

Colonel Lawrence will tell more Arabian adventures in the August number

DEEP-SEA MYSTERIES

Life and Phenomena of the Ocean and Their Importance to Us

By H. S. H. THE PRINCE OF MONACO

The Alexander Agassiz gold medal has been recently awarded to His Serene Highness the Prince of Monaco in recognition of thirty-five years in the active prosecution of oceanographic work. He has explored in detail the eastern North Atlantic from the Canary Islands as far as Spitzbergen. In connection with his investigations His Highness has founded and endowed the Institute of Oceanography at Paris, which includes the Oceanographic Museum at Monaco. Furthermore, he supports a number of scientific publications including his special memoirs, considered among the most magnificent of scientific publications, in which are given the results of his own expeditions.—THE EDITORS.

THE more science has unfolded the field of the ocean before my eyes, the more it strengthened my belief in the rising of a new philosophy, reserving for our successors an enlarged view of the connections in the living world. The more our judgment compares the conditions of ocean life with those of air life, the surer we feel that the main forces of the higher organisms have found in the sea an original power, the source of formulas out of which the human brain gradually evolved.

The sea-palace overlooking Monaco and the ages of ignorance, daily grows richer with the spoils which my co-workers and I have gathered at every depth and on every bottom of the sea, wherever they were waiting till a new spirit in humanity should enquire of them what they could reveal concerning the origin of the world. For there are few branches of the field of terrestrial knowledge whose study cannot be extended to the sphere of the sea, so that the Oceanographical Institute and Museum have gradually come to be visited by workers of every description, urged by the notion that the ocean possesses an enormous stock of the elements which have shaped, and the forces that rule, our planet.

The time is now come for considering throughout the world the great problems of the ocean, which humanity should approach with the best of its instruments, for the ocean will more speedily secure for men the progress which will conquer barbarity, powerful though it still is in the very roots of civilization. That time has been kept back by the assault launched by criminals whose ambition was to restore in the world this right of Might which always does away with the right of Conscience. And we now see the intellectual world, the sustaining power of the achievement of civilization, crippled by the filth and blood and ruin which the demons or the demented of Central Europe have shed over the promise of ages.

After exploring for five and twenty years all the levels of the North Atlantic Ocean, from the tropical to the polar regions, in order chiefly to enlarge the knowledge of zoölogical and physical oceanography, I was more particularly entering on such studies as concern physiology, when the World War came and upset the lives of all workers. Eight years were wasted for the activities of those men who primarily care about the interests of humanity.

Yet such is to-day the power of human thought, that in the whole course of the war my

IN PURSUIT OF A WHALE
The Prince of Monaco aiming a harpoon gun at a whale off Gibraltar. He is standing in the dory of his yacht, the *Princesse Alice*

oceanographical laboratories never desisted completely from their appointed task; and I was gratified with the sight of two hundred thousand boys of the American Army visiting the Museum at Monaco while staying on our sunny shore, either to heal their wounds or to improve their strength.

When I gave more prominence in my scientific campaigns to physiology, I enjoyed the coöperation of such noted scientists as Charles Richet and Portier, or a few younger men who thus prepared for their future. Joubin and Bouvier had so far visited with me the awful spaces of the ocean, which almost daily yielded tons of beings unknown to science: abyssal Cephalopoda or pelagic Crustacea. Buchanan and Thoulet, those veterans of the early great labors about the sea, have been for thirty years closely connected with my investigations. And Doctor Richard, Director of the Oceanographical Museum at Monaco, the faithful fellow-laborer in all my voyages, and, consequently, of all oceanographers, the best versed in our science as a whole, carries in him a spirit akin to the forces which have led me on for thirty-five years.

Owing to his clever conceptions, and Commandant Bouree's, there have been of late years made available for me large nets with extremely small meshes, with which I have explored the intermediate depths of the ocean, from the surface down to more than five thousand meters. Moreover it has, in some instances, been possible, by means of a special bathometer attached to the net, to ascertain at about which level the catch has taken place.

It was known for a long time that there existed, between the great depths and the surface of the seas, a fauna consisting of many species and wearing a unique aspect, a sample of which singular world is sometimes found floating as a corpse, in very early morning, before the seabirds have picked up these remnants of nightly struggles for life. But, after the improvements in our operations, unexpected facts were

gradually brought to light and confirmed by other oceanographers. And it was only in 1912 that I obtained, by turning to account the bathometer above mentioned, which had been manufactured in Germany with great difficulty, the true curve of the levels through which the net had sunk in one operation.

Shortly after, I was able to make a net whose opening and closing could be controlled on board the ship; and such improvements enabled us to establish, by means of operations carried out by day and by night, at various depths, that there exists in those vast spaces a whole bathypelagic world undergoing vertical oscillations by which some individuals are dragged up from the low levels where they live to within fifty meters of the surface, the process only occurring at night. Consequently, we now find about midnight, quite close to the surface, strange animals which we formerly, when operating in broad daylight, had to seek through most elaborate means at several thousand meters' depth. We have also found that such animals as are able to undergo that enormous displacing more frequently belong to the species provided with luminous organs.

AFTER A HUNT IN RUSSIA

The Prince is an all-round sportsman. He is here shown standing beside an aurochs, or European bison, which he has killed

Of the great researches to which I have applied myself for more than a quarter of a century, in order to throw light on the problems concerning the science of the sea, I will mention here my investigation of the currents in the North Atlantic Ocean. Those motions of the sea-waters, so varied and at times so extensive, which are chiefly commanded by meteorological influences, in their turn exercise considerable influence over life in the seas, through the distribution of planktons, which are a mass of alimental substance consisting of the whole of an extremely minute fauna that is unable to direct itself among the sea-forces.

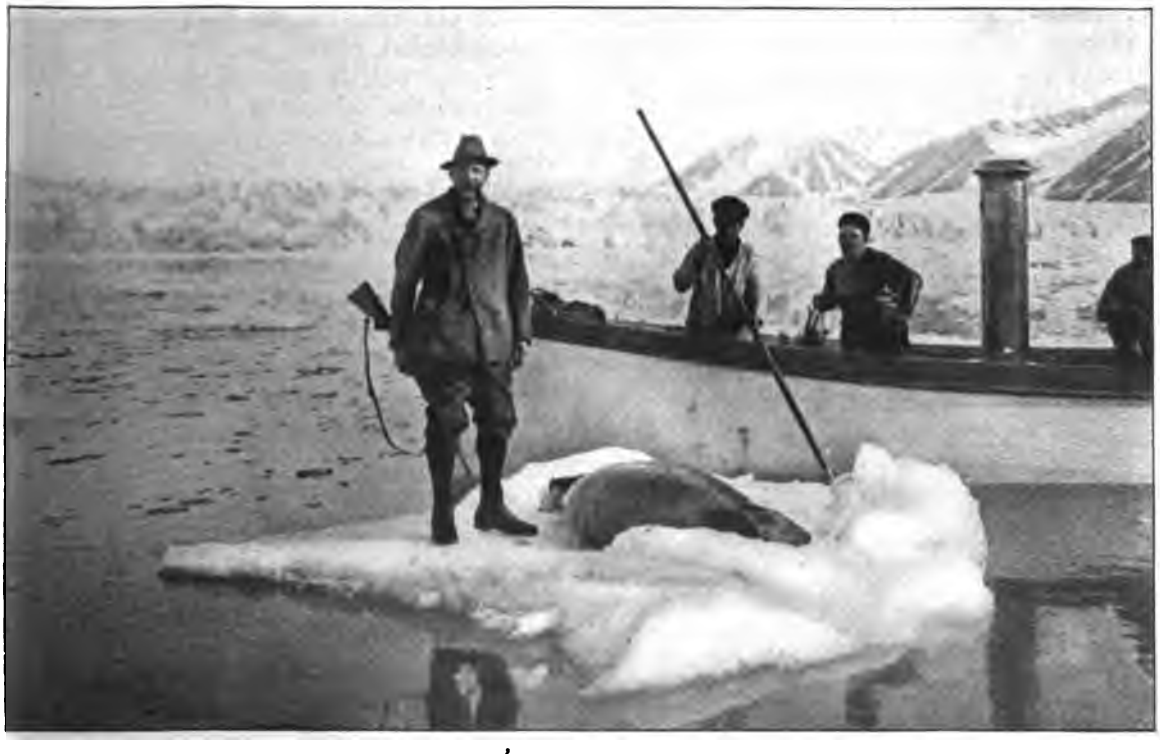
The plankton, a reduction of the animal and plant forms of the sea-world, is consequently swept about by currents over special regions of the sea and followed by troops of stronger animals that feed on it and are themselves fed upon by a yet mightier fauna. So it comes about that there has been established in the living sea-world, from the plankton masses to the biggest Cetacea, a large cycle wherein we see life constantly arising out of death, amid the waters striving for their balance. Currents thus exercise supreme influence over the shoals of sardine or herring, as well as a good many others which they supply with food under such conditions. Once, upon examining the stomach of one of those fish, we estimated the number of Peridiniidæ lying there to be twenty million.

Out of the *ensemble* of the facts, I see convincing grounds arise for regarding the sea as the cradle of life. Looming on the horizon of human knowledge, I descry the string of the species sprung from one another in their meetings, as they are distributed between surface and bottom. And while I compare that world, remaining a homogeneous one through the ages, with those more distinct animals, held on one plane on the earth's surface, as though they had fled from the ocean, it seems to me that their slower evolution leads the whole of this terrestrial fauna to speedier disappearance, owing to the unstable light environment in which a few groups, the Pinnipedia [seals, sea lions, etc.], cetaceous mammalia [whales, porpoises, etc.], for instance, have not been able to gain even the

AT THE BOW OAR
His Highness takes a spell at rowing, while he pursues grampus in his dory

SPEARING A FISH
From the dory of the *Princesse Alice* the Prince has just speared a spiny fish

HUNTING IN THE ARCTIC
The Prince has hunted and explored from the Canary Islands as far as Spitzbergen



IN KING'S BAY, SPITZBERGEN
During Arctic expeditions the Prince of Monaco has found much diversion in hunting seals

AN ARCTIC COAST
From his launch the Prince of Monaco takes a shot at game along the coast

requisite fitness and have remained half and half, with imperfect means of breathing and locomotion.

Having for a score of years observed the currents of the North Atlantic Ocean, by means of large-scale experiments based on organized floating, I was, when the war broke out, prepared for the research to find what becomes of the wandering mines drifting from the mine-fields which were placed near the coasts of both continents. I took up the formulas that I had used during my earlier investigations and which enabled me to draw a chart of the great currents sweeping along or connecting Europe and America. I was then able to present the navigators on the North Atlantic Ocean with a very accurate chart of the course followed by those formidable engines. On it one can see an immense cycle, whose centre is held by the Azores, described by the mines in a period of about four years, such being the space of time for their completing the voyage from the English Channel to the Canaries and the West Indies, and back.

My calculations for this work are accurate, with respect to the direction and the velocity of the currents, for the hydrographical and meteorological officers on both sides of the ocean observed the passing by or meeting of mines in the manner I had announced to navigators, while pointing out as well the most dangerous areas and the safest routes. The two sets of results confirm each other mutually after thirty-five years' interval.

THE KING OF SPAIN
The guest of the Prince of Monaco on the latter's yacht

FISHING FROM A RAFT
The Prince of Monaco has fished in many ways and in many places

The orientation of animals in their relation to the sea presents some highly interesting phenomena which I want to explain here.

One of my operations, carried out about 1500 meters deep with a large pot, brought up not only very big "Geryon" crabs, which had been caught inside, but a number of the same clinging to the outside; thus I witnessed the perplexity the latter must have been in through want of resolution when the pot was just leaving the bottom. They were merely crawlers, unable to swim, which a sudden separation from the bottom whereon the apparatus was lying prevented from being resolute enough to drop back to their environment by simply falling down the very small height which kept them above it at first. They allowed themselves to be lifted a height of 1,500 meters up to the surface, despite the inconvenience they must have felt, owing to the change in temperature and the decrease in pressure, and they were found to be thoroughly alive.

Another time, in the Mediterranean, between Corsica and France, I met with a big whale which was apparently repairing to a determined goal, and accompanied it with my ship the *Princesse Alice*, keeping close to its flank. For six hours it kept the same compass-route, without deviating from it more than two or three degrees; covering about forty kilometers without a deviation, although there was no visible object to guide it. Moreover its divings and surface breath-

A CONFERENCE
The captain of the *Princesse Alice* explains his route

THE DEEP-SEA NET
The scientific staff of one of the Prince of Monaco's expeditions are shown watching to see what wonders the net is bringing forth

ings, as measured with a chronometer, showed no marked differences: ten minutes under water alternating with six to eight breathings.

Lastly, as to terrestrial birds, which fly over the sea in their migrations, I have found certain facts showing that the birds completely lack orientation under definite circumstances, as when they have swerved from their northward or southward route, while on their longitude there exists no more land in either of these directions. Then, the migratory birds swept by some storm away from continental Europe, at length drop down to the sea, missing the instinct which would help them to find the lands that sometimes lie a short distance eastward.

On the other hand, those which in their chance-guided endeavors have been so lucky as to reach the Azores, never left them again. Several of these islands are therefore inhabited with woodcock and quail and wood-pigeons, which never leave them; and there can be visited at São Miguel de Ponta Delgada a large collection of species captured under these circumstances.

With regard to phenomena relating to light, Messrs. Bertel and Grein have pursued very important researches at the Monaco Oceanographical Museum, concerning the penetration of the various light radiations into the depth of sea-water. Mr. Grein in particular has succeeded in gaining a photographic print on highly sensitive plates exposed 1,500 meters deep.

But there is still one question of biology that offers a very great deal of interest. On my ship, Dr. Charles Richet, assisted by Doctor Portier, brought to light the following facts:

The tentacles of certain marine animals like Physalia provoke by simple contact local irritation and hypæsthesia. By injecting the extracts from these tentacles into a dog, a pigeon, and so on, these animals are plunged into a state of conscious semi-narcosis more or less prolonged, during which they remain absolutely insensible to pain. Richet and Portier have named this benumbing substance "hypnotoxine."

In experimenting with extracts from the tentacles of certain sea-anemones, Richet and

Portier found that dogs, after having received one injection, became exceedingly susceptible to the action of a second dose. These dogs could be killed by a quantity representing only a fraction of the dose that would be fatal to a dog not previously treated. They gave the name "anaphylaxis" to this state of abnormal sensitiveness of a subject to the action of certain substances, which might be foreign albumins of any kind, animal or vegetable. For example: the blood-serum of an animal of a different species; egg-albumen; substances usually harmless, like milk; the extracts of various organs, bacteria or the extracts from bacteria (bacterial proteins), etc.

THERAPEUTIC RESEARCH

FOR example, a small amount of serum from the horse, even one hundredth of a cubic centimeter, is injected into a guinea-pig, the animal is rendered hypersensitive to horse serum. This hypersensitiveness goes completely unnoticed unless after a certain lapse of time the guinea-pig is again inoculated with serum from the horse; under these conditions the anaphylactic state reveals itself by a condition of "shock," with grave symptoms and sometimes even death in a few minutes.

There was at first considerable surprise and incredulity because scientists had always before been accustomed to regard the reaction of immunization or of diminution of sensitiveness as the appropriate response of an organism to the injection of foreign substances. It was therefore astonishing that exactly the opposite phenomenon could result. Thus the laws of immunity were completely upset.

Though but a few years have passed since the condition of anaphylaxis was studied for the first time, it has now become one of the subjects which have brought forth the most works in the domain of immunity. The amount of research carried out upon anaphylaxis is enormous, and every day its literature increases. This is a study of the highest importance for those who study immunity not alone on account of its practical application in serum therapy but because it mysteriously enfolds within its depths the secret of many deep-seated questions relating to mankind; also because the researches already performed upon the phenomena and anaphylaxis give great hopes for the elucidation of these questions, and for the discovery of a method of rendering the human body insusceptible.

Among the parts which contribute to the harmony of our terrestrial sphere, we should observe the rôle played by the marine plants, as intermediaries frequently between the living and the lifeless realms of our planet. While on the one hand, they furnish for many organisms both protection and nourishment, still another important function falls to their lot: they fix certain mineral substances which are more or less abundant in the bosom of the ocean, and deliver them up for exploitation by human activity. Thus it would be eminently fitting to conserve and to cultivate these products of the sea which are to-day our auxiliaries in obtaining iodine, bromine, chloride of sodium, and the salts of potassium, magnesium, lime, iron, and manganese. Unfortunately in some places they are already the victims of waste. Finding himself in the presence of wealth, one might say, man loses completely the idea of providence. He seems then to suffer from a vertigo which drags him to the radical destruction of things, for there is no gift of nature that can survive the ill-considered enterprises of human industry.

Paul Gloess has said: "It is in the marine plants that we find, and shall always find with more certainty than elsewhere, that which thus far in our carelessness we have neglected to ask of them or which in our extravagance we have squandered. . . . The fertile soil of the earth is constantly becoming poorer, at the same time that the nourishing fluid of the sea is growing richer and richer."

All these data are valuable for the study of the beings living at various depth-levels in the ocean.

HOW SEA-PLANES CAN HELP FISHERMEN

A PROFESSOR at my Oceanographical Institute, Monsieur Joubin, has lately suggested the use of sea-planes to help deep-sea fishermen, by guiding them toward the shoals of the fish they are seeking, while the latter in their turn are pursuing large shoals of such Crustacea as serve them for food. For instance, it has been found that the Germon (the blue tunny in the Bay of Biscay) is plentiful in the places held by certain red-colored amphipodous Crustacea (Euthemisto) on which the Germon feeds. Sea-planes would have no difficulty in signalling to fishermen those red fields which distinctly mark off certain spaces in the sea, and move about as they are swept by the currents. Again, they

could signal the presence of various other shoals, recognizable by different signs.

Thanks to this assistance, fishermen might save time and much undue wear of their nets.

The destructive effects of fishing are getting greater and greater in the seas where more and more powerful and numerous tools are used, such as steam trawlers. The latter now graze the very soil of continental plateaux, plucking off the seaweeds and ruining the bottoms that are fittest for the breeding as well as the preservation of a great many species. So much so that in a few years' time, the means for the maintenance of hundreds of thousands of fishermen and their families, on the coasts of Europe, will have disappeared.

The trawlers steadily work farther and farther, deeper and deeper, in ever-increasing numbers; and wherever their devastation is possible a waste is carried which certainly exceeds 50 per cent. of the eatable produce they seek. For we must include in this summary valuation the young which the drag-net maims and kills as it passes, and those that reach the ship in such condition that they are useless and uncarriable in some cases. Near the Arguin bank, on the west African coast, a still intenser waste is intimated, which is owing to merely commercial reasons.

THE EVIL OF WASTING RESOURCES

IN ORDER to check this evil, I suggest the meeting of international conferences possessing the most drastic powers to enforce the decisions that are to be come to. I would recommend the adoption of the reserved-district principle, which has always been very efficient for the preservation of wild terrestrial species because it rests on logic and simplicity. Besides, it is now showing its value in such parts of the sea where the war has been raging, and fishing was held up for a few years; as soon as it was resumed, plenty of fish have been found, some specimens of a size unheard of for thirty years.

I have included within the domain of oceanography, for the present at least, the study of phenomena observed in the upper atmosphere floating over the oceans. That these expanses receive from the sea the principal elements of their activity seems evident when one remembers the effects of evaporation on an immense scale, and of the winds which sweep continually over the surface of the waters.

Only with a great deal of difficulty have we succeeded in obtaining observations on the speed and direction of the wind, the temperature and humidity of the air up to altitudes of 25,000 metres; and during several years pursued, by means of aluminum instruments weighing very little, the delicate experiments which these researches entail. In the construction of these instruments Professor Hergesell, who accompanied me, had participated. Just as the Americans, Edy and Rotch, had already done, I at first entrusted my instruments to kites which carried them up to 4,500 meters. But soon I abandoned this means and adopted a new one which, on land, furnished satisfactory results to the French investigators, Hermite and Bezançon. This was an arrangement of two linked balloons, unequally inflated, of which the one less inflated carried the instruments. On reaching a certain height the better-filled balloon would be burst by the expansion of the gas it contained, whereupon the second, not sufficient alone to carry the weight of the instruments, descended toward the surface of the sea. I was able to make such apparatus reach an altitude of 14,000 meters.

The most serious difficulty presented in these operations was always that of recovering the balloon that carried the instruments, after its descent to the sea, since the point of its fall was sometimes from fifty to a hundred miles distant from that of its ascent, and in a direction quite different from what the wind at lower levels would indicate. Moreover, the whole apparatus, though followed by the ship, and located repeatedly as long as it remained visible, would finally disappear without our being able subsequently to judge the effect of the wind that carried it.

A DEVICE FOR RECOVERING BALLOONS

ON BOARD the *Princesse Alice II* we solved this problem by special calculations which allowed us to mark on a map, as soon as the balloon had disappeared from view, an approximate point toward which to direct the course, in order to recover it without fail. Thanks to an ingenious idea of Professor Hergesell, this balloon, left to itself, remains floating with its instruments at a height of fifty meters above the water, its lifting power being recovered through a weight suspended beneath, which has only to touch the surface.

By using much smaller balloons, of about

a meter in diameter, carrying no instruments, but the movements of which were measured with the theodolite as long as it was possible to observe them, we succeeded in Arctic regions in determining the velocity and direction of the wind in the upper layers of the atmosphere, even up to 25,000 meters, as before mentioned. Then our balloon was at eighty kilometers from us in a straight line, and that such a visibility is possible results from the limpid Arctic atmosphere, free of dust and water-vapor.

This same limpidity permitted me one day to follow easily all the actions of four men whom I had sent on a mission to a snow-field situated at forty kilometers distance, toward the interior of Spitzbergen.

To-day, therefore, I can release in the open ocean a 2- or 3-meter balloon, furnished with instruments, and can find it mathematically after it has made a long journey in a direction of which we otherwise must have remained totally ignorant.

THE BATHYMETRIC CHART

I SHALL close my inspection of the mighty domain created by the science of oceanography in speaking of the bathymetric chart of all the seas of the globe, the preparation of which I undertook at the time of the International Congress at Berlin in 1899. I realized then that this task was necessary as a base and a programme for the great work to which I have consecrated my life. To Commandant Bouree I entrusted the direction of this enterprise, and it is already evident to-day how imperative it is. All the hydrographic and oceanographic centres of the world have appreciated this fact and are now sending me abundant data bearing on the subject.

This chart on twenty-four sheets, and of a scale 1 to 1,000,000, measures, without its separate polar circles, 2 meters 40 cm. by 4 meters. The isobathic lines are those of 200, 500, 1,000, 2,000 meters, and so on. The surfaces contained between succeeding contours are colored in blues becoming progressively deeper in shade. The oceanic regions of which the depth still remains unknown are immediately disclosed.

TAKING SOUNDINGS BY ECHO

IF WE had no more rapid system for taking soundings than that which requires each time the stopping of the ship to send a lead to the bottom, many years would still be required for the completion of such a task; but the method of M. Marti, a hydrographic engineer in the French navy, will doubtless soon enable us to take lines of soundings while the ship proceeds at its usual speed.

M. Marti obtains the marking upon a very sensitive recorder of a slight explosion produced always under the same conditions. This record being repeated in like manner by the echo sent back from the submarine floor allows of a measurement of depth with greater precision than by any other procedure. The principal experiments have been carried on at the Oceanographic Museum of Monaco, and it is to be hoped that M. Marti's method of sounding will be employed everywhere. When applied to slight depths it would render great services to navigation; and as for my bathymetric chart, it would very soon be completed.

I have already told you that my life has been devoted to anthropological research as well as oceanographic studies. My conjectures on the origin of life in the sea carried with them as a necessary consequence the formation of a group of beings susceptible to the laws of evolution in such a way as to be led toward the synthetic whole that has become the human form.

Hence it was necessary to seek in the series of marine animals, either among the living or among the fossils which led the same life, whatever indications might shed light upon such a question. From what marine ancestors has come the stem of anthropoids, from which one may ask the secret of the drama in which we are now taking part?

THE VINDICATION OF SQUIER AND DEEDS

What Really Happened to the Billion Dollar Aircraft Appropriation

By JOHN K. BARNES

IN JUNE, 1917, newspaper headlines announced: "Greatest of Aerial Fleets to Crush the Teutons;" "United States to Start Making 2,000 Planes a Month." By the middle of the next year these headlines had changed to read, "America's Airplane Programme a Failure;" "Billion Dollar Waste in Aircraft Production;" "No American Fighting Planes at the Front." Following one senatorial inquiry after another came the Hughes investigation and report; and when the war ended, the public turned its attention from this new, spectacular arm of modern warfare with a bad taste in its mouth for our part in it, and with more or less suspicion concerning those who had played leading parts in the production programme.

Yet as the public turned toward other things the people close to the facts in Washington, who knew what had actually happened, spoke with more and more respect of what had been done by the Aircraft Production Board. It was in fact one of the great American achievements made all the more dramatic by the fact that the men who accomplished it were attacked by Congress, more or less abandoned by the War Department, and misunderstood by the public.

The story really begins way back in 1908 when George O. Squier, then a major in the Signal Corps, drew up the first specifications for a military airplane ever issued by any government. In September of that year Mr. Orville Wright demonstrated that he could meet these specifications by staying up in the air one hour and forty minutes. Following that successful test Major Squier declared: "This country is forced to an immediate and serious consideration of this subject in order to be prepared for any eventuality."

But, to quote General Squier again ten years later: "The outbreak of the war found the United States with but a handful of fliers and very few training planes. There was no aviation industry in this country, and the number of professional men trained as aeronautical engineers and designers was so small as to be practically negligible. In this respect the problem of developing the air programme was unique. The United States had built ships before, had manufactured clothing, guns, munitions, built cantonments, etc., and had a splendid body of men trained in these professions and employments, but, outside of a few men, there was no one in the United States with experience in the design or building of even training planes."

When the war broke out Squier, then a colonel, was Chief of the Signal Corps and as balloons were mentioned as a part of the equipment of the Signal Corps, the Air Service became part of the Signal Corps organization. Squier was given this task along with the Signal Corps work proper, which is likewise a man's task in time of war, and which incidentally, was carried out with very remarkable efficiency.

At this time the General Staff was making

tables of organization which called for a certain proportion of aircraft to infantry, artillery, etc. Squier who had been military attaché in London during the first years of the World War and who had often visited the front and studied the conditions, knew very much better than this. His picture of the situation as he expressed it to his chief of aircraft production, Colonel Deeds, was: "There is only one programme. That is made from day to day by the German army and we don't hear about it until the next day. You go figure out the biggest programme you can think of; then double it. Still you won't have enough." That was the vision General Squier injected into the aircraft work. But Squier had more than a vision: he did not merely submit a memorandum to his superiors of what he thought ought to be done, he took over the responsibility of starting its accomplishment. And this kind of initiative is also of the utmost value and is as rare as it is valuable. If at this time Squire had been willing to accept the standards which the General Staff or his superiors laid out for him, he would probably have come through personally without much criticism and with a perfect alibi, but without having really served his country. Having visualized the size of his problem, and convinced his superiors of the necessity of attacking it in this large way, his first problem was to get the money from Congress.

THE COUNTRY AROUSED

AT THAT time there was coöperating with General Squier in the Aircraft Production Board, Mr. Howard E. Coffin, vice-president of the Hudson Motor Car Company. Mr. Coffin had had unusual success in arousing the press of the country to the necessity for some industrial organization prior to our entry into the war. While the Government had done little or nothing along this line, Squier and Coffin decided to call on the press to help get the necessary money from Congress for the great aircraft programme. The press was eager to help, and immediately the country was flooded with articles on aviation. Congress was treated meantime to moving picture shows of airplanes abroad, and in record-breaking time the willing legislators voted $640,000,000 without a dissenting voice. And the appropriation not only was a record of quickness and vast in amount, but also it contained some unusual stipulations.

When General Squier asked the committee of the House for the appropriation of $640,000,000 for the Air Service, which he got on July 24, 1917, he insisted that he be given the personnel to handle the expenditure of this money. It is safe to say that if Government red-tape had not been cut and modern business methods applied to the aircraft job, it would have been impossible to handle it. Time was the most precious thing these men had to deal with. Before the appropriation was granted, and in anticipation of it, they had already started the training of men in ground schools; they had begun the buying of land and the building of flying fields; arrangements were being made for our great Liberty engine production, which involved the expenditure of vast sums by automobile manufacturers; the whole aircraft programme was under way. From the time these men at the head of it got their enormous vision of what was to be done, and before they got money from Congress to do it, they had the Government so far committed that no amount of red-tape could hold them. They cut it completely and ran the whole job. The Air Service was, in fact, a separate department of the Government during the war.

By the end of July, therefore, Squier and his board, starting with nothing, had had the rare vision to see their task in a perspective which was adequate until the end of the war, had had the initiative to start their programme and get the money to carry it through and also an authorization of Congress to short-cut the usual government methods of doing business. With these things done they were faced with the problem of actually building the planes. And Squier had also the task of carrying on the other activities of the Signal Corps.

The way in which General Squier mastered these two jobs was one of the great personal achievements of the war. An ordinary man would have gone down under them. It was one of those remarkable exhibitions of herculean labor to which Dr. Harry F. Keller referred, in presenting General Squier with the Franklin Medal awarded by the Franklin Institute of Philadelphia, when he asserted: "Under the stress of great national crises individuals are often stimulated to almost super-human performance, and tasks which in normal times it would require decades to accomplish, are then done, and well done, by such men in a few months or years."

General Squier himself summed up the general principles that governed him in the handling of his work. His part, as he saw it, was: "To foster individual talent, imagination, and initiative, to couple with this a high degree of coöperation, and to subject these to a not too minute direction; the whole vitalized by a supreme purpose which serves as the magic key to unlock the upper strata of the energies of men." In other words, personnel was the first consideration. This was his "victory creed."

As chief of aircraft production he chose Col. Edward A. Deeds of Dayton, Ohio, who had been highly successful in building up new businesses. Colonel Deeds had been brought to Washington by Mr. Coffin before we got into the war to serve on a munitions standards board. When the Aircraft Production Board was established at the outbreak of the war, he was made a member of that. This board's functions were purely advisory. It tried to steer a forward course amid the growing confusion in Washington and against the network of Government red-tape which it had no power to cut. One day Mr. Deeds (he was not then in service) was changing cars at York, Pa., on his way to Washington, and saw two drunken men get off the rear of a train and try to make it go by pushing it. While they were making futile efforts to start the train, a uniformed conductor came out of the station, waved his hand, and the train started. The drunken men shouted in triumph—the train pulled out without them. Mr. Deeds kept thinking of this after he got on his train. Then he realized that all the work done on the train was by men in uniform. The meals were cooked and served by men in uniform. When he wanted to go to bed, he could not even make up his own berth; that was done for him by a man in uniform. By the time he got to Washington the experience of the two drunkards had convinced him. He told the others, "We have got to get into uniform or we will be about as effective in this war as those two drunken men, and the war will go on and leave us behind."

Colonel Deeds's assistant was Col. Sidney D. Waldon, who had a first-hand knowledge of our complete unpreparedness in regard to aircraft, and possessed the ability to put down on paper, so others could visualize them, definite plans for the part we should play in this important branch of the service. There was Mr. Howard E. Coffin, a member of the Council of National Defense, who became head of the Aircraft Production Board. These, with General Squier, were the principal characters in the aircraft story at the beginning—other important ones came in later. Except for General Squier, they were all in civil life at the time we entered the war.

With this vision, organization, and spirit Squier, Deeds, Waldon, and the Aircraft Board set to work. To get some idea of the difficulties these men faced, one must not only realize the complete state of inexperience in this country regarding aircraft production, but must visualize the situation in Washington following our entrance into the war. No one in this country had ever produced a fighting plane, and very few had ever seen one equipped with all the instruments of military aviation. After our entrance into the war Colonel Waldon made a survey of the entire country and found but six minds—not plants—that he felt could be counted upon to render real assistance in solving the aircraft problem.

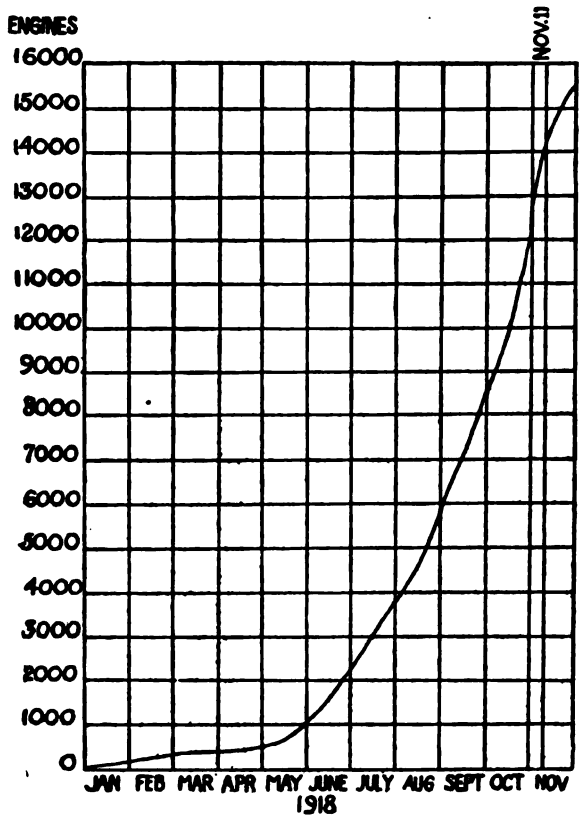
THE COMMISSION TO EUROPE

A REALIZATION of this situation lead to the important decision to send a commission to Europe to study conditions at the front and in the aircraft industry in the Allied countries. This commission was to direct our entire programme regarding service planes. It was headed by Col. R. C. Bolling and included some of our best trained aeronautical engineers. It sailed June 17, 1917. Meanwhile the representatives of the foreign engine makers had gone to leading American automobile builders with their designs, and soon these able and patriotic citizens descended on Washington with plans for making various and sundry foreign engines as their contribution toward winning the war.

That was the situation in Washington during the first months after we entered the war. To understand it fully one must realize that our contribution was to be in quantity production—the thing in which we lead the world. To produce in quantity effectively we had to settle on only a few types of planes and engines. For when it comes to the upkeep of aircraft at the front it takes a production of 80 to 90 per cent. of spare parts to maintain an airplane in military service. When there were thirty or forty types of planes and engines, as with the British and the French, confusion was

inevitable. So the Bolling mission was sent over to choose the best of these for us to put in production.

One of the chief things that was constantly urged on the Aircraft Board was that it should not experiment with a new engine but should copy proven foreign engines and start producing them in quantity. Those who urged that had no conception of the difficulties that attend the placing in production in this country by our machine tool methods—which make quantity production possible—an engine of foreign design which is largely built by hand. But the Aircraft Board knew this; they had before them the proof. The Wright-Martin Aircraft Corporation of New Brunswick, N. J., had acquired the American rights for the French Hispano-Suiza 150-horsepower engine in 1915, and started on the Americanization of this motor in January, 1916. They had a contract to produce them for the French Government. It was not until February, 1917, however, thirteen months later, after great effort and the expenditure of millions of dollars, that the first engine came through.



LIBERTY ENGINE PRODUCTION

The conception, design, and production of the Liberty engine was one of the romances of the war. Colonel Deeds conceived it, Vincent and Hall, with others, designed it, and Henry M. Leland, and others, produced it. The chart shows how production climbed. By January 1, 1919, it would have been 300 a day

But it must not be assumed that no airplane production was started in this country during those early months. Training planes were our first requirement, and the original programme called for an increasing production of these until the requirements of our training fields were met, when the output of these was to be reduced to the amount needed to replace losses and the released manufacturing capacity turned over to the production of service planes. Production of primary training planes started in June, 1917, and reached the maximum in March, 1918; production of advanced training planes started late in November, 1917, and reached its maximum in July of the next year. Failure to appreciate the great need of spare parts at this early date and difficulties in getting them later handicapped the effectiveness of this production. Up to the signing of the Armistice we had produced 7,602 training planes, and 15,450 engines for them.

It was on fighting planes, however, that public attention centred; or rather on the engines for them. No one knew anything about the building of planes, but the automobile people thought they knew a good deal about building engines. And they did; but the motors they were building for automobiles weighed ten or more pounds to the horse-power while the airplane motor needed at the front at that time must weigh about two. Our Henry M. Lelands and our Henry Fords, however, had confidence that they could build any kind of a power plant if they were told what to build, and they were anxious to be helping to win the war. This was the situation in May after we had been in the war less than two months. The Bolling commission was leaving for the front, but it would be months before it could study conditions and report back what we should do. Then there would be the inevitable delay in getting samples and drawings over here and in putting a foreign motor into production in this country. This was the confused and nebulous situation that faced the Aircraft Production Board late in May. It had the vision of what was to be done; it had the initiative to go ahead; it did

not have the money, but was counting on it, and time was more valuable than money; it had the best talent of the country eager to be set to work. It was into that situation that Colonel Deeds looked with his clear business vision and determined on the Liberty engine.

THE BIRTH OF THE LIBERTY ENGINE

THEN began that historic session in a room in the Willard Hotel in Washington at which the Liberty engine was born. It was in the afternoon of Saturday, May 29th, that Colonel Deeds took Mr. E. J. Hall, of the Hall-Scott Motor Car Company of Berkeley, Cal., and Mr. J. G. Vincent, chief engineer of the Packard Motor Car Company, to his apartment in the hotel, explained to them what was wanted, and told them, "You two are going to stay right here in this room and out of you we are going to get the design of the engine we want." The first condition, which he impressed upon them, was that there was to be nothing new or untried in the engine. "You will have to show me where everything you put in has been used and used successfully. The first one who reaches out for an original idea or an untried principle will have his hands cut off." There was no time for experiments; what Deeds wanted was an engine that he knew would run. He believed Vincent and Hall were the two best men in the country to design it. If he had known of any better he would have gotten them.

In two days the rough design had been made. Then such practical engineers as H. M. Crane, of the Wright-Martin Company, David Ferguson, of the Pierce-Arrow Company, and Fekete of the Hudson Motor Car Company, were called to Washington to go through the engine and find the "bugs" in it. From these men came some valuable suggestions regarding bearings and other matters. Then production experts were called in to see that no manufacturing difficulties were involved in the engine and to make it a machine-tool "job."

On June 4th, the Army and Navy Technical Board approved the design of the engine and authorized the construction of five each of the 8- and 12-cylinder sizes. On July 3rd, the first 8-cylinder engine was delivered in Washington. Its production within a month was made possible by the enthusiastic coöperation of some ten manufacturers, each of whom produced those parts for which he was best fitted.

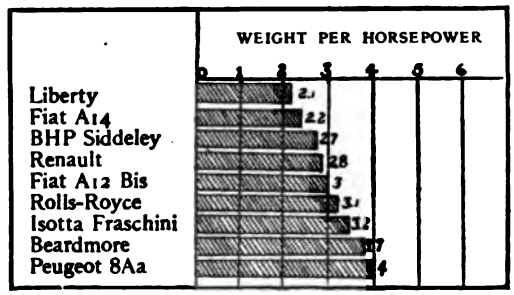
By August 25th, the first 12-cylinder engine had finished its fifty hour endurance test in about fifty-five hours elapsed time—a record breaking performance in itself to be added to the production records already made. The Liberty engine was a proved success less than three months after Colonel Deeds saw amid all the confusion of the situation the one big thing for this country to do, and immediately started doing it. Admiral Taylor, Chief of the Bureau of Construction and Repair of the Navy, who was one of the members of the Aircraft Production Board, has written, in the introduction to "Wings of War" by Theodore M. Knappen, "The entire American aviation programme centred in the conception, development, and production of the Liberty motor, and this I consider one of the outstanding achievements of the war."

Those in charge of aircraft production also started to put the Rolls-Royce engine into production here. This was generally acknowledged to be one of the best high powered engines at the front. Arrangements were made through Lord Northcliffe in the first months of the war to have Mr. Claude Johnson, managing director of the Rolls-Royce Company, come to this country with complete sets of jigs and fixtures for producing his engine in this country. Mr. Johnson promised delivery of only five hundred of these engines by July, 1918. A month earlier than that, within a year from the day when Messrs. Vincent and Hall first met and started a preliminary drawing, 1,100 12-cylinder Liberty engines had been produced. By the end of another six months the total had reached 15,000. This was because it was a machine-tool job and because such men as Henry M. Leland believed in it from the first and produced it. The maximum production of Rolls-Royce engines in England, during four and a half years of war, never exceeded seventy per week. For six weeks before the Armistice we produced 151 Liberty engines *a day*. Within sixty days, or by January 1, 1919, this would have been raised to 300 a day, in order to fill the demands of our Allies for Liberty engines. Before the signing of the Armistice our government was making fixed price contracts for Liberty engines at ten dollars a horse-power as compared with the cost of the British and French governments of more than twenty dollars per horse-power for engines manufactured in those countries.

By the signing of the Armistice we had sup-

plied our forces abroad with nearly six thousand Liberty engines, and the British and French with more than a thousand, and the quantity production of the Liberty engine—the best engine then on the front—assured our armies and those of the Allies of a large preponderance, in this important particular, over the Germans.

The production of planes was a more difficult undertaking for us than that of building engines. We had not the experience in this that we had in the motor field. The Curtiss plant at Buffalo had been making training planes for the Canadian Government, and it was started at once on primary training machines for our training fields. The Wright-Martin Co. was given a contract for advanced training planes to be equipped with the Hispano-Suiza 150-horsepower engine which it had just gotten into production. The Standard Aero Corporation, of Plainfield, N. J., which had been developing its Standard J plane for more than a year, was given an order for those equipped with the Hall-Scott engine. But not until August, 1917, did instructions come from France, as a result of the Bolling commission's investigations, to adopt the De Haviland 4 as the type of service plane for observation and day-bombing purposes. A sample of this plane had arrived in Washington late in July. It was the first service plane of any kind to reach America. It was without engine or ordnance and lacked some of the instruments of operating equipment without which an airplane by that time was of little use at the front. No one in America knew just what this equipment should be. No one had ever seen a fully equipped service plane in this country.



THE BEST AIRPLANE ENGINE

Weighing about two pounds per horsepower, the Liberty engine stands well ahead of all foreign engines. The Rolls-Royce, long considered the best at the front, weighs a hundred pounds more and gives a hundred less horsepower

This De Haviland plane had to be redesigned to take the Liberty engine, and altered to take the four Marlin and Lewis machine guns with which it was to be equipped. It was shipped to the Dayton-Wright Airplane Company and arrived in Dayton on August 18, 1917. On October 29th, an American-made copy of it, with a Liberty engine, but without equipment, was flown at Dayton. But this was a hand-made product. The difficulties of getting machine tool production were enormous. Many of the same problems that delayed the Americanization of foreign engines were also encountered here. The Liberty engine has 3,327 parts of which 433 are different; the De Haviland 4, in addition to the engine has 35,330 separate parts, of which 7,350 are different. This does not include any of the equipment. Quantity production of De Haviland 4's, fully equipped, started in April, 1918. By June the Dayton-Wright Company was turning out fifteen a day. At the signing of the Armistice it had reached forty a day. The Fisher Body Company, the largest maker of automobile bodies in the world, was then turning out thirty-five. More than two thousand of these machines had been started on their way to France; one thousand four hundred and forty-three had been received in France. This was enough to equip sixty flying squadrons. On Armistice Day, 196 of these were actually with the American armies, with 602 in reserve. These are official figures. There were on the docks in Hoboken, awaiting their turn for shipment, about 600 completed planes.

Our complete inexperience in regard to fighting planes was nowhere as evident as in the case of the Bristol two-seated fighting plane. The sample of this arrived in Washington September 5, 1917. Many engineering cooks worked on the redesigning of it to take the Liberty engine, but the marriage of the plane and the engine was not a successful one, and in June, 1918, after there had been serious accidents, the Bristol fighter was abandoned.

The Bolling commission soon after reaching Europe had decided that this country could do little more than keep up with its requirements for training planes at home, and could not hope to keep pace with the progress of development in fighting planes at the front before July, 1918. So in August, 1917, orders were placed in France for nearly six thousand airplanes to meet all the requirements of the American Expeditionary Forces up to that date. We were to supply the material for

these, and France was glad to take the orders. By December 31, 1918, about five thousand airplanes had been supplied to us by the French.

All this explains why "no American-made fighting plane reached the battle-front," a point that the critics are still harping on. (The De Haviland 4, although a good fighting machine, is not so classed.) Fighting planes made from American material were at the front in accordance with the plans of the production department. On the day of the Armistice there were forty-five American air squadrons with the Army in France. Thirty-three of these were equipped with foreign-made airplanes, and twelve were operating or equipping with American De Haviland 4's. "And equipment was on hand," continues an official statement, "both foreign and American, for further squadrons as soon as they could complete training, organize, and get to the front. On Armistice Day there were 740 airplanes actually with the American armies . . . 1,688 airplanes had been outfitted with radio equipment, and 1,444 had been armed."

A CANARD EXPLODED

THE final figures for aircraft expenditures are now available and should put at rest forever the canard that more than a billion dollars was spent for airplanes. These official figures are worthy of attention: 13,894 planes were built in this country at a cost to the Government of $113,721,043 exclusive of the engines; 41,953 engines were built at a cost of $244,838,162. The equipping with guns and operating instruments brought the total cost up to nearly $400,000,000. There was spent for construction of thirty flying schools and fields in this country, for warehouses and depots, for balloons and other items, about $78,000,000; and in Europe for 5,229 airplanes, 7,059 engines, eleven flying and balloon schools, seven airdromes, eight depots, an enormous assembly plant and many other items, a further $139,000,000, making a total expenditure under the aircraft production programme of $617,500,000. From this there is deducted $19,500,000 for surplus property sold, leaving the total cost of the whole air programme $598,000,000. In other words, more than half of the $1,200,000,000 appropriated for this purpose by Congress was returned to the Treasury.

America paid high for her Air Service—due to her unpreparedness at the start. But she was willing to pay. There were mistakes made but not in the important decisions. The delays were inevitable. An army had to be sent into the Northwest under General Disque to get out a hundred million feet of spruce for ourselves and the Allies. A cotton airplane fabric had to be developed and manufactured to meet the need for seven million yards. A new chemical industry was created to supply "dope" for the wings. These accomplishments are all stories in themselves. They were undertaken to help the Allies as well as ourselves; it was all to "win the war." And in all the investigations it was not found that one cent of the money spent had been misappropriated.

Colonel Deeds and General Squier need no other vindication than time will bring from a realization of the great work they did. Neither of them are any more concerned in this particular now than they were while the investigations were going on and taking their time from their work. But some of the friends of Deeds, on whom the criticism fell heaviest because of his former business connections, feel it for him. Mr. Orville Wright, who is well qualified to speak regarding the job Deeds did, and who has known him intimately for years, said recently, "One of the greatest crimes of the war was the attack made on Deeds. The job he did in Washington was the best one done there as far as I know anything about the others. Those who know the sacrifices he made and the actual cost in money to him know the attack was absolutely unjustified. He spent a large amount of his own money and lost the opportunity to make millions. His business associates, to whom he sold his stocks at cost made large sums during the war, but Deeds got none of this."

It was the organization that Squier and Deeds built up in a few months, starting with nothing, that carried the aircraft job to the end. They had the vision of the thing to be accomplished, they had the courage and initiative to tackle it, they secured the best men for the work, and then drove ahead, regardless of investigations or anything else, to accomplish the impossible. The sustaining influence through all the criticism that followed was their own conscience, and their own knowledge that they had done a great work well. Against that the opinions of other men cannot prevail.

AUSTRALIA AND THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

America's Interest in the Movement for Colonial Independence in the South Seas; and the Significance of the Visit of the American Fleet to those Waters

By SYDNEY GREENBIE

WITHIN the last few weeks there has been a steady movement toward England of men in whose hands rests the future peace of the world. From the farthest reaches of the Pacific there passed through America representatives of those countries in that once mysterious sea—China, Australia, New Zealand—whose views and visions will make or mar the tranquility of those "placid" waters. They went to attend the Imperial Conference held in London in June.

Instantly one will ask, what was China doing at a British Imperial Conference—and with that one touches upon the crux of the whole situation. China, according to Mr. Bertram Lenox Simpson (otherwise known as Putnam Weale), went to urge against the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which expires in July, while Mr. W. F. Massey, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, and Mr. William Morris Hughes, Prime Minister of Australia, likewise attacked the Alliance as it stands. Furthermore, both Mr. Massey and Mr. Hughes went to urge certain conditions which will most likely affect the entire constitutional basis of the British Empire.

In all this the United States is concerned, not as an outsider watching neighbors adjust their private affairs, but as an unrepresented power whose own affairs in this connection are most seriously involved.

For the tempest in the European teapot has become a tornado in the Pacific. Small as the Balkans are they were the stumbling block in the way of European powers expanding downward. In the Pacific, there are little nations to-day over whom is raging dissension as fraught with unhappy consequences as anything in southern Europe ever was. Yet we hear innocent dispensers of information assure us that Yap is only a little speck in the Pacific over which no one would think of going to war. They forget that America nearly went to war with Germany in 1889 over the Samoan Islands, which then meant much less to her. And the settlement in Europe at the Peace Conference has greatly enhanced the position of the present powers in the Pacific.

Two developments in Pacific affairs have not been given as much prominence in the press as they deserve. One is the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the other the British Imperial Conferences, held every alternate year since 1907. Just in proportion as the Imperial Conferences become, as it were, a super-Parliament to Great Britain, so will the Anglo-Japanese Alliance wane. And just as the so-called mandates over the various island groups in the mid-Pacific congeal from lofty aspirations to concrete management, there will emerge in the Pacific the identical antagonisms that made of the little group of states in southern Europe the cause of the great conflict.

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was formed in 1902. Its aim was to oust Russia and to guarantee British interests in China. Later it was revised to include Japanese protection over India. But consonant with that agreement there blossomed in the British Empire a new thing to be reckoned with—an independent Australian Navy. That navy has by no means matured, it is not and cannot for years to come be a great consideration in the Pacific, but it has been from the start prophetic and explanatory of much that is taking place to-day. It is at the bottom of the problem, because it is the beginning of Australian independence, of her rise to nationhood. Let me rehearse the historical incidents in connection with this.

Strange as it may seem, Britain's interests in her South Pacific possessions have always been more or less mild. It is common

knowledge that she gave them as much rope as they wanted; that when she had the opportunity of taking over the Samoan group she let it slip by; and that she took the Fiji Islands only after their chief, Thakambau, offered them in liquidation of his American "debts." In other words, it was New Zealand and Australia that held on to the mother country, instead of the reverse. And, in order to understand the spirit of the Dominion and the Commonwealth, the motives for this clinging to "home" must be understood.

Australia was first settled by men convicted of offenses against Britain's then crude sense of justice; but New Zealand was devised as a colonial scheme under which every feature of British life was to be transplanted. In consequence, the New Zealanders have always had a strong leaning toward the homeland, whereas in Australia early resentment alienated the settlers. The New Zealander to-day is the exact replica of the Englishman as we know him; the Australian is a compromise between an Englishman and an American. The modern Australian on the east coast of the continent is as little an Englishman as he can be. I have heard any number of them resent being called English. "I'm not an Englishman," one said with pride, "I'm an Australian." The last "convict" was brought to Australia in 1840. Yet so conscious are the Australians of this stigma that the other day an English engineer told me that when he was in Freemantle recently he learned that in one of its suburbs, Subiaco, it was impossible for any one whose grandfather was born in Australia to join the tennis club—lest that ignoble ancestor passed on some of the "taint" to his unfortunate off-spring. There is no such taint in New Zealand.

It is therefore not to be wondered at that Australia kept growing farther and farther from England. In the early days each settlement on the Australian continent maintained its own government, and so great was the jealousy that even in the construction of the railroads Victoria built a wide gauge line, New South Wales a narrower, and Queensland the narrowest. This was not a mere engineering accident due to a notion of the superiority of a special type, but clearly and openly an effort to make communication between them difficult. But by 1900 they had outgrown their childish squabbling, and became federated into the Commonwealth of Australia.

Now until that time, all the colonies had been paying certain sums yearly toward the maintenance of the British navy—Canada, Australia, New Zealand alike. But with the federation of the Commonwealth, Australia commenced to agitate in no mistaken terms for a navy of her own, to be built and manned by Australians, and kept in Australian waters, rushing only in an emergency to the support of the Empire. Canada decided otherwise—*i. e.*, to build her own ships, but to merge them with the home fleet. New Zealand decided to continue the old scheme.

For years both the Dominion and the Commonwealth were absolutely obsessed by the naval question. Sir Joseph Ward, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, championed a single, undivided Imperial Navy; the late Mr. Alfred Deakin stood out strongly in favor of an independent navy. Seeing little hope of a very strong concession from England, Deakin extended and urged an invitation in 1908 to the American Fleet to visit Australia. He ad-admitted that his object was to arouse Britain to fear an Australian-American "alliance." The thrust went home. The English "felt that it was using strong measures for an Australian statesman to use a foreign fleet as a means of forwarding a project which was not approved by the Admiralty." But even Sir Joseph Ward let himself go to the extent of declaring that they welcomed America as "natural allies in the coming struggle against Japanese domination."

WELCOME TO THE AMERICAN FLEET

AND when at last the American fleet came to Australia it received an ovation such as still rings in the conversation of any Australian with an American. For an entire week Sydney celebrated. Melbourne followed suit; New Zealand could not but take up the cue. Every one pointed with pride to the similarity between the Australian and the American. Australian girls virtually threw themselves into the arms of American sailors. It is even said that many a sailor remained behind with an Australian wife. Not even the Prince of Wales (now King George) was given such an ovation. The feeling toward America at that time is only commensurate with the disappointment that spread throughout the Antipodes when America held herself neutral in the early days of the European conflict; or with the petty jealousies that now

rankle somewhat because of fear that America has taken to herself too much credit for the accomplishment of victory. But then it gave that stimulus to navalism in the south that the Australians wanted; further, it gave birth to the movement for greater independence in Imperial affairs, which for twenty-five years had determined the policies of the several states.

It did not take the same turn in New Zealand. That little country continued in its more Imperialistic tendencies, was content to be a finger in the great hand of the Empire. In 1909, at the Imperial Conference, Sir Joseph Ward sprung a surprise by offering a battlecruiser to the Government without consulting his constituents at home. They were in a mood to make him pay for it himself when he returned, but later developments so justified him that he became a sort of political idol for a while. When the cruiser visited New Zealand in 1913, the excitement knew no bounds.

Then came the war. Germany was always regarded as a potential enemy. The colonies had always arched their backs at the proximity of German possessions in the South Seas. When in 1889 Samoa was the bone of contention, the colonies were rather eager to have America take it in preference to the Germans. Then as Japan came to the fore, America as a potential protector became more and more obvious to Australasians. The Panama Canal intensified that conviction. They looked forward to a combination of British and American power for the furtherance of peace as they conceived it should be maintained. This stimulated their consciousness of their own destiny in the Pacific. Suddenly they were brought close to the United States. The anti-Japanese riots in California, the annexation of Hawaii, the protectorate over the Philippines all pointed to Australasians lessons for their own guidance. They could not expect from England the same keen interest in racial questions which manifested itself in America. America demonstrated the dangers of having two unfriendly races like the white and the black together; Hawaii showed them that Asiatic immigration is a breeder of trouble. They do not seem to see that circumstances are not the same, that the pressure of population has become much more keen, that industrial conditions in the world to-day are altogether different from what they were when Great Britain refused to

THE MANDATES OF THE SOUTH SEAS

Japan, Australia, and New Zealand have been given mandates over certain islands of the Pacific as indicated. This situation makes racial and economic problems of the Pacific more complex than ever

have her American colonies put down the kidnapping of Africans; that America to-day has 110,000,000 people and has encouraged them to come from every country in Europe as Australia does not.

Australia looks only at the most obvious phases of the problem—that certain people are not happy together. Whether she overestimates her own strength against the pressure of changed conditions remains to be seen, but she is pursuing her own course with a certain steadfastness that is at once a pathetic blindness and a courageous self-assertion. In a country whose political outlook is essentially generous, whose labor experiments have been extremely costly to her, it strikes one as a great contradiction of principle. How can a labor government be so utterly opposed to the extension of ideal opportunities to laborers from other lands seeking to enjoy them? How can she be so utterly capitalistic on a national scale at the same time that nearly everything within her own ken is laboristic?

The explanation of this enigma lies, in a certain measure, in the manner in which Australia has set about making herself independent of her mother country and, while working indirectly for the break-up of the Empire, becoming imperial in her own small way. All these counter currents must be seen clearly before understanding can follow. They whirl about the pillar of imperialism—England—and have come out more clearly since the war. They hinge upon the mandates over the South Sea Islands.

THE "WHITE AUSTRALIA" POLICY

WHILE, as has been shown, Australia has for twenty years pursued a course that threatens to lead toward separation from England, New Zealand has bound herself closer and closer. Australia, too, however, has been extremely shy of any semblance of rupture. She does not want to break away. She feels her isolation too much. But what she wants is, in a sense, the rights that American states have within the Union. She wants to pursue the "White Australia Policy" contrary to sentiment in England, to develop her own navy, to hold the whole continent against the time when full nationhood will have become a reality. In the recent war conscription was defeated because it was not certain what the turn of affairs in Europe might be. It was felt imperative that the men be not all gone and the continent left undefended. And that contingency was voiced by the Premier of Queensland as involving—Japan. To the outsider this seems like an extremely selfish procedure, but to enthusiastic young Australia, with the wide world before her, with a future that looks as promising as that of America, this seems the only logical thing to do. And as long as her imaginary enemies do not take the trouble to show by deeds that they are not enemies, that reasoning is not unjustifiable.

But a strange thing has happened to Australia. She has got what she was after, and now she hardly wants it. She fought for the Imperial Conference method of settling Imperial affairs. Australians have time and again declared that though part of an empire, they are a nation first and foremost. That the Empire represented too heterogeneous a list of peoples for them to forget that an Indian, though part of the Empire, is still an inferior as far as they are concerned. And she realized that the Mother Country could not see eye to eye with her on that score. Yet she insists on the Anglo-Japanese Alliance remaining in some form acceptable to her and to America. How is that to be carried out? What has happened since Peace was declared?

THE PACIFIC MANDATES

AUSTRALIA and New Zealand were loudest in their clamor against the return of the South Sea Islands to the Germans. New Zealand soldiers had taken Samoa; the Australian navy—what there was of it—had cleared the neighboring seas of German raiders. But though they asked that Germany be deprived of the possessions, and though the leaders thundered for a New Zealand mandate over Samoa and an Australian mandate over New Guinea, the people realized that they did not particularly care for the burden of looking after them. Great Britain has told them that she can no longer maintain that navy without their full share in its costs. Besides, the mandate over the islands is not going to be simple.

RESOURCES OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

BEFORE giving consideration to the developments which not even the Australasians had anticipated, let us look upon the gains they have made. They have acquired some new possessions which make of them an empire within the Empire, as it were. The Islands of the South Pacific are to be ruled as though they were an integral part of New Zealand and Australia, yet they have their own facets. They afford certain commercial advantages: copra and cocoa and phosphate and agricultural products. But more important still are the advantages they afford as ports of call. Further, if the plan of linking the islands together by wireless is effected, they will become an outer frontier for the Antipodes of inestimable value. There is even a faint suggestion of binding them together into one separate governmental entity—a buffer state as it were between the big powers in the Pacific.

But what are these few assets compared with the greatly extended line of defence now left to the Dominion to keep up? What is that to the great problem of how to develop the native races? Australia is interested in developing Queensland, a tropical region, not the distant islands beyond. The question of labor is bad enough for themselves, without

having added regions to worry about. A further problem is, what will happen when the policy applied to island possessions will conflict with the course permitted by the law of the mandate? What is worse yet, the mandate over the South Seas has brought Japan closer by hundreds of miles to both New Zealand and Australia, and has thrown open the question of admission of Asiatic people to these islands. The Australasians feel that they are obliged to protect not only themselves from Asiatic competition, but the native races as well. These are some of the problems Australasia inherited from the Peace Conference.

How have they affected the relations of New Zealand and the Commonwealth of Australia with Great Britain? They have put a new strain upon the Empire as such; they have put an added strain upon the relations of Japan and Great Birtian; they have driven a wedge into the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

A NEW SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS

THE Dominions are now conscious of their power, and are determined to wield it. They have made and are doing everything to continue to make friends of their own, by whom they mean to stand through thick and thin. At the Peace Conference they were not inferior to any of the deliberators, and signed the Peace Treaty as virtual members of the League of Nations.

"But," asks the Wellington *Evening Post*, "are the Dominions ever to cast an international vote against the Mother Country on a question relating, say, to the future of the Pacific regarding which their interests and wishes might rather harmonize with those of the United States?"

Mr. Massey, of New Zealand, on the other hand, held "that the Dominions had signed the Treaty not as independent nations in the ordinary sense, but as nations within the Empire or partners in the Empire."

Prime Minister Hughes of Australia, however, has been steering a middle course. He points to the dangers lying ahead of them, and to the absolute necessity of keeping close to Britain. He urges that the Alliance with Japan be renewed, but in such a way as to leave no danger of losing America's friendship. But he shows that the spirit of independence is still uppermost in Australia. Declaring that "the June conference has not been called to even consider constitutional changes," he adds: "It is painfully evident from articles which have appeared in the press and in magazines . . . that to a certain type of mind, the Constitution of the British Empire is far from what it should be."

But though Hughes is to-day the leader of Australia, it is not because he has the country back of him. It is rather because there is unfortunately no better man on hand. He has never cared much for consistency, and even on the matter of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance there is a suggestion of yielding that makes one feel uncertain. He has declared that at the present conference, the question of a reorganization of the Government so as to give the Dominions direct share in the control of Imperial affairs is not even being thought of, but it is evident in his speech that that question is only going to be delayed because more pressing matters, such as the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and Imperial Naval Defence, must be dealt with first. In other words, as spokesman he realizes that "little" Australia, with its 5 million people and its vast continent, has asked too much from its parent to be left to stand alone. So he is pouring oil on the troubled waters by trying to devise an Anglo-Japanese Treaty "in such form, modified, if that should be deemed proper, as will be acceptable to Britain, to America, to Japan, and to ourselves." And that is what is most likely going to happen.

WHAT JAPAN THINKS OF THE ALLIANCE

BUT there is a third consideration in this whole question, and that is Japan. What is Japan going to say about it all? For some time the Japanese have been rather cool in their enthusiasm over the Alliance because it seems to them to have outlived its usefulness and because Article 4 absolves Great Britain from assisting Japan in the event of war with America. The Osaka *Asahi*, one of the most influential journals, has boldly advocated its abrogation. The reasons for both British and Japanese indifference are obvious. Russia is out of the way. British mercantile interests are not at all satisfied with Japanese methods in China. The Alliance has been disregarded twice—when the Sino-Japanese Military Agreement was signed, and when the Twenty-one Demands were made. Furthermore, the Alliance never protected Japanese interests when they came in

conflict with the interests of the Colonies, nor has it prevented British interests from suffering in the Far East. The British are cool toward it; so are the Japanese. China is extremely antagonistic, because she deems herself to be the worst sufferer. She is the main point under consideration, yet she has not been consulted. Hence she sent Mr. Simpson, her British adviser, to America and to England, to arouse public opinion against its renewal.

JAPAN AND THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

NEVERTHELESS, Japan has been concerned enough for the renewal of the Alliance to make a departure from her age-long attitude toward the Imperial family that is extremely interesting if not illuminating. The present visit of Prince Hirohito, heir to the throne, while meant to widen his grasp of world affairs was certainly also intended to arouse public feeling in England in favor of Japan and the Alliance. This is the first time that any Japanese prince of the blood has left Japan. He has hob-nobbed with the common people, a thing unheard of in Japan. But if he succeeds in winning popular approval for the Alliance, it will doubtless be worth while from the Japanese point of view. Otherwise the risk would not have been justified, for such visits are not without their dangers. It is interesting to recall that when Nicholas, Czarevitch of Russia, made a tour of the world upon the completion of the Siberian railway in 1891, he passed through Japan. An attack upon his life by a Japanese policeman nearly brought down the wrath of the Czar upon Japan, and there was much explanation.

While Japan feels anxious to have the Alliance renewed, she argues that England is more in need of it than she. America, she says, has somewhat eclipsed England. The Japanese feel that England must now lean on Japan as never before. They felt this when the Alliance was formed. Count Hayashi, in his "Secret Memoirs," quotes a statement attributed to Marquis Ito, as follows: "It is difficult to understand why England has broken her record in foreign politics and has decided to enter into an alliance with us; the mere fact that England has adopted this attitude shows that she is in dire need, and she therefore wants to use us in order to make us bear some of her burdens. . ." Ito was then playing Russia against England. To-day England is being played against America, and the colonies are eager to utilize the feelings of Japan and America for a greater Pacific fleet and for their own augmented freedom within the Empire. There is much talk of a secret agreement existing between Japan and Great Britain. Even if there were, Great Britain would only be able to live up to it in the event of war between Japan and America, at the risk of losing her colonies. However, that need not be taken as a serious check, for though Great Britain wants her colonies, she does not want them well enough to forego all other considerations. On the other hand, a good deal of the pro-American feeling in the Colonies cannot be accepted too easily, for when America remained neutral they forgot blood relationship in their criticism. To-day there are interpretations of the Alliance which would put Great Britain in exactly the same position toward her younger "daughters" for which she condemned America in 1914-17. But both the psychological and material elements in the situation all point to an absolutely united front in Australasia for America, in the event of the talked about war with Japan coming to a head. That is best illustrated by a statement in the (British) *Japan Chronicle*. Says the editor: "As we have repeatedly pointed out, it is unthinkable that Britain should join Japan in actual warfare with America. No Ministry in England which deliberately adopted such a policy would live for a single day." And the Colonies, from Canada to Australia, will echo that sentiment.

But it seems that with so much of the world vitally interested in maintaining peace in the Pacific there should be no difficulty at all in so doing. The Colonies are sincere in their desire for amity with America; nor is it merely a matter of common language. No one who has taken the trouble to inquire into Far Eastern affairs finds the handicap of language even the remotest cause of misunderstanding. Actions speak louder than words, and none but the ignorant can now mis-read what is going on in Asia.

Let but those actions coincide with promises made, with the spirit of the Alliance and with the constant expression of amity and good-will, and we will see the mist of war in the Pacific clear as before the glories of the morning sun.

The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

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HENRY MORGENTHAU

Chapters from his autobiography, "All in a Life-Time", begin in the current number and will continue in succeeding numbers of the WORLD'S WORK. Mr. Morgenthau has not only known many of the most outstanding characters, but he has also been a principal actor in some of the most dramatic episodes of American political and business life

THE
WORLD'S WORK

AUGUST, 1921

VOLUME XLII NUMBER 4

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

IN HIS speech at the unveiling of the Bolivar monument, President Harding promised to call a conference to discuss the limitation of armaments. In his letter to Mr. Mondell concerning the Borah resolution, President Harding said that the State Department had been taking some preliminary steps toward such a conference. Behind this policy of the President is an overwhelming preponderance of American sentiment. Congress voices this feeling accurately. It is anxious for the early calling of such a conference.

The Borah resolution requested the President to call together representatives of Great Britain, Japan, and the United States, to make plans for limiting the naval programmes of these three countries. In order to form a basis for such limitation, an understanding —not an agreement—concerning the policies of all three countries in the Pacific would be necessary. It is for this reason that the British and Colonial statesmen have put off the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese treaty until such a conference meets. The results of the conference should make an Anglo-Japanese treaty unnecessary.

The British and Colonial premiers have welcomed the idea of an agreement for a naval holiday with us. The Japanese have likewise welcomed it. The American people want it. It is the greatest opportunity before the present Administration, and a task as easy of accomplishment as it is important, since Congress is entirely committed to the idea.

A competition in naval building is now in progress. It will continue and grow unless an agreement is reached to prevent it. If it continues, it will lead to suspicion, distrust, and, in the long run, to war. If it continues, all hope of economy in our domestic finance is gone.

An agreement for the limitation of naval expenses is the keynote of our relations with the world, and the keynote of any policy of economy and domestic readjustment. It is the most important fact on the horizon of our Government, and the public here and all over the world looks eagerly to Mr. Harding to take early, vigorous, and successful action toward the accomplishment of such an agreement.

The United States is now the most powerful country in the world. We have the largest stake in the present industrial system of capitalism. We have the greatest stake in the maintenance of representative government. We have the greatest power and, therefore, the greatest responsibility in the world. President Wilson tried to accept this responsibility by the creation of a League of Nations. The Republican Party's position against this solution was endorsed by the country. But the problem still remains. The naval limitation conference is the first practical step in sight toward the beginning of a solution.

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ALBERT D. LASKER

Appointed by President Harding to head the United States Shipping Board at a time of crisis in its affairs, Mr. Lasker has an established reputation as a business organizer, and it is his announced purpose to "end incompetence and make of the Shipping Board a business institution"

Photo-Crafters

FRANK PIERREPONT GRAVES

Recently elected president of the University of the State of New York and State Commissioner of Education. In thus assuming one of the most important educational posts in the country, Dr. Graves comes into direct official relationship not only with the school system of New York State, including Cornell University, but also with American institutions in Turkey, Syria, and China

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S. PARKER GILBERT, JR.

Nominated by President Harding for the newly created post of Under Secretary of the Treasury, a good precedent for the establishment of permanent under-secretaries of our government. Mr. Gilbert served as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury under the previous Democratic Administration

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HUGO W. KOEHLER

Lieutenant-Commander, U. S. Navy, sent by the Government to Russia in 1919 to observe, he was with Denikin and Wrangel, and traveled within the Bolshevist lines for hundreds of miles, having this experience as background for his optimistic picture of the Russian Revolution [See page 409]

LOUIS T. McFADDEN

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Chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee of the House of Representatives, who is in favor of giving non-voting seats in Congress to members of the Cabinet

[See page 401]

The Pressure of the Times on the Religion of Protection

ACCORDING to Mr. Fordney's estimates, the tariff schedules which he presented to the House are somewhat lower than the Payne-Aldrich schedules which did so much to wreck Mr. Taft's Administration. Mr. Fordney's bill is nearer on a level with the rates of the Dingley bill which also brought trouble to the Republican Party, although not with such fatal results as attended the Payne-Aldrich measure. The pressure of events forces even so ardent a protectionist as Mr. Fordney to realize that the old Republican formula of "the higher the better," is no longer applicable. He gives amusing evidence of the fact that his mind is not altogether easy about the unfailing wisdom of high schedules. He does not with pride and precedent call the wool duties, "Schedule K," as of old. They appear modestly under the less familiar title of "Schedule 11." Mr. Fordney inferentially even admits the ineptness of a high tariff to our present conditions. The bill, as he presented it, had a provision authorizing the President to reduce the schedules 20 per cent. in favor of any country which would grant us a similar favor. In other words, he is willing to take down some of the bars against foreign goods entering the United States in return for favorable conditions for our exports. By going a step farther and beginning the bargaining with a low tariff, he might not only more easily get the reductions abroad he hopes to obtain by this provision, but he might even obviate the retaliation of high duties against us, which his tariff is designed to provoke.

He infers that his bill may provoke such retaliation by providing an antidote for it. If the other countries should adopt higher tariff schedules toward us than he provides toward them, Mr. Fordney's bill has a provision to meet them. His bill empowers the President in that case to retaliate against their retaliation against our high schedules—in other words to inaugurate a tariff war. The history of Germany and Austria furnishes the best examples of the profits of tariff wars.

By cajolery on the one hand and threats of tariff war on the other, Mr. Fordney wishes us to force as many of our goods upon the world as possible, while, at the same time, keeping as much of the world's goods as possible out of our own markets.

If we should add to this policy a suit of shining armor to be properly rattled when some recalcitrant country wishes to protect its markets as we do ours, we should have pretty much all the equipment and the philosophy underlying the Kaiser's commercial expansion. If we persist in this conception, we might in time acquire the same popularity overseas that the German had.

This tariff measure which has been submitted to the House is not only bad international politics, it is stupid business. There is plenty of production going on in the United States now to supply the domestic demand, and supply what foreign orders we can get as well. What are we going to do with our surplus productive capacity, now idle? It is generally accepted that we must use it for foreign trade, that is, let the idle factories make something and swap it for foreign goods. In the simplest terms, that is the solution. In the face of that, Mr. Fordney intends so to tax this exchange as to make it difficult if not impossible. The difficulties inherent in the situation are already so great that our foreign trade is in a desperate plight. To add a high tariff to the present more than sufficient obstacles is a rash experiment.

The tendency of such a tariff as Mr. Fordney proposes, would be to perpetuate the idleness of our surplus producing capacity, add to the present industrial stagnation, and prevent the growth of American business. When the consumption of manufactured articles is greater in a country than the production of those articles, an embargo or a high tariff restraining trade from abroad will give the home producer the whole market. But when the producer already makes more than the home market will take, a stone wall around that market will not make it any larger. It will only induce the other countries to put a similar stone wall around their markets.

There are two major lines of policy open to us. The first is to go upon the assumption that in most things that we produce at all we can compete with the world. This means a low tariff, more imports, and more exports.

The other course which Mr. Fordney recommends is to go on the assumption that we can not compete. This means a high tariff and less foreign trade. And this means that our surplus capacity will tend to lie idle.

The country is earnestly engaged in two main problems, reducing the cost of living and

building up an export trade. A high tariff is designed to retard the efforts in both directions.

Mr. Fordney's bill is a defensive position, marked out for a stand by the retreating army of protection. If public apathy or approbation give them the slightest encouragement, they will dig in on this line. It is highly important, therefore, that every individual and every business should voice a protest against this measure.

Who Wants a High Tariff?

THE main supporters of the protective tariff have been those manufacturers whose chief, if not sole, business was in the domestic market. For most of our history our domestic market would consume more manufactured goods than we could make. As long as this was the condition the higher the tariff, the more the American manufacturer could charge without fear of foreign competition. But that condition no longer exists. American manufacturers are now more interested in foreign markets and the revival of industry than in a protective tariff. There are exceptions such as the dye industry, the American Woolen Company, and a few others, but American industry in general did not send its representatives to Washington to beg tariff favors as of yore.

As this support begins to fail, the protectionists turn to the farmers. They offer a tariff on cattle, on meat, on wheat and flour, on peanuts and hogs to protect the American farmer. It is a little like putting on a tariff to keep people from carrying coal to Newcastle. From 1911 to 1920 the United States exported as wheat or flour from 15 to 30 per cent. of every wheat crop. The largest market for these exports is Liverpool. There Canadian, American, Australian, and Argentinian wheat competes, and there more than anywhere else in the world the price of wheat is fixed.

Competition in the free market in Liverpool has a vital bearing on the price at which wheat sells in the United States. It may irritate some of our wheat farmers that any wheat pit, most of all one in a foreign country, should fix the price of his product, but as long as we produce a surplus and want a foreigner to buy it, we shall have to submit to the laws of trade. As long as we have a surplus of wheat, meat, and cotton a protective tariff will not raise the price of these commodities, for the price will be fixed where we sell the surplus.

There is no profit to the farmer in the protective tariff. He will still continue to sell his products in world competition and buy his supplies of clothes, building materials and such things at prices in many cases raised by the tariff. If the protectionists really wished to give the farmer a useful subsidy they would offer him a bonus on exports. That would be profitable to him. But to offer him protection which he can not use, in a bill designed to limit the imports with which foreigners must pay him for his produce is adding injury to his pocket-book to the insult to his intelligence.

General Dawes Leads the Economy Attack

GEN. CHARLES G. DAWES, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, began his activities by the novel and dramatic method of calling a mass meeting of the members of the Cabinet and all their bureau chiefs. The President presided. After his opening remarks, General Dawes addressed the meeting in his earnest and emphatic manner. He made it clear that as Director of the Budget, he was acting as the direct agent of the President; and that, therefore, his authority was greater than Cabinet members and their bureau chiefs.

He then stressed the critical importance of presenting a reduced budget for the year ending June 30, 1922, and made a plea to the patriotism of all the executives present to aid him in effecting the necessary cuts in the costs of administration.

The particular problem which General Dawes tackled in this manner is the first, but the least, of the opportunities which the passage of the budget bill provides.

What General Dawes asked the assembled Cabinet and bureau chiefs to do, amounts to finding a way to do the work that they are now doing on a smaller overhead charge for administration. For example, the chief of the bureau of engraving and printing has no control over what is printed. The only thing that he can do to meet General Dawes's request is to find ways of doing the average amount of printing for less than it has been done before. But what saving this bureau chief can make in administration is insignificant compared with the saving that would be effected if Congress decided to cut the public printing down by one

third. Such a decision as this would, of course, be a matter of policy, not of administration. At best, economy of administration is of small importance compared with the savings of economy by policy. The Navy Department undoubtedly can save thousands of dollars by better administration of the navy yards. It could as easily save millions by abandoning the useless yards. But such abandonment is not within the administrative discretion of the Secretary of the Navy. As a matter of fact, Congress does not trust the members of the Cabinet—this or any other—with much administrative discretion. Its tendency is to prescribe more and more in detail how many men each Cabinet officer may hire to do any given task, what he may pay them, what equipment they may have, and where they are to work. The Government's business, like any other business, varies from time to time, and it can not be effectively or economically conducted under the rigid conditions made by Congress. For example, not long ago in one of the large departments there was a bureau chief who combined two bureaus, got rid of 500 employees, and saved the Government between one half and three quarters of a million dollars a year. A private company immediately offered him a good salary. His boss in the Government could not meet the outside offer. He had to go to Congress and by dint of hard persuasion get this man's salary raised to $6,000 a year.

To the average "business man" this niggardliness on the part of Congress seems so absurd that he again consigns the whole race of politicians to the haven of lost souls. But Congress is not acting altogether in the dark. It has reason to know that for every man the Government loses by paying too little, it has ten employees who could not get their salaries elsewhere. A day or two before General Dawes held his momentous meeting, Senator Willis let out his wail that the faithful of Ohio were not getting their "quota" of Federal jobs. The day before this economy meeting of General Dawes, Henry Lincoln Johnson, a Republican National Committeeman of Georgia, got his reward in the shape of a job in the District of Columbia. As long as men get jobs for political reasons, the number and salaries of jobs need limiting. The present system—and it dates back a long way—is to have a half dozen mediocre or incompetent workers at low salaries instead of half the number of fit employees at higher salaries.

Unless this practice is changed no great saving in administration can be accomplished. To change this is a matter of policy.

It is true, as General Dawes said in his speech, that in the past Cabinet officers and bureau chiefs have submitted estimates to Congress for more money than they needed. Congress knew that this was done and derived great credit from cutting down these estimates, but as the estimates were padded and the cutting done more or less haphazardly, the result was far from the best result that the combined intelligence of the executives and the Congressional committees could have achieved. The fundamental difficulty is that Congress does not wish to trust the executives with wide enough powers to give free play to their abilities.

Congress prescribes in great detail the conditions under which the administrative departments do their work. Its tendency is to increase this detail more and more because it feels that otherwise it is giving away too much of its power over finances. Congress is not itself constituted to administer the money it appropriates, but it nevertheless hates to give the executive officers leeway enough to administer it efficiently. There are two solutions of this problem. Either Congress must grant the executives greater powers and in return demand a strict accountability for the results, or it can reorganize and do the administration itself.

As Mr. Crawford explains elsewhere in this magazine, if the budget works well, and if perhaps certain other changes follow it, Congress might have such a method of checking the results attained by the executives that it would be willing to be less critical of the details of achieving them. Or Congress might do what the English Parliament did a century or more ago. That body reorganized itself to do the executive business. The British Cabinet is merely the executive committee of Parliament.

The Greatest Service of the Budget

AS CONGRESS prescribes in very minute detail the conditions under which the administrative departments do their work, the opportunity for economy in administration is not large except by the help of Congressional legislation. With that help, economy becomes more a matter of policy than

administration. It is in promoting policies of economy that the advocates of the budget believe that its chief usefulness lies.

When the President presents the budget to the public, it will show what expenditures the President, with the advice of the Cabinet, is willing to ask the public to accept as absolutely necessary. It will show, likewise, by what schemes of taxation he thinks the money for these necessary expenditures can be raised. It is not likely that, under present conditions at any rate, any scheme of taxes which the President may recommend will provide as much money as the Government has been spending. It will be incumbent, therefore, on the Chief Executive to offer definite suggestions of changes in policy, in order to effect the necessary economies.

Confronted with the President's budget of income and expenditures, Congress will be faced with a new task. If it can originate policies of its own to reduce still farther the President's estimates, the country will unquestionably support it in so doing. But Congress will find it very unpopular to depart from the Presidential budget in an upward direction. If representatives of a special interest go to Washington to get more money for roads, for a pet river or harbor development, for a soldiers' bonus, or for any of the hundred and one things that delegations go to Washington for, the Congressmen on whom they have a hold will have to answer:

"Gentlemen, your project is not accounted for in the budget. It will have to have a special act. It will have to have another special act to raise the money for it. Also, it runs the risk of a Presidential veto even if passed by Congress, for by submitting the budget without it, the President is on public record that it is unnecessary."

It would perhaps be more accurate to say not that a Congressman will have to answer in this vein, but that it is to be hoped that they will answer in this vein. The present budget bill makes it mandatory upon the President to submit a budget to Congress. It does not make it mandatory upon Congress to pay any attention to the budget so submitted. Congress can, if it so desires, take the Presidential budget as it has been accustomed to take the old departmental estimates—as a point of departure. It may, if it wishes, add any expenditures it pleases. It may even add expenditures without at the same time providing means of raising the money to pay for them.

But Congress is not likely to do this. Congress is as anxious to economize as any one else. It passed the budget bill to create the machinery to enable it to economize in a wise and orderly fashion. Having focussed public attention upon the Presidential budget, Congress would hardly fly in the face of the public's desires and ignore the thing it had been at such pains to create.

This country before the war was, generally speaking, on a billion dollar basis.

The appropriations made by Congress for 1920 (the third session of the 65th and the first session of the 66th Congress) were in round figures $4,850,000,000.

This can be roughly divided into three categories. The first category includes $1,900,000,000 for extraordinary expenses, arising out of the readjustments after the war, and including the loss on the Federal control of transportation, the wheat guarantee fund, and various relief expenses. (This includes no loss for the Shipping Board). The second category is made up of the expenses of the Army, the Navy, and pensions—strictly war expenses. It amounts to $1,850,000,000. To this should be added approximately $1,000,000,000 interest on the national debt, all chargeable to war.

The third category includes, roughly, the expenses of everything else that the Government does—the expenses of all the Federal Courts, of Congress, and the support of the work of the following departments:

Department of State,
Department of Justice,
Department of the Interior (minus pensions),
Department of Commerce,
Department of Labor,
Department of Agriculture,
Treasury Department.

The total for all of this non-military work was $1,100,000,000. Of this $127,000,000 was a deficiency appropriation more likely to be used for war than for non-military purposes; $50,000,000 for the District of Columbia, and an extra post-office appropriation which would be covered by post-office receipts and the District taxation.

Altogether, therefore, $925,000,000 covered all the normal non-military expenses of a budget of approximately $5,800,000,000.

There is no method of greatly reducing taxation which is not based on a foreign policy

that will admit of the limiting of our armament in safety.

When the President presents his budget for a year's expenses, these simple but vital facts will become clear to all readers of the morning newspapers. This is the biggest service the budget can accomplish.

The Payments of the Next Two Years

LAST year the Congress of the United States appropriated approximately 4⅝ billion dollars. The treasury paid about one billion in interest besides this. The national debt is now about 25 billion dollars. The yearly interest on this debt is 10 per cent. more than the debt itself was in 1916, and nearly as much as all the expenses of the Government at that time.

Nor are the interest payments all that we need to concern ourselves with. There are principal obligations maturing in the near future. There are at the present time more than 2 billion dollars of floating debt in the form of treasury certificates outstanding. On the first of January, 1923, about ⅝ of a billion of war saving securities mature. In May of that year about 4¼ billions of Victory bonds mature. Counting the floating debt there are about 7¼ billions due within the next two years.

If we add that to the yearly expenditures on the basis of 1920 of 4 billions a year and interest at 1 billion, we are faced with a two year total of 17¼ billions.

With the country going through a period of readjustment and with the Liberty bonds at a large discount, it is not a favorable time for the Government to borrow. Nor is it a favorable time to collect large taxes, for the flow of money from the excess profits and income taxes is drying up, and the fall in foreign trade reduces the income from the tariff. It is true that the United States is owed nearly 10 billion dollars by the Allies, but it is unlikely that any of them will be able to pay an appreciable sum in the next two years. To count upon payments from abroad would be for us, with far less excuse, to repeat the French error in discussing the solution of their problems on the basis of Germany's paying the cost of the war.

In all probability the Treasury will have to do some borrowing to meet these obligations, but it should do as little as possible, for the borrowing will either be at high rates or will have some aspects of fiat currency and tend to reinflation which would be a calamity. The only sound policy is to save the last dollar possible from current expenditures and apply it to the maturing debts. Any other method of meeting the situation will retard the return to normalcy.

Europe's Debt to the United States

SECRETARY MELLON has asked Congress for blanket authority to arrange with foreign nations the terms of funding the debts which they owe us.

The debts are:

Great Britain	$4,196,818,358
France	3,366,028,442
Italy	1,631,338,987
Belgium	376,793,049
Russia	192,601,297

and $349,829,741 from thirteen other countries, a part of which, like the Russian debt, is probably uncollectable.

There are several ways in which these debts might be handled. The most sensational way would be to cancel them in consideration for provisions which would help rehabilitate our foreign commerce. That foreign countries already owe us these sums of money tends to make them more anxious not to incur further indebtedness by buying our products. These debts likewise tend to keep the rates of exchange so heavily against us that it is difficult for foreigners to buy in this market. It is quite possible that the cancellation of these debts would mean more in good-will and in the encouragement of our foreign trade than the payment of the principal and interest will ever mean to us. The non-collection of the Boxer Indemnity was one of the most profitable uses to which we have ever put a sum of money owed to us.

The difficulties of convincing either the American people or their representatives in Congress of the profitableness of giving up a claim for 10 billion dollars, is probably too great to be overcome. And the passions aroused in the debate on such a proposal would probably call forth expressions that would dissipate the good-will arising out of such an act, if done courteously. Nevertheless, it is true that 10 billions forgiven our Allies in the great war would have better consequences and more justification than the 25 millions recently given to Colombia.

However, the Secretary only asked permission to fund these debts, not to cancel them.

The funding operation will probably consist of changing the notes, which are now held by the Treasury, to bonds which will begin to bear interest two, three, or perhaps five years from now. When these bonds begin to pay interest the Treasury may meet its interest on the Liberty bonds from this source, or, if conditions permit, sell these bonds to the public and, with the proceeds, pay off the Liberty bonds as they mature. To the American taxpayer the result of the funding will be that after two or three years he will be relieved of paying by taxes the interest on all or part of the Liberty bonds which provided the money for these foreign loans.

If the debts were cancelled it would help trade and quicken the return to prosperity. If the debts are funded it will relieve the taxpayer of part of his burdens.

Waiting or Working for Prosperity?

THERE are some cheerful optimists who are looking forward to the fall as a time of increased business, when men who are now idle will be at work in plants that are now shut down or running half time. To many people the hum of machinery has a merry and prosperous sound this summer, to whom last year it presented less conspicuous aspects. More people at work, more money being spent, more trade, more travel, more prosperity—these things are within the hopes of all and the expectations of many.

The signs predicting that with the fall will come better times are auspicious, but not sufficiently certain to justify any one's merely waiting in confidence for the happy event. The signs merely show enough indications to encourage everyone to apply the utmost energy toward transforming these indications into actualities.

One of these manifestations is the record of business failures as reported by R. G. Dun & Company. It is encouraging that the total liabilities of the concerns that failed are 50 million dollars less in the second, than in the first quarter of this year. Nevertheless, the record shows a bad, even if improving, condition. During the last fifteen years the worst record of failures for the second quarter of any year, next to this year, was 1914, when 3,717 concerns failed with liabilities of $101,877,904.

The record is an interesting one:

		NO. OF FAILURES	TOTAL LIABILITIES	AVERAGE LIABILITIES
1919	Third quarter	1,393	$ 20,230,722	$14,467
	Fourth "	1,595	24,349,629	15,264
1920	First "	1,627	29,702,499	18,256
	Second "	1,725	57,041,377	33,069
	Third "	2,031	79,833,595	39,753
	Fourth "	3,498	128,544,334	36,748
1921	First "	4,870	178,589,989	36,671
	Second "	4,133	127,621,533	38,786

The improvement in the last three months' figures indicates that the heaviest part of the unpleasant task of killing off the concerns too weak to survive has been done. But these figures do not tell the whole story, for the number and importance of the failures would have been greater if a new method had not been developed for taking care of many strained business situations. Several important companies to-day are being managed by committees of their creditors or by representatives appointed by the banks to which they owe money. In the old days these companies would probably have been thrown into receiver's hands and there would have resulted a train of losses from such an action. But now by the introduction of this system of quasi-bankruptcy, many of these concerns will be brought through the period of readjustment and put back on a peace-time basis.

The improvement in our banking system has made it possible to handle strained business situations in this new way. Leading business men and bankers agree that the Federal Reserve system has prevented a panic in this country. The danger of such an event has now passed. Our banking situation is stronger than it has been since 1918. The reserve in the Federal banks, which was down to 42 per cent. in May, 1920, is now back to 57 per cent., and the possibilities for extending bank credit have thus been increased. The Federal Reserve Bank of New York recently lowered its discount rate to 6 per cent. which makes loans cost less to the borrower and indicates that bank's confidence in the future. The action taken by the Federal Reserve Board in Washington in raising the discount rate after our war financing had been completed, has squeezed much of the inflation out of our currency and credits. We now have a safe margin to

provide for the further business adjustment that is necessary, and interest rates can be lowered. All this is encouraging. It indicates the safety of our position. To translate safety into prosperity is in large measure an individual problem.

We still have much of the readjustment to accomplish, and after that the upbuilding of our trade to equal our increased capacity for production.

The best indicator of the amount of business moving throughout the country is the bank clearings. For the first five months of the year in two hundred principal cities, as reported to the *Commercial & Financial Chronicle*, these clearings were 23 per cent. below the same period of the previous year. It was in the farming communities west of the Mississippi, in the South, and in New England that the greatest suffering occurred.

The bank clearings for the first five months of each year since the war are as follows:

Bank clearings first five months:		
1921 . . .	148,760,285,197	Decline 22.9 per cent.
1920 . . .	192,863,413,784	Advance 23.7 per cent.
1919 . . .	152,075,408,169	Advance 17.3 per cent.
1918 . . .	129,646,646,527	Advance 5.1 per cent.
1917 . . .	123,399,692,898	Advance 24.3 per cent.
1916 . . .	98,958,475,617	Advance 44.7 per cent.
1915 . . .	68,852,173,478	Decline 3.5 per cent.
1914 . . .	71,507,127,970	Decline 1.4 per cent.
1913 . . .	72,303,920,554	Decline 0.1 per cent.

This table shows a decline of 50 billion dollars between 1920 and 1921. The next largest difference between any two years was the 40 billion dollar increase between 1919 and 1920. In other words, in the short period of two years we have undergone a violent rise which is always accompanied by higher expectations and then by an even more violent drop. That these fluctuations in volume did not upset business even more than they have is an eloquent testimony of the essential soundness of the country. It could justify confidence but not optimism for the immediate future. The unfilled orders of the United States Steel Corporation give a similar indication of the future. These were down to 5½ million tons on May 31st. Ten months before they had been more than twice that amount. Never before in the history had they dropped so fast. The result was a cut in the Steel Corporation's production to 25 per cent. of capacity, and the independent steel companies are doing even worse. If the United States could reduce its productive capacity to pre-war levels, the orders on the books of the Steel Corporation would be normal enough, for they compare fairly well with the pre-war average. But the problem is not to find markets for the amount we used to produce, but for what we produce now.

Perhaps more indicative of future prospects than steel production is pig-iron production. The outlook in this basic industry is not encouraging. Since last October pig-iron production has declined steadily from more than three million tons a month to a little more than a million tons. Since the first of the year it has been at an annual rate lower, than in any year since 1908, the year of depression ushered in by the 1907 panic.

The copper industry is in much the same condition as the iron and steel industries. The leading copper companies have had to borrow forty million dollars to carry some of their surplus copper for which there is no present demand. In the cotton industry the readjustment of the price has been completed and the cotton mills, in contrast to the steel mills, are now operating much nearer full capacity. However, consumption of cotton in the United States for the year ending July 31st will be a million and a half bales below last year and there will be carried into the new crop year, on August 1st, throughout the world, about ten million bales, as compared with a normal carry-over of around five million. In other words, there is a surplus above normal equivalent to nearly half an average American crop. In the woolen industry there is a supply on hand sufficient to meet two years' requirements, and sheep have lately been sent to market at prices that scarcely paid the owners for shipping them.

Along with the "buyers' strike" here, there has been a strike in other countries born of a sterner necessity, and those who think that an immediate cure for all our depression can be found in granting credits to foreign buyers, fail to take into account the condition of poverty in many countries that have been our best customers in the past. This will keep them from buying anything more than the barest necessities even though we are willing to lend them the money to make payments.

Such credit will help to relieve the situation abroad and help to develop new markets for us, but only work and saving will increase the purchasing power of the world. No patent remedy will do it—but only work and saving to

make good the waste of war. And this applies to the citizens of the United States as well as to people elsewhere. There is nothing in our situation to create pessimism. On the other hand, there is nothing to indicate that prosperity is going immediately to turn up smiling of its own accord. In the years ahead of us we have got to make a living and pay for the war, and we might as well buckle down to the job in a frame of mind in which we can enjoy it, even if the road continues a little rough for some distance ahead.

To End Southern Republican Corruption?

IN THE July issue of this magazine was a picture of a day's work of Mr. Hays as Postmaster-General in which his actions gave promise of an effort to curtail the influence of politics in the Post-Office Department. Mr. Hays does not pretend to abolish political influence, and this is a good sign, for that end could hardly be accomplished in one administration. And, taking his limited programme at its face value, one of his first acts needs explanations. Toward the end of Mr. Burleson's term of office the former Postmaster-General got Mr. Wilson to issue an executive order placing the first, second, and third class postmasters, of which there are 12,899, under civil service regulations. On the surface this seemed like a great step toward removing the Post-Office from politics. On the other hand it also made permanent these postmasters, most of whom were Democratic political appointments made without reference to civil service rules.

Mr. Hays sees in this not so much interest in Civil Service as interest in the perpetuation of Democratic postmasters. He has accordingly gotten Mr. Harding to abrogate President Wilson's order and substitute for it an order by which first, second, and third class postmasterships will be filled by one of the three candidates who passes an open competitive examination most successfully. Under this ruling Mr. Hays will fill these offices on the general theory that the Republican politician is to get the job if he has proper qualifications for it, otherwise some other applicant is to get it, even perhaps a Democrat.

This is not an exalted standard for the choosing of public servants, but if Mr. Hays can live up to this he will have set a new high standard for the selection of the first three classes of postmasters and made it possible for his successor to take the next step, and put them under the civil service classification.

Mr. Hays's difficult experiment is very interesting because of his engaging frankness. His programme is hardly as high sounding as that which political leaders usually give us, but if his practice more closely approximates his programme than is usual, he still has room to create a higher standard than is common, without passing the mark he has set for himself.

II

The news about Mr. Hays is not confined to his policies concerning politics in the department or a new relationship toward post-office employees. There are constant despatches intimating that Mr. Hays intends to end the Post-Office Department's share in the corruption of Southern Republican politics. For many years post-office employees in the South have formed the nucleus of the party organization, the chief object of which was to send delegates to the Republican National Convention. In large measure these delegates were the property of the Post-Office Department.

Naturally, comparatively few people of consequence or high principles wished to ally themselves with this kind of an organization.

The indications are that Mr. Hays is going to make an effort to demonstrate to the people in the South that he can put an end to this time-honored corrupt practice and that he can make it possible for men of principle to be Republicans in the South as elsewhere in the country. If Mr. Hays could accomplish this, he would be doing the whole country a great service. No matter which party has been in power, the Middle West, the Northeast, the Far West—all these sections have been represented in the majority. But when the Republican Party has been in power the South has had little representation. It has been a section apart. Never since the Civil War has the Republican Party given the Southern people a *bona fide* invitation to join its ranks. If Mr. Hays can do anything to wipe away this last vestige of the war of a half century ago, he will have made a great contribution to the solidarity of the country.

If at the same time Mr. Hays could contrive to lose the firm grip which the Republican Party has had on such states as Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont, it would undoubtedly lead to a very much healthier and better political life among their people, for the

long dominance of one party anywhere is not productive of the best results. However, it is hardly reasonable to suggest to one so lately National Chairman of the Republican Party that he help lose these strongholds of Republican solidarity.

Mr. Hays is an interesting figure. His policies are attractive and, despite a certain skepticism about politicians in the Post-Office Department, the public looks to him with expectation and with a keen desire to see him accomplish such things as would enable them to call him a great Postmaster-General.

A Fitting Appointment

PRESIDENT HARDING made a fitting appointment and one that pleased the American public when he placed Mr. Taft upon the Supreme Court as Chief Justice of the United States.

The confidence of the people of the United States in their highest tribunal is based as much upon the character of the judges as upon their learning. Mr. Taft has both qualities in large measure. He has a much more extensive practice in judgment on the bench in Ohio than most of us realize who have been accustomed to his figure in politics. He has had as varied an experience and intimate knowledge of all phases of American problems, governmental and otherwise, as any man of his time. He has also a character and personality which has won for him the complete trust, confidence, and affection of the American people. No one could be better fitted to keep the Chief Justiceship in the high repute in which it has always been held.

The Road to "Normalcy"

THE attempt of British labor to extract a permanent subsidy from the national Treasury failed with the settlement of the coal strike a short time ago. The fundamental proposition which the miners fought for was that the country owed them a living. Despite its close unionization, the British miners had never been able to make much progress toward this idea with the mine owners; first, because the mine owners would fight strikes; and secondly, because in bad times they might not have the money to pay all the miners the living which the miners felt they deserved.

Therefore, the miners advocated the nationalization of the mines. It would be easier, they felt, to frighten concessions in wages out of the Government than out of the private owners, and if the mines at any time should not yield enough to pay the wages the miners demanded, the Government could always make up the deficit by taxation.

This major contention the miners lost. They failed to achieve the nationalization of the mines. They did, however, achieve a settlement to which the Government is a party. They have pretty well established the fact that the mines in Great Britain are quasi-public institutions.

This means that the adjustment of wages and hours in mining will not be done purely on the basis of the supply of labor and its relation to the amount of coal for which there is a demand. It is so vitally necessary for the coal industry to function in Great Britain—a coal strike is such a national calamity—that government investigations and participation will accompany, delay, and affect these settlements whenever they occur. Under these circumstances the miners' wages will probably be higher than they otherwise would be, but on the other hand, the Government's interference in the situation can, by the pressure of public opinion, limit the desire if not the right of the miners to strike.

The settlement of the recent strike included a provision for profit sharing, probably the first profit sharing agreement in modern times to cover an entire industry.

The British Government also contributed $48,400,000 (normal exchange) to help the industry get on its feet again—a kind of reorganization subsidy.

The settlement did nothing to solve the most pressing question before the British coal industry—how to increase efficiency so that the cost of mining shall not be so high as to cripple the British coal trade in its world-wide competition.

It is interesting to compare the similar attempt of American labor to establish the principle of nationalization. The field chosen in this country was the railroad and not the coal industry. The Plumb Plan, as it was called, had all the essentials of the British miners' plan—nationalization, high wages, and, if necessary, the payment of the deficit out of general taxation. In this country also the main scheme failed but some of the by-

products remain. Through the Railroad Labor Board, the Government has a hand in settling all railroad wage disputes. This means that the processes of adjustment in this field will be slow, and not necessarily governed by the supply and demand of labor, but on the other hand, the danger of strikes will be lessened. In this country, also, the Government had to provide a temporary subsidy in the form of a guarantee in order to get the railroads back into normal operation after the war and government ownership. It looks as if still further special help will follow.

In all this, the evolution toward "normalcy" of the British coal industry and the American railroad industry shows a striking resemblance. And the final problem—the increase in efficiency so that a possible cost of operation may be attained—is the same for both and is still unattained.

Correct or Courageous?

SECRETARY Denby's reprimand of Admiral Sims was undoubtedly correct from the martinet point of view. The Admiral has no business to discuss political subjects, especially abroad. The public understands that Secretary Denby was technically correct on the point about which it cared very little. It understands likewise that on the question of hyphenism, which is far more important, Admiral Sims is not only technically but generally and morally correct and courageous. It realizes also that Secretary Denby saw this more important question raised and preferred to pass it unnoticed even though by so doing he allowed the hyphenates to accept his reprimand of Sims as a kind of victory for them. It is too bad that the great gift of plain speech should have been given to a man in a service that should be silent to be correct, and withheld from so many in politics, where it would be at a premium.

After all to make fun of or even to denounce people who did their best against us during the war can not be a very heinous breach even of naval regulations. And as the Government has not even promoted Admiral Sims for his services in the war it might, in lieu thereof, allow him a little freedom of speech.

The Secretary stuck to the rules and missed the main issue, and the Administration lost a fine opportunity.

A certain part of the Irish in this country are always busy using their American votes for non-American purposes. They are more interested in Ireland than in America. They bring political pressure for meddling with Ireland upon the American Congress. For example, Senator McCormick, who rushed so rapidly to see Secretary Denby to protest against Sims's remarks, is an apostle of isolation. He has the most profound convictions that the United States should have no entanglements or commitments in Europe—sometimes he even seems to wish us to have no friends in Europe. But to these profound convictions there is one exception. He is eager to meddle in Europe to help the southern Irish in their struggle with Great Britain.

Congress has several times voted resolutions of sympathy with Irish freedom and thereby encouraged hyphenism. These votes were pusillanimous political hypocrisy, for Congress knew when they passed them that this plea for the hyphenate vote would result in no action for or aid to Sinn Fein. But they hoped that it would please the Irish and that no one else would care. That playing with fire is extremely dangerous. Once before we encouraged the Fenians by such hypocrisy, so that they attacked Canada. They were quickly defeated in their attempts and the remnants of their army surrendered to the forces of the United States. We are in danger of producing this kind of result again, not to mention creating an irreconcilable group in Congress who vote on every measure as to whether it affects Sinn Fein favorably or Great Britain unfavorably, rather than as to its affect on the United States.

If it was not Admiral Sims's business to tell the truth about this it must be the business of some one in the Administration, and as the rightful owner of this opportunity and duty had made no use of it, Americans will thank the Admiral for having supplied the deficiency.

The Dominion of Newfoundland

TO-DAY the remotest, both the coldest and the hottest, corners of the earth are being visited by scientific explorers who, under the pressure of modern industrial expansion, are searching out new sources of supplies—oil, coal, iron, and many other natural treasures. The South Sea Islands, the deserts of Arabia, the fastnesses of the lower Mackenzie, the wilderness at the headwaters

of the Amazon are included in this feverish search. At the same time, at home we are seeking to improve methods with better machinery, cheaper fuel, more efficiency; and thus we are on the verge of great water-power development.

In this world-wide inventory, the rugged island of Newfoundland will find due consideration. No portion of the British Empire is so richly endowed with undeveloped, economical water-power. The Island is literally covered with timber which is hardly touched. Furthermore, it is said that Newfoundland possesses at sea-board the largest known iron deposits in the world—at Belle Isle between Newfoundland and Labrador.

But the prosperity of this island dominion is assured not only by a climate which the warm current of the Gulf Stream tempers until it is like that of Maine, but also by unparalleled resources of fish and iron. The famous Banks of Newfoundland, well-known to trans-Atlantic travelers for their fogs caused by the curious mingling of polar and southern currents, are perhaps the finest deep-sea fishing preserves in the world. Last year Newfoundland with its population of less than a quarter of a million exported fish and fish products to the value of 33 million dollars as compared to exports of the same commodities from the United States of 42 million dollars.

One importance of Newfoundland is its geographical position. St. John's, the chief port and capital of the country, is one thousand miles nearer to England than is New York. In fact, it is only 1460 miles from the coast of Ireland, so greatly does the Atlantic shrink off the coast of Newfoundland. That is why this unique country has had the distinction of receiving the first trans-Atlantic wireless message, at St. John's in 1901, and also why the first non-stop trans-Atlantic airplane flight started from the same vicinity. The Cape Race light is the first greeting from America to ships on the northern route from Europe, and it is the last to flash Godspeed to eastbound vessels. Newfoundland is verily the stepping stone between America and Europe.

Alonzo Taylor on Germany

DR. ALONZO E. TAYLOR is one of the best informed men in the world on European economic affairs. For the last six or seven years he has traveled constantly in Europe and as one of Hoover's assistants and as a member of the War Trade Board he has had a practical experience with the conditions which he has studied.

A statement of conditions from him has an almost unique value as an accurate picture of European economic conditions. What Dr. Taylor said recently about Germany as reported by Mr. Carl W. Ackerman in a copyrighted article to the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* is particularly significant because of the dependability of Dr. Taylor's testimony:

German manufacturers to-day are in a position to undersell virtually any manufacturer in any country of the world. The Old World is returning to "normalcy", Europe is recovering her economic and agricultural stability.

That is the substance of a statement given to your correspondent by Alonzo E. Taylor of the University of Pennsylvania and American authority on European conditions, who has returned to England after careful investigations in Germany, France, Italy, Austria, Poland, Hungary, and Czecho-slovakia. Dr. Taylor said that "compared with other large European countries, Germany seems to have improved more in the last year than the United Kingdom, France, or Italy."

Comparing European conditions generally to-day with a year ago and during the war years, Dr. Taylor declared there were distinct signs of progress in agriculture; transportation facilities have improved; coal in every country except England is more plentiful; the labor viewpoint is returning to "normalcy"; supplies of commodities are more abundant; frontier restrictions which impeded interstate commerce have been lifted, and on the whole there is an upward trend, particularly in Germany. Dr. Taylor added:

"Conditions in the labor market seem in most Continental countries to indicate a definite return to pre-war conditions. The cause of the return to "normalcy" is found in the disillusionment of the rank and file of labor as well as of the leaders in the Russian experiment. From every country and from many trades, leaders have been sent to Russia. Without exception they returned reporting that direct action and Communism led to results worse for labor than the worst conditions of capitalism before the war. Labor unions have recovered their independence from Socialistic parties. This is particularly striking in Germany.

"The monarchistic government before the war never extended to the great industrials and magnates of Germany the concessions that are being enjoyed by Hugo Stinnes and his co-workers to-day. The process in Germany is for the state to grow poorer and the magnates to grow richer. These subsidies occur in the form of concessions of various

kinds—cheap coal, low freight rates, and the evasion of taxation.

"No matter what happens politically or economically, the mark remains practically stationary.

"Side by side with statements of further issues of paper money and internal bonds, and the figures for impending deficits, are the flattering reports of cartels and large industries, expansion in capital, and large earnings. A German manufacturer told me he was making more money now, using 38 per cent. of his plant's capacity, than ever before the war. The result is that Germany occupies to-day a position of peculiar potentiality as a manufacturing nation. She has the best labor in Europe. The German worker is recovering his traditional thrift and ambition, is disillusioned as to Communism, and is to-day, in the hands of the German employer, the most docile worker in Europe."

Practically, what is going on in Germany is that the German State, by one device or another, is subsidizing its industries to enable them to undersell the industries of other countries, and doing this by issuing paper money. In the long run, especially now that the Allies are demanding reparation settlements this practice can hardly continue with success.

A New Era for the "Movies"

AN ANOMALOUS condition exists in the motion picture industry. It is said that there are more projectors in educational-industrial use than in theatrical use, yet until recently practically no distributing agency existed for furnishing films to any but the theatrical field. It has been estimated that there are 44,000 churches, 100,000 schools, and 6,000 factories which are now, or are planning to be, equipped with moving picture machines, besides a large number of portable projectors in homes and clubs. Much of this equipment is inactive due to lack of films, but it makes a large total whose primary use is educational and industrial as compared with the equipment of 30,000 moving picture theatres. Because almost all these moving picture machines have lacked a source of regular supply, and have only gotten films which were privately taken or else obtained by luck or condescension through a regular distributor, there has been a general misapprehension of the actual extent to which the "movies" are already available for better use; and consequently, also, there has been a justifiable outcry in the press about the lost opportunities and the harmful tendencies of moving pictures. The tenor of this can be seen in such titles of articles as "What Are the 'Movies' Doing to Our Children?" in the January issue of the WORLD'S WORK, and "The World's Worst Failure" in which the *Outlook* went a step farther. It would appear from the numbers of projectors that the answer to this is much simpler than might be thought. The moving picture machines are ready for a larger use, the will exists, and now the way must be found to distribute the educational-industrial films on a large scale. If a way is found to give the public what they should have, then they will soon want it. With this in mind a combination of non-theatrical producers for the development of educational-industrial films has been formed, with distributing agencies throughout the United States. Since the field is so ripe, this new development of the "movies" ought to be extremely rapid.

A picture is more easy to understand than a book and it is also more easy to remember; it takes less intelligence to grasp. For this reason the use of moving pictures in education is both good and bad. It is good so far as instruction can be given to a wider range of intelligence and more efficiently; and it is bad so far as it fails to develop imagination and, in fact, tends to throttle imagination by substituting itself for it. For memory depends on visualization, and both pictures and imagination produce that, but they do not produce each other. Of these two forms of visualization, imagination is the more valuable because it carries on beyond the original concept, while a picture produces a visualization of itself and little more. But certainly the "movies" can teach where other methods have failed, and with much greater speed. This development is at hand. From being a training school of immorality and lawlessness, the "movies" are to become a medium of valuable instruction.

BONDS vs. STOCKS

Every month in this part of the magazine the WORLD'S WORK *prints an article on investments and the lessons to be learned therefrom*

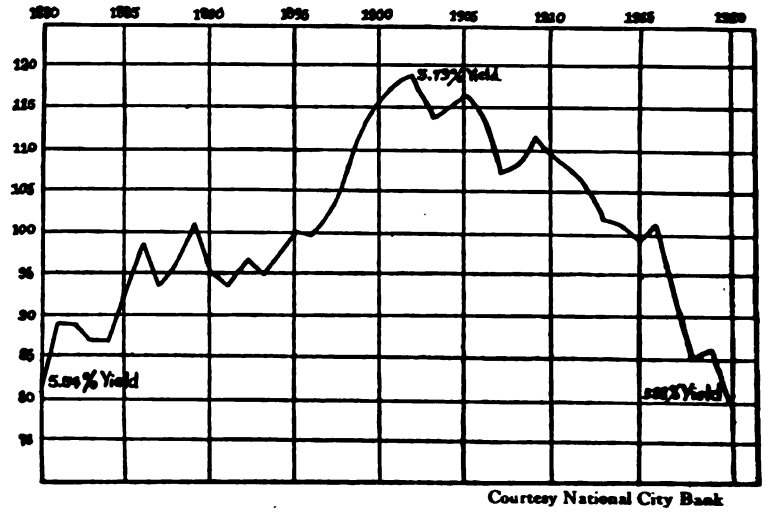
EXPERIENCE and adversity are great teachers, and wise people learn from the experiences and misfortunes of others. A few years ago a middle-aged woman was forced to take over the entire management of her husband's financial affairs because of his continued and possibly permanent illness. She had no experience in such matters, but was a capable and forceful woman and had the courage to ask questions to find out what she did not know. Fortunately her husband had for some years been buying bonds from one of the best investment banking houses in the country and she had met the salesman of this conservative old house, a man whom her husband had learned to depend upon for investment advice and suggestions. Her husband had also had some dealings with a house in a near-by city, not as old or as conservative, but of good reputation. Therefore, when this woman took entire charge of the family money she was protected from the wiles of the get-rich-quick promoter, who might soon have gotten the money from her, by these established connections with two good investment houses. She continued investing along lines that her husband had followed.

Then the war came and the cost of living jumped upward. The husband was no longer earning; the family income, largely from investments, did not go as far as formerly. In 1919 the investment house nearest by participated in the underwriting of an issue of Willys Corporation preferred stock. It sent out circulars to all its clients. This woman was attracted by the high return the stock gave. She saw in it a chance to solve the problem of the increased cost of living. But she was careful to inquire of the house whether the stock was suitable for her purpose or not. The answer was favorable. So she invested in Willys Corporation 8 per cent. first preferred stock, employing money that came in from the sale of real estate. She had not held it long when it began to decline in price. That did not worry her because she had bought it for the income return and she felt no concern regarding the permanence of that. But as it kept on going down she began to wonder if something could be wrong.

That was when the Investment Editor first heard of the case. She asked for an opinion regarding the suitability of her security holdings with particular reference to this issue. The other investments were all bonds of good grade. But this stock was of a newly organized company which had yet to prove its earning capacity, particularly in a period of depression. And the assets back of it did not entitle it to a high rating among industrial preferred stock issues. She was told that it was not the character of security that the Investment Editor would recommend for her purpose. She was left to decide for herself whether to take her loss and invest in something safer. It was not then possible to foresee the severe depression ahead of the automobile industry. Whether she did sell is not known, but the chances are that she did not, for one of the hardest things for average investors to do is to take losses even after they know securities are not suitable for them to hold. To-day this stock is no longer paying its dividend, it is selling for only a fraction of what it was then.

This is but an example of what has occurred with many other stocks in the past few months and the lesson to be learned therefrom is now clearly evident. In the first few months of this year, according to a compilation made by the *Wall Street Journal*, holders of stocks of about forty companies suffered a reduction of seventeen million dollars in their income therefrom, due to the "passing" of dividends. If this compilation was carried back to include the latter months of last year and forward to take in recent reductions of dividends like that of the Pennsylvania Railroad and other complete cessation of payments, the total loss of income would be considerably greater. Since last fall, it is said, nearly three hundred companies have discontinued dividend payments or reduced the amount of their disbursements. Most of these have been industrial concerns. They have felt most the pinch of depression

which followed the war-time and post-war industrial prosperity. The list includes large steel companies, rubber companies, leather companies, agricultural-implement companies, fertilizer companies, automobile companies, copper companies, sugar companies, oil companies, mail-order houses, railroads, and smaller concerns of various kinds. It shows how far-reaching have been the effects of depression.



Courtesy National City Bank

AVERAGE PRICE OF TEN HIGHGRADE RAILROAD BONDS

This chart shows the average yearly trend in price (adjusted for maturity) of ten underlying mortgage railroad bonds. The average yield to maturity of these bonds at the price level in 1880 was 5.54 per cent.; in 1902 it was 3.79 per cent. and on June 16, 1921, it was 5.88 per cent. The yield of standard railroad bonds is one of the barometers of the earning power of money, and this chart, covering a span of more than forty years is helpful in judging present investment opportunities.

The dividend reductions have not been confined to common stocks. In several cases, besides the Willys Corporation, preferred dividends have been discontinued as well. Some of these have been dividends that have been paid regularly for years, and people have bought these stocks for investment never stopping to think of the possibility that the dividends might not always be paid. Pennsylvania Railroad stock has been bought in this way. But now these people have been awakened to a realization that dividends depend on many uncertainties. They are learning that there is a difference between stocks and bonds even though the stocks are preferred issues. There has been no such default of interest on bonds as this record of failure to pay dividends shows. A lesson in one of the first principles of investment is thus being taught by adversity.

Stockholders are partners in a business; bondholders are creditors. They have a lien on the property, while the stockholders do not. It makes no difference whether it is preferred or common stock, this situation remains the same. The stockholders must take the risks of partnership; they are offered a higher return for doing so. The bondholders accept a smaller yield in return for greater safety. When periods of depression come, the stockholders suffer a reduction or complete loss of their return; bondholders, if they have carefully chosen their investments, suffer no such loss. For people who do not want to take risks with money which they have laboriously saved, bonds or other mortgage investments are the best securities to buy. Stocks, no matter how long their dividend records or how able the management of the companies, are investments suitable only for those who are able to keep posted upon everything which affects the concerns in which they are partners. They are investments for a business man or a business woman.

Bonds and mortgages are the best investments for most people. Those who buy only the safest of such securities are in the long run ahead of those who seek higher returns or profits on stocks, for one loss of principal is equivalent to several years' interest. At the present time bond prices are lower than they have been in the past forty years. The chart on this page shows this. Among the highest grade of railroad bonds, investors can now buy an annual "yield" to the maturity of the bonds of nearly 6 per cent. on their money. Twenty years ago it was impossible to get 4 per cent. on such bonds. Twenty years before that their average yield was around 5½ per cent. Interpreted in price fluctuations this has meant an advance from 81 in 1880 to 117 in 1902, and a decline to below 80 this year. These bonds in their price movements reflect the value of money, or its earning power. With the cost of living headed down, in other words with the earning power of money increasing, an upward turn in bond prices is only logical.

THE COUNCIL TABLE

EDWIN A. ALDERMAN
President, University of Virginia

CHARLES H. BRENT
Bishop of Western New York

CHARLES W. ELIOT
President Emeritus, Harvard University

CASS GILBERT
Architect

JAMES G. HARBORD
Major-General, U. S. Army

HENRY J. HASKELL
Of the Kansas City *Star*

HERBERT HOOVER
Secretary of Commerce

ERIE C. HOPWOOD
Editor, Cleveland *Plain Dealer*

ROBERT S. LOVETT
Railroad President

DANIEL D. MOORE
Editor, New Orleans *Times-Picayune*

HENRY MORGENTHAU
Former U. S. Ambassador to Turkey

WILLIAM S. SIMS
Rear-Admiral, U. S. Navy

HENRY L. STIMSON
Ex-Secretary of War

BOOTH TARKINGTON
Novelist and Publicist

CASPER S. YOST
Of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

In order to present in one place wise and informed thought and stimulating counsel, month after month, the editors of the WORLD'S WORK *have created this special section in the magazine and invited the gentlemen whose names appear above to contribute to it. The magazine wishes to express its appreciation of their willingness to coöperate in this undertaking.*

The views expressed by each author are his alone, there being no group responsibility for any of the opinions, but no opinions will appear in this section except those belonging to some individual of this group.—THE EDITORS.

RAILROAD CONSOLIDATIONS

BY ROBERT S. LOVETT

Chairman, Board of Directors of the Union Pacific System

THE Sherman Anti-Trust Law, enacted July 2, 1890, was construed by the Supreme Court to prohibit absolutely the consolidation or common control of competing railroads, and this was the law of the national Government for nearly thirty years. This policy was reversed by the great Transportation Act passed by Congress on February 28, 1920, to the following extent: It provides that the Interstate Commerce Commission shall, as soon as practicable, prepare a plan for the consolidation of the railway properties of the United States into "a limited number of systems," and that in working out such a plan, "competition shall be preserved as

fully as possible, and, wherever practicable, the existing routes and channels of trade and commerce shall be maintained."

The Act then specifically authorizes two or more railroad companies to consolidate into one corporation for the ownership, management, and operation of the properties theretofore separate, but only on the following conditions:

1. The consolidation must be in harmony with the complete plan of consolidation previously outlined by the Commission, as required by the Act.

2. Bonds at par of the corporation which is to become the owner of the consolidated properties, together with the outstanding capital stock at par, shall not exceed the value of the consolidated properties as determined by the Commission; and the Commission is required to proceed immediately with the ascertainment of the value of the properties involved, upon the filing of the application for such consolidation.

3. Application for the consolidation must be presented to the Commission which, thereupon, shall notify the governor of each state in which any part of the properties is situated, and also the carriers involved, of the time and place for public hearing of the matter. If, after such hearing, the Commission finds that the public interest will be promoted by the consolidation, it may authorize the consolidation with such modifications and upon such terms and conditions as it may prescribe, "the law of any state or the decision or order of any state authority to the contrary notwithstanding."

The Act further provides that the carriers affected by any order of the Commission authorizing a consolidation and any corporation organized to effect a consolidation approved and authorized by the Commission, "shall be, and they are hereby, relieved from the operation of the anti-trust laws . . . and of all other restraints or prohibitions by law, State or Federal, in so far as may be necessary to enable them to do anything authorized or required by any order made" under and pursuant to the Act.

The Act also empowers the Commission, after hearing, to authorize the acquisition by one carrier of the control of any other carrier or carriers "either under a lease or by the purchase of stock or in any other manner not involving the consolidation of such carriers into a single system for ownership and operation," whenever the Commission is of the opinion that the same will be in the public interest. There is, of course, a well-defined difference in law between control of one railroad company by another through ownership of stock or by lease, and the "consolidation" of such companies. But it is not necessary to go into that distinction here further than to say that mere stock control, or lease, leaves the separate corporate entities in existence, whereas consolidation merges all into one. It is undoubtedly the purpose of the Transportation Act to permit consolidations only under the two fundamental conditions specified: (1) They must conform to a plan first to be worked out and adopted by the Commission for a consolidation of all the railways of the United States "into a limited number of systems;" and (2) the aggregate of the capitalizations of each system consolidated must not exceed in par value of securities the value of the consolidated properties as the same shall be appraised by the Commission.

It follows from this that while control of independent lines here and there may be obtained through purchase of stock or by lease, if the Commission shall be convinced that the public interest will be thereby promoted, yet no railroad consolidations can be effected until the Commission works out tentatively, and after many hearings and revisions finally adopts, a plan for dividing all the railroads of the United States into "a limited number of systems." The task imposed upon the Commission by Congress is exceedingly difficult. Ade-

quate transportation should be the first, not to say the sole, object. The relative value of the existing properties to the different sets of stockholders who own them is, of course, an essential consideration, and will be made so by the courts if not by the Commission; but the Act requires the Commission also to take into account the future values of the several systems to be created. I fancy that the Commission will be particularly embarrassed by that requirement of the Act which provides that:

> The several systems shall be so arranged that the cost of transportation as between competitive systems and as related to the values of the properties through which the service is rendered shall be the same so far as practicable, so that these systems can employ uniform rates in the movement of competitive traffic and under efficient management earn substantially the same rate of return upon the value of their respective railway properties.

What does this mean? Taken literally, the provision is absurd. But let us read it broadly and adopt the most helpful construction the language will allow. Line A was well located with reference to grades and traffic, wisely planned and constructed, evenly developed with respect to division terminals, engine facilities, and repair shops, and with double tracks and other means of economically conducting its business, while line B was less advantageously located, has a longer and more circuitous route, traverses a rougher country, has heavier grades, cost more money than the other, has been unevenly developed, lacks adequate or wisely located division terminals, shops, and other necessary facilities, and cannot possibly be operated as economically as line A. Now the statute quoted seems to require that the "cost of transportation as between" these two systems and "as related to the values of the properties through which the service is rendered" shall be the same, so far as practicable, "so that these systems can employ uniform rates" and "earn substantially the same rate of return" upon their value. To accomplish this would indeed be a miracle. Standing as above described, the lines are obviously unequal in value and efficiency. Line A has more business, can render better service and, therefore, will get more competitive traffic and can handle it at less cost than line B. The only way by which the apparent object of the statute can be accomplished is to handicap and weight line A by merging it with some inferior line and then help line B by merging it with some better line, thus creating two new systems of average value and efficiency; and this, as I understand, is precisely the object of the statute—to burden the strong with the weak lines and support the weak. The natural effect of the object thus sought would seem to be to lower the standard of credit, and therefore of service, of the strong lines and raise the standard of the weak to a common level. But whether the process will merely lower the general average of railroad credit and service, or whether it will result in wrecking the strong together with the weak lines, remains to be seen. Our railroad history is well strewn with wrecks of strong companies through overloading with unprofitable consolidations and extensions.

A NUMBER OF DIFFICULTIES

AT ALL events, the plan will be very difficult to work out practically. Strong lines and weak lines do not always lie end to end where they may be united into a continuous system. More often they are side by side and interlace so that they compete in service and facilities, which is vital to the public. Then, there are sections where all, or most, of the lines are strong, and other sections where all are weak. And not the least important to railroad credit is the problem of relative values. The owners of the successful lines certainly will

object to taking on the burden of the failures except at their actual value, and the owners of the unsuccessful lines, finding support in the policy of the Government to sell their lines, will be stimulated in the price they ask. And the owners of the successful lines will resist to the last resort the basis of valuation which the Commission's Bureau of Valuation has adopted, namely, the supposed cost of reproduction of the properties, less depreciation. That method tends to value line A at less than line B because a line wisely located with low grades and a shorter route (probably being the oldest and having the choice of routes) may cost much less than line B with a circuitous route, constructed through rough country, with heavy grades, etc., and yet line A would be immeasureably more valuable to its owners.

Another difficulty, but of a different kind, in the way of consolidations under the statute as it stands, arises from the requirement that "the bonds at par of the corporation which is to become the owner of the consolidated properties, together with the outstanding capital stock at par of such corporation, shall not exceed the value of the consolidated properties as determined by the Commission." This means that if the Commission should determine that the aggregate value of the several systems to be consolidated is less than the aggregate par value of the stock and bonds outstanding, then consolidation could not be effected unless and until the outstanding stock and bonds were reduced accordingly. With these securities already outstanding in the hands of investors, how would this be accomplished? Would the owners voluntarily scale them? It is not apparent how they could be paid off, because this probably would involve the necessity of issuing more securities for the money with which to pay those to be retired. Moreover, it would necessarily involve acceptance of the valuation placed upon the property by the Commission, which might be considerably less than the owners believed it to be worth. It seems unlikely, therefore, that any consolidations will be effected voluntarily where the valuation placed upon the property by the Commission is less than the aggregate amount of securities outstanding. The provision, therefore, is worse than useless, for where it is applicable, the parties simply will not consolidate.

OCCASION FOR ENDLESS NEGOTIATION

THERE is nothing in the Act making consolidation compulsory. It is left optional with the carriers, although press reports some months ago credited Senator Cummins, the originator of the idea, with a purpose to seek an amendment of the law, making such consolidations obligatory. So long as it is voluntary there is an almost boundless field for negotiations between the carriers respecting the terms upon which they will consolidate. When it is proposed to consolidate roads A, B, and C, each with its separate properties and separate groups of stockholders, into a single corporation with the properties in a single ownership and with a single body of stockholders, it will first be necessary for the three sets of stockholders to agree upon the relative value of their properties and the relative value of their stock, not only with respect to the theoretical equities, but as to the actual income in the way of dividends. It is evident that here is occasion for almost endless negotiation. Agreement will not be facilitated by the knowledge that the partners are not choosing each other, but that the choice has been made for them by the Commission. Nevertheless, it is quite likely that agreements will be reached in some cases and a number of voluntary consolidations may be effected in time.

CAN CONSOLIDATION BE FORCED?

BUT if the consolidations laid out by the Commission pursuant to the requirements of the Act are not affected

voluntarily, may the Government, by further legislation, compel the carriers to enter into them? Undoubtedly the Government may, through eminent domain or other exercise of its sovereign functions, expropriate and acquire the direct ownership of any or all railroads in the United States. If taken free of existing mortgages, that would require a vast sum—perhaps twenty billions. Or the Government may, by the exercise of like power, get complete control of the roads—not by taking title to the physical properties—but by acquisition of the stock which gives control of the corporations; and, through the corporations, it could control and manage the physical properties. But if the Government should merely acquire the stock, it would obtain control subject to the bonds—whereupon, as a practical matter, all railroad bonds—the good and the "near-good"—would, in effect, become government bonds, as the Government would have to pay the interest to prevent foreclosure.

But whatever the method, if the Government acquires the railroads, it must pay for them and it must *pay in cash* where the owner demands it. The Government cannot compel the stockholders of company A to accept in exchange for their property the stock of company B, or any other company. If the Government should acquire merely the stock, thus taking the property subject to all existing mortgages and bond issues, however excessive as regards the value of the security, then the amount of cash required would be comparatively small. Having thus acquired control of all the railroads, the Government, through appropriate legislation, could erect out of the whole as many separate systems as desired; and, with much or little regard for previously existing systems, it could incorporate a separate company for each system, issue as much stock as deemed proper and, by selling—if it could—the stock to investors, transfer the railroads back into private hands.

It is not impossible, therefore, for the Government to force the policy of consolidation of all the railroads of the United States into a "limited number of systems" as contemplated by the Act. This would involve the Government in a very large debt to provide the money for carrying out the plan and it is, to say the least, extremely doubtful whether the Government could then resell the stock of the consolidated companies for enough to pay the debt thus incurred. There is no reason to suppose that there would be a readier demand and better prices for the stock of the consolidated companies than the average for the present stocks. Average of values through consolidations would theoretically strengthen the weak lines, but, on the other hand, it undoubtedly would weaken the strong lines. But no one knows the market result of such averaging. There are many large holders of railroad stock now who, if once bought out, might prefer to stay out.

Instead of having the Commission evolve a plan for forcing all of the railroads of the United States into arbitrarily formed groups, it would be far better for the law to provide for voluntary consolidations from time to time subject in each case to approval by the Commission after full public hearing. Then the carriers could enter into negotiations with much better prospects of agreeing upon terms unembarrassed by a prior finding of the Commission that they must consolidate. I have never faltered in the belief that competition in service and facilities is the best railroad policy for the public and, therefore, I am not in favor of the consolidation of large, competing systems. But there are many short lines and roads of subsidiary importance that might be merged into other systems that would improve their efficiency and extend the field of competition between large systems in the interest of the public. This country owes most of its great railroad systems to wise consolidations as well as to

construction. None of the great systems as they exist to-day resulted wholly from construction by a single company. Along with construction of main lines, went the policy of extension by purchasing or absorbing connecting lines—sometimes competing lines. This policy, however, as already pointed out was stopped by the Sherman Anti-Trust Act in 1890, and the consolidation of competing lines ceased many years ago to be revived, if at all, only under the Transportation Act of 1920. I have no doubt that many consolidations ought to be effected in the public interest, but they ought to be natural and evolutionary. They should be dictated by considerations of transportation alone and the needs of the particular case. They should be a natural growth and development of our transportation systems, just as were the earlier successful consolidations which resulted in the creation of the existing successful systems. They should not be forced arbitrarily, and least of all should the really efficient lines, which handle the great bulk of the nation's traffic, be loaded down with the inefficient. But under the new law no such consolidations are possible until the Commission shall have worked out and adopted a plan for the consolidation of all the railroads for the United States into a "limited number of systems" and that probably will require much time.

THE BEST INTEREST OF THE PUBLIC

AND, after all, what is to be gained by the consolidation of all the railroads of the country into "a limited number of systems" as the new law contemplates? There would remain still the question of the present day—whether railroad securities with unrestricted government regulation of both rates and wages are a desirable investment. Indeed, my own judgment is that if all the railroads shall be consolidated into a small number of large systems as contemplated by the Act, to compete with each other, it will be but a few years thereafter until we have "strong" systems and "weak" systems again, just as now, differing only perhaps in the size of the systems, which in case of failure will only add to the magnitude of the disaster. Weak lines and strong lines are an incident to and an inevitable result of private ownership and competition; and we may as well choose first as last between private ownership with strong and weak lines and other incidents of competition, or government ownership with all that attends it. I am for private ownership and competition in service and facilities as being for the best interest of the public. If we are not willing to take what comes with it—the bad as well as the good, the strong lines and the weak lines, success for some and failure for others—then we should come at once to the other alternative of government ownership. We cannot expect to have all the benefits without any of the burdens of either plan. If we would be rid of the financial disabilities of the weak lines, then we must give up the benefits of competition in service and facilities. If, as some insist, remote and thinly settled sections must have as good and as cheap transportation as the more populous and prosperous, then the Government must provide it. But if each locality is to have just such transportation as its traffic will justify and is to pay for what it gets and get what it pays for; if enterprise, efficiency, and ability are to be encouraged in the field of railroad development and operation as heretofore; if each investor in railroad property is to have the rewards and take the losses that justly appertain to his venture as in all other lines of business; if the public generally is to have the service and facilities and the incentive to progress that competition brings about, then private ownership and operation under national government control and regulation, as at present, should be the policy.

"THE TRUTH ABOUT THE TREATY" AND "WHAT REALLY HAPPENED AT PARIS"

Some New Aspects of the Peace Conference. A Discussion Based on Two Historical Books of Significance

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NO ONE possessed of any historical insight will deny that the Peace Conference of 1919 was one of the great events in the history of the world and that it will grow rather than diminish in importance with the lapse of time.

Of the fifteen or more books on the Conference that have come to the writer's attention, the two latest and most important are André Tardieu's "The Truth About the Treaty," and a volume by eighteen experts attached to the American Commission issued under the editorship of Colonel House and Professor Seymour, entitled, "What Really Happened at Paris." André Tardieu, a well-known writer and correspondent, was French High Commissioner to the United States, a member of the Cabinet, and delegate of the French Republic to the Peace Conference. His book is strongly endorsed by Clemenceau and Colonel House. The latter says that Tardieu was "the one nearly indispensable man at the Conference." None but Lloyd George, Wilson, House, and Clemenceau were so intimately associated with the work of the Conference as he. He speaks with authority, but always as an apologist for Clemenceau and with a thinly veiled animus against Foch. The book contains a number of official documents never before published, which permanently dispel many of the illusions hitherto held by the public. Perhaps the most important and interesting revelations are those in regard to the terms of the Armistice.

Foch's attacks on Clemenceau and Tardieu when they finally abandoned the claim to the left bank of the Rhine, explain the scarcely disguised pleasure with which Tardieu reveals Foch's eagerness to grant the German request for an armistice and his willingness to offer easier terms than the Americans were willing to make. Thus Tardieu's desire to detract from Foch's glory serves to bring out facts which place President Wilson's conduct of the Armistice negotiations in a new light.

The general belief in this country, wilfully spread by Mr. Wilson's opponents in the Senate, was that the President entered into negotiations with Germany without conference with the other governments concerned, and finally imposed the Armistice upon unwilling Allies in order to prevent their victorious armies from marching to Berlin. Tardieu puts an end to this myth. He states that from October 5th, the day when the Germans first asked for an armistice, the President "remained in daily contact with the European governments," and he establishes by documentary evidence the fact that the American Government was in favor of writing into the Armistice harsher terms than the Allies thought it expedient to propose to the Germans. He tells for the first time a connected story of the Armistice. In the first place, as is generally known, Wilson drew the Germans on from a proposal to call a peace conference, to an acknowledgment of defeat and a willingness to accept an armistice drawn up by the military commanders. On October 23rd the President turned the correspondence over officially to the Supreme Council of the Allies, and Clemenceau, in the name of the Council, passed it on to Marshal Foch. On the 25th, Foch summoned General Pétain, Marshal Haig, and General Pershing to Senlis, read the correspondence to them, and asked their advice.

Haig speaks first. He thinks the Armistice should be concluded on very moderate terms. The Allied armies are extenuated; the Germans are not broken but are still fighting bravely; therefore, it is necessary to grant conditions that Germany will accept. Pétain is of the opinion that the Armistice should comply

fully with President Wilson's note of the 23rd; that it should make it impossible for the enemy to resume hostilities; and permit the Allies to make their own terms. Pershing agrees with Pétain. Foch thanks his guests and retires. The next day Foch presents the draft of an armistice to Clemenceau. Meanwhile, the heads of governments and foreign ministers are gathering in Paris. On the 24th Colonel House arrives to represent the President. General Bliss is already there representing the United States on the Inter-Allied Military Council. Between October 27th and 31st numerous conferences take place. General Bliss would prefer a shorter and more vigorous text than that proposed by Foch. "In my opinion two clauses would be sufficient: total disarmament and complete demobilization." He summarizes his views in a note as follows:

For the reasons stated above I suggest:

1. That the Associated Powers demand the complete disarmament and demobilization of the military and naval forces of the enemy, leaving only to him such internal force as may be considered necessary to the maintenance of order in enemy territory. This implies the evacuation of all invaded territories and their evacuation not by armed or partially armed men but by disarmed men.

The German army thus deprived of its arms cannot fight, and being demobilized, cannot again be called together for the objects of this war.

2. That the Associated Powers inform the enemy that there will be no diminution of their war aims which will be submitted to a full and reasonable discussion between the nations associated in the war; and that, even if the enemy himself is given a hearing, he will have to submit to everything that the Associated Powers shall finally decide to be necessary to assure now, and in the future, the Peace of the World.

FOCH'S DECISION

THE British representatives are not satisfied with the delivery of 150 submarines demanded by Foch, but propose that Germany be required to deliver her surface fleet also. To this Foch demurs. Colonel House asks this fundamental question: "Tell us, M. le Maréchal, purely from the military point of view and without regard to any other consideration, whether you would rather that the Germans should reject or accept the Armistice on the lines we have just agreed upon." Marshal Foch replies: "The only aim of war is to obtain results. If the Germans sign an armistice on the general lines we have just determined we shall have obtained the result we seek. *Our aims being accomplished, no one has the right to shed another drop of blood.*" In answer to the arguments of General Bliss and Lloyd George, he says: "Nothing is easier than to propose and even to impose conditions on paper. It is simple and logical to demand the disarmament of the German armies in the field. But how will you make sure of it? Will you pass through the German armies and occupy before them the Rhine crossings? Demobilization? I am willing. But do you intend to occupy the whole of Germany? For if we do not occupy the whole of Germany, we shall never be certain that demobilization has been carried out. As for the German surface fleet, what do you fear from it? During the whole war only a few of its units have ventured from their ports. The surrender of these units will be merely a manifestation, which will please the public, but nothing more. Why make the Armistice harder, for I repeat its sole object is to place Germany *hors de combat.*" In conclusion he adds: "What will you do if the Germans after having accepted the severe and ample conditions that I propose, refuse to subscribe to the additional humiliations you suggest? Will you on that account run the risk of a renewal of hostilities with the useless sacrifice of thousands of lives?"

How long could the Germans continue to fight, in case they should reject the Armistice? This question is put to Foch by Colonel House and Lloyd George. Marshal Foch replies: "I am not in a position and no one is in a position to give you an accurate forecast. It may last three months, perhaps four or five. Who knows? However, if I cannot fix a date, I can reply to the main question. On the main question I say this: *the conditions laid down by your military advisers are the very conditions which we ought to, and could, impose after the success of our further operations. So if the Germans accept them now, it is useless to go on fighting.*"

THE OPEN LIGHT OF DAY

TARDIEU concludes his discussion of the Armistice with the following interesting comment: "What remains of the fiction, believed by so many, of an armistice secretly determined upon by an American dictator; submitted to by the European governments; imposed by their weakness upon the victorious armies, despite the opposition of the generals?

The Armistice was discussed in the open light of day. President Wilson only consented to communicate it to his associates on the triple condition that its principle be approved by the military authorities and its clauses would be drawn up by them; that it be imposed upon the enemy and not discussed with him; and that it be such as to prevent all resumption of hostilities and assure the submission of the vanquished to the terms of peace. So it was that the discussion went on with Berlin till October 23rd, and in Paris from that date till November 5th. It was to the Commander-in-Chief that final decision was left not only on the principle of the Armistice but also upon its application. He it was who drew up the text. And it was his draft that was adopted. The action of the governments was limited to endorsing it and making it more severe. That is the truth: it is perhaps less picturesque but certainly more in accord with common-sense."

THE "LEFT BANK" CONTROVERSY

THE most difficult problem that the Conference had to solve was the establishment of a new Franco-German frontier. There was no question about Alsace-Lorraine. That had been disposed of by the Fourteen Points, and Germany had acquiesced in its return to France in the pre-armistice agreement. But no sooner was the Armistice signed than Foch addressed a note to Clemenceau setting forth the necessity of making the Rhine the western frontier of Germany. The Left Bank, extending from Alsace-Lorraine to the Dutch frontier, embraces about 10,000 square miles and 5,500,000 people. The debate on this question continued at intervals for six months, and threatened at times to disrupt the Conference. The French point of view is set forth at length and with great ability in Tardieu's book. He reproduces in full the elaborate Memorandum of February 26th, which he prepared at Clemenceau's request and submitted to the Conference. The whole subject is presented with admirable clearness and fairness in the chapter contributed by Professor Haskins to the volume edited by House and Seymour.

The French representatives did not demand the direct annexation of the Left Bank, but they proposed an independent or autonomous Rhineland, and French, or inter-allied, occupation of the Rhine for an indefinite period, or at least until the full execution by Germany of the financial clauses of the Treaty. Both the British and American representatives opposed the French proposals. Lloyd George repeatedly said: "We must not create another Alsace-Lorraine." He also remarked: "The strongest impression made upon me by my first visit to Paris was the statue of Strassburg veiled in mourning. Do not let us make it possible for Germany to erect a similar statue."

In March the discussion was renewed with great earnestness and intensity of feeling. Wilson returned to Paris March 14th, and that same afternoon he met Lloyd George and Clemenceau. The French argument was set forth again at length and with great skill. The fact was again pointed out that the surrender of the German fleet had relieved England from all fear of German invasion, and that the Atlantic Ocean lay between Germany and the United States, while France, which had suffered two German invasions in half a century, had no safeguard but the League of Nations, and that was not deemed as good a guarantee as the Rhine bridges.

THE REASON FOR THE GUARANTEE TREATIES

FINALLY, Wilson and Lloyd George offered the guarantee treaties, and Clemenceau agreed to take the proposal under consideration. Three days later he came back with a counter-proposition and a compromise was reached. France gave up her demand for a separate Rhineland, but secured occupation of the Left Bank, including the bridge-heads for a period of fifteen years as a guarantee of the execution of the Treaty. In return the United States and Great Britain pledged themselves to come to the immediate aid of France in case of an unprovoked attack, by an agreement which was to be binding only if ratified by both countries—and the United States Senate has refused to ratify it. Foch was opposed to this compromise, and adopted a course of action which was very embarrassing to Clemenceau. Fierce attacks on the French Government and on the representatives of Great Britain and the United States, inspired by him, appeared in the papers. He even went so far as to refuse to transmit the note summoning the German delegates to Versailles to receive the text of the Treaty.

Wilson and Lloyd George objected to the attitude Foch had assumed, and, according to Tardieu, made the following protest to Clemenceau: "We very willingly placed our armies under the supreme command of a French Gen-

eral for whom we have the highest admiration and the deepest gratitude. But this General, no matter how great his glory, is an obstacle to the decisions of the governments. We cannot accept this situation and permit the authority we have conferred to be turned against us. It is a fundamental question of constitutional responsibility. We are to-day, as yesterday, ready to accept a French general as Commander-in-Chief. But we must have a general who obeys the governments." Clemenceau found Foch hard to handle, but finally drew from him an expression of regret, and at the conclusion of the interview the Marshal said smilingly: "All right. I will call off my dogs of war."

IMPORTANT FALLACIES REVEALED

BUT when the treaty came before the French Cabinet for final approval, Foch renewed his attack. The result was that Clemenceau secured the insertion in the treaty of the following clause in connection with the fifteen-year period of occupation: "If, at that date, the guarantees against an unprovoked aggression by Germany are not considered sufficient by the Allied and Associated governments, the evacuation of the occupying troops may be delayed to the extent regarded as necessary for the purpose of obtaining the required guarantees." If the United States Senate does not agree to the guarantee treaty before the end of the fifteen-year period, there is little likelihood that the French will withdraw from the Rhine. Tardieu's conclusion, which the United States Senate would do well to ponder, is as follows: "The future rests with the Government of the United States, and with it alone, in the exercise of its national sovereignty. We know what we wish may be the outcome for the sake of the peace of the world in which France, more than any one else, is interested. But in case the hoped-for assistance fails us, we shall have to remain on the Rhine, and, in the absence of undertakings now pending as by virtue of the Treaty of Versailles for the common good of all, mount guard for Liberty."

On one point those who were most active in the work of the Conference are emphatic. It is this—that the question of the League of Nations did not delay the conclusion of the Treaty. The questions we have reviewed in this article were the ones that caused discussion and delay. In fact, the Allied and Associated Powers were definitely pledged by the last of the Fourteen Points, a part of the pre-armistice agreement, to form an association of nations as an integral part of the peace settlement. That pledge was stated in these words: "A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike." Thus Article X was the only part of the Covenant to which the Powers had definitely committed themselves in advance. The new states created by the Conference, and the boundaries established, were to be definitely guaranteed; and the League was the means devised to carry out this and other provisions of the Treaty.

The House book throws many interesting lights on the personality of Wilson and his methods of work. That he did not consult Lansing need not be a matter of surprise to any one who reads Lansing's book, but Lansing appears to be about the only one who was not consulted. The experts attached to the Commission all testify that the President relied upon them at every point and generally adopted their conclusions. Mr. Lamont says: "I am going to take this opportunity to say a word in general as to President Wilson's attitude at the Peace Conference. He is accused of having been unwilling to consult his colleagues. I never saw a man more ready and anxious to consult than he. He has been accused of having been desirous to gain credit for himself and to ignore others. I never saw a man more considerate of those of his coadjutors who were working immediately with him, nor a man more ready to give them credit."

Bibliographical Note: No serious student of the subject can afford to be without the "History of the Peace Conference of Paris," edited by H. W. V. Temperley, and published under the auspices of the Institute of International Affairs. This elaborate work is to be in five volumes, three of which have already appeared. The Institute of International Affairs was founded at Paris in 1919 by a group of technical delegates, and is composed of two branches, one in Great Britain, and one in the United States. Its object is set forth in a resolution adopted at the time in the following words: "That the purpose of this Institute should be to keep its members in touch with the international situation and enable them to study the relation between national policies

and the interests of society as a whole." The first task undertaken by the Institute was the publication of a history of the Peace Conference, and under the able editorship of Mr. Temperley the work has been carried on with great success, the different parts being assigned to the specialists who in each case were considered best qualified to handle the subject. The work contains valuable maps, documents, and commentaries, and will be an indispensable source of information on all phases of the Conference.

Of the other books we shall mention, some are by men who participated in the work of the Conference, and others by newspaper correspondents. While Colonel House and General Bliss have contributed chapters to the volume prepared by the American experts, Tardieu and Lansing are the only two members of commissions who have published separate volumes. Lansing's book is mainly an attack on Wilson, and throws no new light on the Conference. Its author goes to great pains to demonstrate, beyond the possibility of contradiction, what many people had suspected and some known, that he was never more than a figure-head in the Wilson administration.

Haskins and Lord, two historians attached to the American commission, have contributed a valuable volume on "Some Problems of the Peace Conference." This book deals mainly with the question of boundaries, Professor Haskins writing the chapters on the western boundaries of Germany, and Professor Lord, those dealing with Poland, Austria, and the Balkans.

Of the books dealing with the economic aspects of the treaty, the best known is that by J. M. Keynes, "The Economic Consequences of the Peace." His sensational caricature in Chapter III of the members of the Council of Four and their methods of work, and particularly of Wilson, whom he describes as the old Presbyterian who was harder to "debamboozle" than to "bamboozle," brought the book a ready sale. M. Mantoux, the official interpreter, has stated that Keynes never attended a session of the Council, whose proceedings he so vividly describes. For the rest, the book is anti-French, and emphasizes the importance of economic rather than political frontiers. Keynes believes that the reconstruction of eastern Europe and the Balkans depends upon the economic recovery of Germany. Keynes' arguments have called forth a number of replies, the most important of which are David Hunter Miller's articles in the New York *Evening Post* in February, 1920; B. M. Baruch's "The Making of the Reparations and Economic Sections of the Treaty"; and R. G. Lévy, "La Juste Paix, ou la Vérité sur la Traité de Versailles." M. Lévy is a French Senator. J. L. Garvin, editor of the London *Observer*, has a bulky volume on "The Economic Foundations of Peace," which is of value, though written before the Conference had completed its work. He had the first draft of the League Covenant before him, and emphasizes the importance of economic cooperation throughout the League as the key to world peace.

The remaining books to which we shall refer are by press correspondents and based, to a great extent, on the despatches which they sent out from day to day. E. J. Dillon's "The Inside Story of the Peace Conference" was manifestly written on the outside. It is brilliant, but untrustworthy, and contains a number of good stories that few readers will be so naïve as to believe. "The Peace Tangle" by J. F. Bass is a very serious description of conditions in Europe and of the difficulties encountered by the Conference, which, he thinks, failed to solve them rightly. It is critical and pessimistic. C. T. Thompson's "The Peace Conference Day by Day" is a sane and valuable record of how the various questions were regarded in Paris as they came up before the Conference. Sisley Huddleston's "Peace Making at Paris" is based on articles which he wrote from Paris to the leading English reviews. George Creel's "The War, the World, and Wilson" contains some new and interesting explanations of things and possesses a certain value, notwithstanding its eulogistic character and its flamboyant style. Ray Stannard Baker's "What Wilson Did at Paris" is also highly eulogistic. The author was in close daily association with Wilson and thinks he made no mistakes.

America and England

THE LONDON LETTERS OF WALTER H. PAGE

American Ambassador to Great Britain during the World War

The first of a series of instalments from the Life and Letters of Walter H. Page

AT a cabinet meeting, held in February, 1915, President Wilson entertained his associates by reading extracts from one of the letters of his Ambassador to Great Britain, Mr. Walter H. Page.

"Some day," the President said, "I hope that Walter Page's letters will be published. They are the best letters I have ever read. They make you feel the atmosphere in England, understand the people, and see into the motives of the great actors. When published, they will give the finest picture obtainable anywhere of England during the war."

Col. Edward M. House, to whom many of the letters were addressed, has also expressed his wish that they should be published. "I have never read anything," he says, "that can compare with them. They are destined to become classics."

For some time Mr. Burton J. Hendrick has been preparing the authorized biography

of Mr. Page, based largely upon his correspondence. The letters, assembled from many sources, justify the opinions expressed above, as well as that of Mr. Edwin A. Alderman, president of the University of Virginia. At the meeting held in honor of Mr. Page's memory, at the Brick Presbyterian Church, on April 25, 1919, President Alderman said:

"I have never known a more perfect democrat than Walter Page. He wasted no time in defining that great Hope, as he called it. The conception thrilled and exalted and stimulated and guided him as religion used to guide its devotees in the age of Faith. He had thought the thing out and talked it out and ordered it into a creed. 'It's the end of the year,' he wrote me at Christmas in 1912. 'Mrs. Page and I (alone) have been talking of democracy. I do profoundly hold the democratic faith and believe that it can be worked into action among men.' And in the same letter, he added: 'I have a new amusement, a new excitement, a new study, as you have and as we all have who really believe in a democracy—a new study, a new hope, and sometimes a new fear; and its name is Wilson. I have for many years regarded myself as an interested, but always a somewhat detached, outsider, believing that the democratic idea was real and safe and lifting, if we could ever get it put into action, contenting myself ever with such patches of it as time and accident and occasion now and then sewed on our gilded or tattered garments. But now it is come—the real thing; at any rate a man whose thought and aim and dream are our thought and aim and dream. That's enormously exciting! I didn't suppose I'd ever become so interested in a general proposition or in a governmental hope.'

"I have known no man of wider and tenderer sympathies, of greater joy in praise of others, and greater genius in discovering the best in others. There are many noble men in America who found themselves because he first found them. When his Memoirs come to be written, I prophesy that the number of the letters that he wrote, and the contacts that he maintained with all sorts of men, will astonish his biographer. And such letters! beautiful in handwriting, fresh in thought, turbulent with strident common sense and radiant hope and virile humor. If he shall be not adjudged the best letter writer of his generation, I shall be much mistaken. About the time of his appointment to the English post, a certain menace of disease condemned me to inactivity in the great, cold, north country of New York. Week by week, beautiful letters came to me from him—all in his engraved-like handwriting. They were sent primarily to beguile my sickness and silence, but they fairly throbbed with interest and bold opinions and poetical insights and praise of friends and now and then Gargantuan merriment and laughter. I often read them with mingled laughter and tears, remembering the motive that moved the busy man, and stirred by their sense and substance. The letters didn't cease until the ship, bearing him to his great task, was approaching Liverpool. Writing in December, 1912, amidst all sorts of conceit and mounting enthusiasms, I find these noble sentences spoken to strengthen a lonely man's courage. 'I've a book or two more to send you. If they interest you, praise the gods. If they bore you, fling 'em in the snow and think no worse of me. You can't tell what a given book may be worth to a given man in an unknown mood. They become such a commodity to me that I thank my stars for a month away from them when I may come at 'em at a different angle and really read a few old ones—Wordsworth, for instance. When you get old enough, you'll wake up some day with the feeling that the world is much more beautiful than it was when you were young, that a

landscape has a clearer meaning, that the sky is more companionable, that outdoor color and motion are more splendidly audacious and beautifully rhythmical than you had ever thought. That's true. The gently snow-clad little pines out my window are more to me than the whole Taft Administration. They'll soon be better than the year's dividends. And the few great craftsmen in words, who can confirm this feeling—they are the masters you become grateful for. Then the sordidness of the world lies far beneath you and your great democracy is truly come—the democracy of nature. To be akin to a tree, in this sense, is as good as to be akin to a man. I have a grove of little long-leaf pines down in the old country, and I know they'll have some consciousness of me after all men have forgotten me: I've saved 'em, and they'll sing a century of gratitude if I can keep 'em saved.' "

In its September number, the WORLD'S WORK will begin the publication of that part of Mr. Page's correspondence which covered his Ambassadorship to Great Britain.

Mr. Walter H. Page, whose lot it was to serve as America's representative in London during the five most critical years of modern history, was born in Cary, a small town near Raleigh, N. C., in 1855. His ancestry was chiefly English with admixtures of Scotch-Irish and Huguenot; his forbears had been planters for several generations; and Mr. Page's boyhood was passed in a South which had just passed through the Civil War, in a state which had itself been invaded and in parts devastated by northern troops, and which had suffered even more severely from the social and economic ravages of the Reconstruction Era. Such an environment might at first seem an unpropitious one for the development of the sturdiest and most loyal breed of Americanism. Yet from his infancy the future Ambassador had known no other purpose. His father had been a Whig before the Civil War—which meant that, in the deadly issue of secession, his sympathies had been against secession; as a Southerner he accepted the decision of his neighbors in 1861, and loyally supported the Confederacy; as soon as the struggle ended, however, he immediately became a pioneer in the new work of rebuilding the old commonwealth. Walter Page thus imbibed this atmosphere as a child and it gave direction to his whole after life. All his activities were grouped around two great purposes, and both of them were enterprises of reconciliation. His first ambition was to play a part in healing the wounds of the Civil War and in making North and South sympathetic and coöperating units in a new and greater Americanism. His second was to carry this work into a still wider sphere, and bring together—this time not as a political unit, but as a force working for everything that is best in modern life—all the branches of the English-speaking peoples. Both these purposes Page regarded as practically one. He believed that the English-speaking civilization, political, social, intellectual, and economic, represented the highest that mankind had attained. "In what light do the English show to best advantage in history?" a solemn Briton once asked the American Ambassador. "As ancestors to Americans," was the immediate response—a retort which really embodied the whole philosophy of his life.

The intellectual and the literary were the predominant qualities in the youthful Page; he satisfied these aspirations by an education of the old-fashioned kind—at the Bingham School in North Carolina, at Randolph-Macon College in Virginia, at the newly opened Johns Hopkins, where he spent two years (1876-78) and had a fleeting glimpse of another young man who was to cut some figure in the world—then known

as Thomas Woodrow Wilson. All through his life Page was one of those rarities in hurly-burly America—an excellent classical scholar, a man to whom the Greek and Latin writers were inspiring realities. An interesting experience to the editor of his papers was to find particularly confidential notations frequently written in Greek. His early letters contain voluminous records of his reading in the English poets—Wordsworth, Shelley, Byron, Tennyson, as well as those imitations of his favorites which are the customary exercises of active-minded young men with the literary bent. His early experiences in writing, however, were of a more practical kind—nothing less than a year as editor of a party paper in St. Joseph, Mo., of another in Raleigh, N. C., interspersed with several journalistic experiences in New York—on the New York *World* in its pre-Pulitzer days and the New York *Evening Post* in the early period of Godkin. A rambling commission to describe conditions in a South that was painfully emerging from reconstruction and another to report on Mormonism in Utah enlarged his first-hand acquaintance with his country. The young man obtained his first opportunity to display his vigor and originality in 1887, when he formed a connection with a moribund monthly known as the *Forum*. The rapidity with which this publication, under Page's direction, became one of the most forceful influences in American periodical literature, permanently established the reputation of its editor. He quickly enlisted in his services the foremost names, on both sides of the Atlantic, in literature, politics, science, and art; and in a brief time the *Forum* became the monthly intellectual companion of every American making the slightest claim to enlightenment. As a reward for this success Mr. Page received what was then the blue ribbon among American magazine editorships—that of the *Atlantic Monthly*, to which he succeeded in 1896. The *Atlantic* at that time was suffering from one of those periods of depression to which all long-lived publications are subject; the effect of its new and virile directing mind, however, was at once apparent, and prosperity again became its portion. From that time until 1913 Mr. Page was a hard and successful worker in the fields of publishing and of periodical literature. In 1899 he left Boston to join hands with Mr. Frank N. Doubleday in the formation of the prosperous publishing firm which has ever since been known by their joint names. The readers of this magazine, who, more than those of most others, have the valuable habit of keeping with it year in and year out, are acquainted with one of the most characteristic achievements of Mr. Page's later life. The WORLD'S WORK, in its form, its style, its aims, its broad view of the vital and progressive achievements of mankind, is his creation. Mr. Page founded this magazine in 1900; and remained its hard-working and effective editor until 1913, when President Wilson sent him as Ambassador to Great Britain.

These essential details hardly give an adequate idea of Mr. Page's activities. Great as was his interest in the past, his real enthusiasm was for the future. The American democracy of his time, splendid as had been its accomplishments, was only a faint precursor of the American democracy that was coming. This American democracy he regarded as the ultimate form of social and political organization; as the system which was to spread from our own shores until it comprehended all parts of the world. He believed this because he believed that the fundamentals which made possible the happy and orderly existence of the individual had been established on a better basis in the United States than in any other land. His efforts toward the reconstitution of the South taught him many lessons which had a much wider application. Mr. Page's frankness in discussing Southern questions frequently angered those Southern

traditionists whose worship of the past blinded them to the imperfections of the present and the possibilities of the future. He accepted the result of the Civil War not with resignation, but with satisfaction; the salvation of the Southern States, he insisted, lay in education, in sanitation, in a diversified agriculture, in highway construction, in the development of railroads and modern utilities. In all these civilizing agencies he himself became an effective worker. He was one of the leaders in the battle for the establishment of efficient public educational systems in the Southern States. He believed that one possible solution of the Negro Problem lay in industrial training; he was therefore one of the earliest supporters of Booker Washington and a friend of Hampton Institute. As a member of the Southern Education Board, and afterward, of the General Education Board, he became an influential force in promoting the idea of popular education, as the one indispensable agency of democracy. He was one of the first to perceive the value, as a civilizing force, of that new science which is largely the creation of America—that of sanitation. The fight against the hookworm in the Southern States, in which he was an active participant, seemed to him just as important as the struggle for better dwellings and better school houses. As a member of the International Health Commission, he was able to help in that fight against disease which, in his judgment, was one of the most exalted expressions of democracy. As a member of President Roosevelt's Country Life Commission, he engaged in the congenial task of improving the every-day existence of those rural communities which he regarded as the strength of the nation. The work of Americans in abolishing disease, and extending education and the conveniences and necessaries of existence in such undeveloped regions as Cuba and the Philippines, powerfully stimulated Page's imagination; these works seemed to him to lay the basis of real civilization and to point the way to the solution of one of the most baffling problems of modern times—that presented by the so-called "backward peoples."

This training—in journalism, in literature, in education, in the foundations of democracy—enabled Page to bring a fresh viewpoint to the new career to which President Wilson called him in 1913. In the London post his sympathy, plain spokenness, broad outlook, and gaiety of spirits, immediately made a strong impression on Englishmen. No American ambassador or minister since Charles Francis Adams had had his mission cast in such critical times. The part that Page played in shaping the events of those five years will become apparent with the publication of his letters and other memoranda. Even before the outbreak of war, his work was important. For the first time, the complete story of the Mexican crisis of 1913-14 will now be told. The Page letters will give the inside history of one of the most splendid episodes in American diplomacy—the repeal, in 1914, of the Panama tolls discrimination. The public will now obtain all the details of a visit which Colonel House made to Berlin and London, in June, 1914—six weeks before the European war began—a visit which, it was vainly hoped, would prevent that cataclysm. Mr. Page's description of the outbreak of war will take its place in history. He describes Sir Edward Grey, the Foreign Secretary, telling him, with tears in his eyes, of his unsuccessful attempt to prevent the war, and of King George, declaiming for an hour on German iniquities, and despairingly asking the American Ambassador: "My God! Mr. Page, what else can we do?" The reader gets an unforgettable picture of the Austrian Ambassador to Great Britain wringing his hands and behaving like a madman, and of the German Ambassador, Prince Lichnowsky, so unnerved that he comes into his drawing room, clad

in his pajamas, to receive distinguished callers. Page's description of England under the stress of war—the fortitude of Englishmen, the sublime courage and self-sacrifice of Englishwomen—will be for ever cherished by the British public. "I thank God," he says, "that I am of their race and blood." He tells of Germany's frantic attempts to get peace in September, 1914, after the first battle of the Marne, and of many other attempts during the next two years. His negotiations with the Foreign Office over the blockade will disclose the delicacy of a situation, which, in other hands, might have had the most disastrous consequences. It is the belief of British statesmen to-day that, except for the tact and consideration shown by the American Ambassador, the United States and Great Britain might have been involved in the greatest difficulties, possibly even in war. The fact is that the American Ambassador at London, as his correspondence will show, was never "neutral," except in the diplomatic sense. His behavior from the beginning was absolutely correct; he carried out the instructions of his government with conscientious fidelity; yet his deepest sympathies were enlisted on the side of the Allies; he detested Germany and all its works; and this fact made it possible for him to present his country's case in ways that preserved the good relations between the United States and Great Britain; and to suggest compromises that saved many a crisis. A less considerate Ambassador might easily have maintained an attitude that would have estranged the two peoples and made it impossible for the United States to have entered the war on the side of the Allies.

Besides the view of great events in the form of correspondence, the letters contain first-hand pictures of the great persons of the drama. Sir Edward Grey is constantly in the picture; there are close views of Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Balfour, Lord Kitchener, General French—of all the leading actors in a great period. The literary style and spirit of the letters can best be illustrated by specimens, of which the following, written before the war, may be taken as typical:

Ambassador Page to President Wilson

American Embassy, London,
[May 11, 1914]

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

The King of Denmark (I always think of Hamlet) having come to make his royal kinsman of these Isles a visit, his royal kinsman to-night gave a state dinner at the palace whereto the Ambassadors of the eight Great Powers were, of course, invited. Now I don't know how other kings do, but I'm willing to swear by King George for a job of this sort. The splendor of the thing is truly regal and the friendliness of it very real and human; and the company most uncommon. Of course the Ambassadors and their wives were there, the chief rulers of the Empire and men and women of distinction and most of the royal family. The dinner and the music and the plate and the decorations and the jewels and the uniforms—all these were regal; but there is a human touch about it that seems almost democratic.

All for His Majesty of Denmark, a country with fewer people and less wealth than New Jersey. This whole royal game is most interesting. Lloyd George and H. H. Asquith and John Morley were there, all in white knee breeches of silk and swords and most gaudy coats—these that are the radicals of the Kingdom, in literature and in action. Veterans of Indian and South African wars stood on either side of every door and of every stairway, dressed as Sir Walter Raleigh dressed, like so many statues,

never blinking an eye. Every person in the company is printed, in all the papers, with every title he bears. Crowds lined the streets in front of the palace to see the carriages go in and to guess who was in each. To-morrow the Diplomatic Corps calls on King Christian and to-morrow night King George commands us to attend the opera as his guests.

Whether it's the court, or the honors and the orders and all the social and imperial spoils, that keep the illusion up, or whether it is the Old World inability to change anything, you can't ever quite decide. In Defoe's time they put pots of herbs on the desks in the court rooms of every court in London to keep the plague off. The pots of herbs are yet put on every desk in every court room in London. Several centuries ago somebody tried to break into the Bank of England. A special guard was detached—a little company of soldiers—to stand watch at night. The bank has twice been moved and is now housed in a building that would stand a siege; but that guard, in the same uniform, goes on duty every night. Nothing is ever abolished, nothing ever changed. On the anniversary of King Charles's execution, his statue in Trafalgar Square is covered with flowers. Every month, too, new books appear about the mistresses of old kings—as if they, too, were of more than usual interest: I mean serious, historical books. From the king's palace to the humblest house I've been in, there are pictures of kings and queens. In every house, too (to show how nothing ever changes), the towels are folded in the same peculiar way. In every grate in the kingdom the coal fire is laid in precisely the same way. There is not a salesman in any shop on Piccadilly who does not, in the season, wear a long-tail coat. Everywhere they say a second grace at dinner—not at the end—but before the dessert, because 200 years ago they dared not wait longer lest the parson be under the table: the grace is said to day *before* dessert! I tried three months to persuade my "Boots" to leave off blacking the soles of my shoes under the bottom. He simply couldn't do it. Every "Boots" in the Kingdom does it. A man of learning had an article in an afternoon paper a few weeks ago which began thus: "It is now universally conceded by the French and the Americans that the decimal system is a failure," and he went on to concoct a scheme for our money that would be more "rational" and "historical." In this hot debate about Ulster a frequent phrase used is, "Let us see if we can't find the right formula to solve the difficulty": their whole lives are formulas. Now may not all the honors and garters and thistles and O. M.'s and C. V. O.'s and all manner of gaudy sinecures be secure, only because they can't abolish anything? My servants sit at table in a certain order, and Mrs. Page's maid wouldn't yield her precedence to a mere housemaid for any mortal consideration—no more than a royal person of a certain rank would yield to one of a lower rank. A real democracy is as far off as doomsday. So you argue, till you remember that it is these same people who killed kings and made human liberty possibile—to a degree—and till you sit day after day and hear them in the House of Commons, mercilessly pounding one another. Then you are puzzled. Do they keep all these outworn things because they are incapable of changing anything, or do these outworn burdens keep them from becoming able to change anything? I daresay it works both ways. Every venerable ruin, every outworn custom, makes the King more secure; and the King gives veneration to every ruin and keeps respect for every outworn custom.

Praise God for the Atlantic Ocean! It is the geographical foundation of our liberties. Yet, as I've often written, there are men here, real men,

ruling men, mighty men, and a vigorous stock.

A civilization, especially an old civilization, isn't an easy nut to crack. But I notice that the men of vision keep their thought on us. They never forget that we are 100 million strong and that we dare do new things; and they dearly love to ask questions about — Rockefeller! Our power, our adaptibility, our potential wealth they never forget. They'll hold fast to our favor for reasons of prudence as well as for reasons of kinship. And, whenever we choose to assume the leadership of the world, they'll grant it — gradually — and follow loyally. They cannot become French, and they dislike the Germans. They must keep in our boat for safety as well as for comfort.

Yours heartily,
WALTER H. PAGE.

To the President.

WALTER H. PAGE

From a painting by Laizlo, now hanging in the Chancery of the American Embassy at London

. . . The two things that this island has of eternal value are its gardens and its men. Nature sprinkles it almost every day and holds its moisture down so that every inch of it is forever green; and somehow men thrive as the lawns do—the most excellent of all races for progenitors. You and I can never be thankful enough that our ancestors came of this stock and escaped in time to save us. Even those that have stayed have cut a wide swath, and they wield good scythes yet. But I have moods when I pity them—for their dependence, for instance, on a navy (2 keels to 1) for their very bread and meat. They frantically resent conveniences. They despise bath-rooms; every gentleman must have his own tin tub. They build their great law court building (the architecture ecclesiastical) so as to provide an entrance hall of imposing proportions which they use once a year; and to get this fine hall they have to make their court rooms, which they must use all the time, dark and small and inaccessible. They think as much of that once-a-year ceremony of opening their courts as they think of the even justice that they dispense: somehow they feel that the justice depends on the ceremony.

This moss that has grown all over their lives (some of it very pretty and most of it very comfortable—it's soft and warm) is of no great consequence—except that they think they'd die if it were removed. And this state of mind gives us a good key to their character and habits.

What are we going to do with this England

and this Empire presently when economic forces unmistakably put the leadership of the race in our hands? How can we lead it and use it for the highest purposes of the world and of democracy? We can do what we like if we go about it heartily and with good manners (any man prefers to yield to a gentleman rather than to a rustic) and throw away — gradually — our isolating fears and alternate boasting and bashfulness. "What do we most need to learn from you?" I asked a gentle and bejeweled nobleman the other Sunday, in a country garden that invited confidences. "If I may speak without offence, modesty." A commoner in the company, who has seen the Rocky Mountains, laughed, and said: "No; see your chance and take it: that's what we did in the years when we made the world's history." . . .

A DIPLOMATIC ERRAND

Mr. Page leaving the embassy for an official call. He kept American-British relations friendly in a period of great difficulty; a fact which made it ultimately possible for the United States to enter the war on the side of the Allies

Ambassador Page to President Wilson

American Embassy, London, October 25, 1913.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I am moved once in a while to write you privately, not about any specific piece of public business, but only, if I can, to transmit something of the atmosphere of the work here. And, since this is meant quite as much for your amusement as for any information it may carry, don't read it "in office hours."

The future of the world belongs to us. A man needs to live here, with two economic eyes in his head, a very little time to become very sure of this. Everybody will see it presently. These English are spending their capital, and it is their capital that continues to give them their vast power. Now what are we going to do with the leadership of the world presently when it clearly falls into our hands? And how can we use the English for the highest uses of democracy?

You see their fear of an on-sweeping democracy in their social treatment of party opponents. A Tory lady told me with tears that she could no longer invite her Liberal friends to her house: "I have lost them—they are robbing us, you know." I made the mistake to say a word in praise of Sir Edward Grey to a duke. "Yes, yes, no doubt an able man; but you must understand, sir, that I don't train with that gang." A bishop explained to me at elaborate length why the very monarchy is doomed unless something befalls Lloyd George and his programme. Every dinner party is made up with strict reference to the party politics of the guests. Sometimes you imagine you see something like civil war; and money is flowing out of the Kingdom into Canada in the greatest volume ever known, and I am told that a number of old families are investing their fortunes in African lands.

These and such things are, of course, mere chips which show the direction the slow stream runs. The great economic tide of the century flows our way. *We* shall have the big world questions to decide presently. Then we shall need world policies; and it will be these old-

UNVEILING THE PILGRIM MONUMENT

One of the first duties of Ambassador Page was to unveil a monument erected at Southampton, England, to commemorate the sailing of the Pilgrim fathers. The start on the famous voyage was made from this town

time world leaders that we shall then have to work with, more closely than now.

The English make a sharp distinction between the American people and the American Government—a distinction that they are conscious of and that they themselves talk about. They do not think of our *people* as foreigners. I have a club book on my table wherein the members are classified as British, Colonial, American, and Foreign—quite unconsciously. But they do think of our Government as foreign, and as a frontier sort of thing without good manners or good faith. This distinction presents the big task of implanting here a real respect for our Government. People often think to compliment the American Ambassador by assuming that he is better than his Government and must at times be ashamed of it. Of course the Government never does this—never—but persons in unofficial life; and I have sometimes hit some hard blows under this condescending provocation. This is the one experience that I have found irritating. They commiserate me on having a Government that will not provide an Ambassador's residence—from the King to my servants. They talk about American lynchings. Even the *Spectator*, in an early editorial about you, said that we should now see what stuff there is in the new President by watching whether you would stop lynchings. They forever quote Bryce on the badness of our municipal government. They pretend to think that the impeachment of governors is common and ought to be commoner. One delicious M. P. asked me: "Now, since the Governor of New York is impeached, who becomes Vice-President?"* Ignorance, unfathomable ignorance, is at the bottom of much of it: if the Town Treasurer of Yuba Dam gets a $100 "rake off" on a paving contract, our city government is a failure.

I am about to conclude that our yellow press does us more harm abroad than at home, and many of the American correspondents of the

*William Sulzer, Governor of New York, was impeached and removed from office by the Senate of New York State, October 18, 1913. Just what this critical Briton had in mind, in thinking that the removal of a New York Governor created a vacancy in the Vice-Presidency, is not clear. Possibly, however, he had a cloudy recollection of the fact that Theodore Roosevelt, after serving as Governor of New York State, became Vice-President, and may have concluded from this that the two offices were held by the same man.

TWO HISTORIC INCIDENTS

The tercentenary of the death of William Shakespear was celebrated at the Mansion House in London in 1916 by a notable gathering. On the left of the picture is Premier Asquith, and Ambassador Page is seated in the centre

The American Ambassador, accompanied by Admiral Sims, welcomes General Pershing upon his arrival in London. Lord French is also on hand for the same purpose

English papers send exactly the wrong news. The whole governing class of England has a possibly exaggerated admiration for the American people and something very like contempt for the American Government.

If I make it out right two causes (in addition to their ignorance) of their dislike of our Government are (1) its lack of manners in the past, and (2) its indiscretions of publicity about foreign affairs. We ostentatiously stand aloof from their polite ways and courteous manners in many of the every-day, ordinary, unimportant dealings with them—aloof from the common amenities of long-organized political life. For example:

When our Government sent notice to the British Government that our fleet was going to the Mediterranean, my letter of instructions contained a paragraph which asked that the British fleet pay our fleet no undue attention, and that it was coming informally, or unofficially, etc. The Admiralty has already issued orders for the British fleet to move on the day before ours will arrive. But they would like to have stayed and fired off a few hundred pounds of powder, and to have drunk a few dozen bottles of wine, to have pledged friendship and kinship and sworn by Nelson and Mahan, as good sailors do. I'm afraid we forget how much *they* would have enjoyed it. When we say, "We're coming, but pray don't trouble to make any fuss about us," we mean to be polite, but it's the politeness of the countryman, not of the polished man of the Old World. They wish to salute us. They wish to drink our health. They spend half their time doing these polite acts to one another, and they wish to be as polite to us as they are to one another.

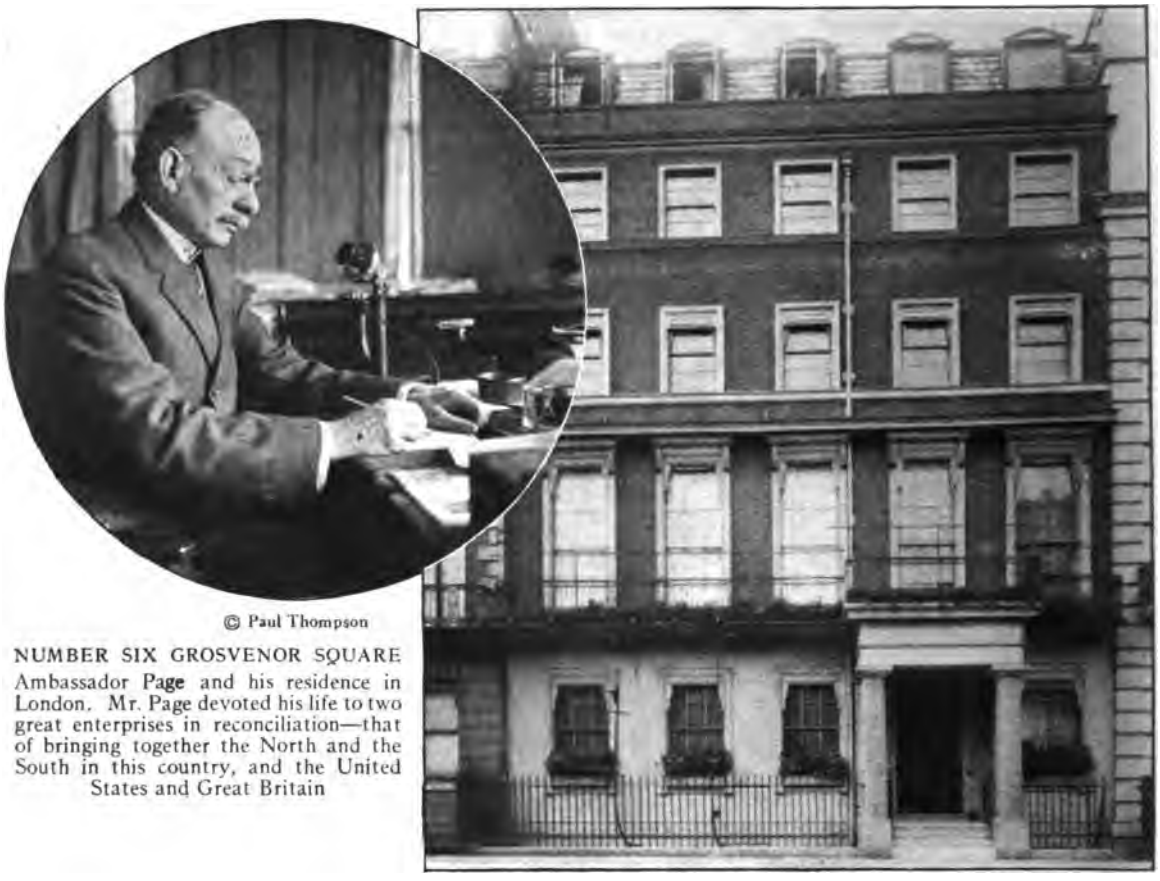
OFF TO HIS LONDON POST

Mr. Page, appointed Ambassador to England in 1913, sailed on the *Baltic*. On the left is Sir William Dunn, later Lord Mayor of London; and on the right of the picture is Sir William Treloar, British author and philanthropist

When the Australian cruiser was at Vancouver the other month, the people of San Francisco sent a hearty invitation to her to touch there and taste their hospitality—too late: for orders had already been given for the rest of the voyage. You invite a man to dinner here a month beforehand and a man-of-war three months ahead.

Not one of these things is worth mentioning or remembering. But generations of them have caused our Government to be regarded as thoughtless of the fine little acts of life—as rude. The more I find out about diplomatic customs and the more I hear of the little-big troubles of others, the more need I find to be careful about details of courtesy.

Thus we are making as brave a show as becomes us. I no longer dismiss a princess after supper or keep the whole diplomatic corps waiting while I talk to an interesting man till the Master of Ceremonies comes up and whispers: "Your Excellency, I think they are waiting for



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NUMBER SIX GROSVENOR SQUARE
Ambassador Page and his residence in London. Mr. Page devoted his life to two great enterprises in reconciliation—that of bringing together the North and the South in this country, and the United States and Great Britain

you to move." But I am both young and green, and even these folk forgive much to green youth, if it show a willingness to learn.

But our Government, though green, isn't young enough to plead its youth. It is time that it, too, were learning Old World manners in dealing with Old World peoples. I do not know whether we need a Bureau, or a Major-Domo, or a Master of Ceremonies at Washington, but we need somebody to prompt us to act as polite as we really are, somebody to think of those gentler touches that we naturally forget. Some other governments have such officers—perhaps all. The Japanese, for instance, are newcomers in world politics. But this Japanese Ambassador and his wife here never miss a trick; and they come across the square and ask *us* how to do it! All the other governments, too, play the game of small courtesies to perfection—the French, of course, and the Spanish and—even the old Turk.

Another reason for the English distrust of our Government is its indiscretions in the past of this sort: one of our Ministers to Germany, you will recall, was obliged to resign because the Government at Washington inadvertently published one of his confidential despatches; Griscom saved his neck only by the skin, when he was in Japan, for a similar reason. These things travel all round the world from one chancery to another and all governments know them. Yesterday somebody in Washington talked about my despatch summarizing my talk with Sir Edward Grey about Mexico, and it appeared in the papers here this morning that Sir Edward had told me that the big business interests were pushing him hard. This I sent as only *my* inference. I had at once to disclaim it. This leaves in his mind a doubt about our care for secrecy. They have monstrous big doors and silent men in Downing Street; and, I am told, a stenographer* sits behind a big

*For years this idea of the stenographer back of a screen in the Foreign Office has been abroad, but it is entirely unfounded. Several years ago a Foreign Secretary, perhaps Lord Salisbury, put a screen back of his desk to keep off the draughts and from this precaution the myth arose that it shielded a stenographer who took a complete record of ambassadorial conversations.

AT THE CHANCERY
Ambassador Page and Admiral Sims reviewing the first American troops to arrive in London. The two officials are standing on the balcony over the entrance of the chancery, which is the business office of an embassy

screen in Sir Edward's room while an Ambassador talks! I wonder if my comments on certain poets, which I have poured forth there to provoke his, are preserved in the archives of the British Empire. The British Empire is surely very welcome to them. I have twice found it useful, by the way, to bring up Wordsworth when he has begun to talk about Panama tolls. Then your friend Canon Rawnsley has, without suspecting it, done good service in diplomacy.

The newspaper men here, by the way, both English and American, are disposed to treat us fairly and to be helpful. The London *Times* on most subjects, is very friendly, and I find its editors worth cultivating for their own sakes and because of their position. It is still the greatest English newspaper. Its general friendliness to the United States, by the way, has started a rumor that I hear once in a while—that it is really owned by Americans—nonsense yet awhile. To the fairness and helpfulness of the newspaper men there are one or two exceptions. One of them went to the Navy League dinner last night at which I made a little speech. When I sat down, he remarked to his neighbor, with a yawn, "Well, nothing in it for me. The Ambassador, I am afraid, said nothing for which I can demand his recall." They, of course, don't care thripence about me; it's you they hope to annoy.

Then after beating them at their own game of daily little courtesies, we want a fight with them—a good stiff fight about something wherein we are dead right, to remind them sharply that we have sand in our craw.* I pray every night for such a fight; for they like fighting men. Then they'll respect our Government as they already respect us—if we are dead right.

But I've little hope for a fight of the right kind with Sir Edward Grey. He is the very reverse of insolent—fair, frank, sympathetic, and he has so clear an understanding of our real character that he'd yield anything that his party and Parliament would permit. He'd make a good American with the use of very

*It is perhaps unnecessary to say that the Ambassador was thinking only of a diplomatic "fight."

A MAJOR LEAGUE GAME IN LONDON

In February, 1916, London was startled by a baseball game between the New York Giants and the Chicago White Sox. The picture shows (from left to right) Mr. Laughlin, secretary of the American Embassy, King George of England, and Ambassador Page in the grand-stand

little sandpaper. Of course I know him better than I know any other member of the Cabinet, but he seems to me the best-balanced man of them all.

I can assure you emphatically that the tariff act* does command their respect and is already having an amazing influence on their opinion of our Government. Lord Mersey, a distinguished law lord and a fine old fellow of the very best type of Englishman, said to me last Sunday, "I wish to thank you for stopping half-way in reducing your tariff: that will only half ruin us." A lady of a political family (Liberal) next whom I sat at dinner the other night (and these women know their politics as no class of women among us do) said: "Tell me something about your great President. We hadn't heard much about him nor felt his hand till your tariff bill passed. He seems to have real power in the Government. You know we do not always know who has power in your Government." Lord Grey, the one-time Governor-General of Canada, stopped looking at the royal wedding presents the other evening long enough to say: "The United States Government is waking up—waking up."

I sum up these atmospheric conditions—I do not presume to call them by so definite a name as recommendations:

We are in the international game—not in its Old World intrigues and burdens and sorrows and melancholy, but in the inevitable way to leadership and to cheerful mastery in the future; and everybody knows that we are in it but us. It is a sheer blind habit that causes us to continue to try to think of ourselves as aloof. They think in terms of races here, and we are of their race, and we shall become the strongest and the happiest branch of it.

While we play the game with them, we shall play it better by playing it under their long-wrought-out rules of courtesy in every-day affairs.

We shall play it better, too, if our Government play it quietly—except when the subject demands publicity. I have heard that in past years the foreign representatives of our Government have reported much too few things and much too meagerly. I have heard since I have been here that these representatives become timid because Washington has for many a year conducted its foreign business too much in the newspapers; and the foreign governments themselves are always afraid of this.

Meantime I hardly need tell you of my appreciation of such a chance to make so interesting a study and to enjoy so greatly the most interesting experience, I really believe, in the whole world. I only hope that in time I may see how to shape the constant progression of incidents into a constructive course of events; for we are soon coming into a time of big changes.

Most heartily yours,
WALTER H. PAGE.

*The Underwood Bill revising the tariff "downward" became a law October, 1913. It was one of the first important measures of the new Wilson Administration.

All in a Life-Time

CHAPTERS FROM AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1. Conscience Makes Me a Politician

By HENRY MORGENTHAU
Formerly American Ambassador at Constantinople

"CONSCIENCE doth make cowards of us all." Not mine—mine made me a politician. At fifty-five years of age, rich in money and experience, and recently released from the toils of materialism, it ceaselessly confronted me with my duty to pay back, in the form of public service, the overdraft which I had been permitted to make upon the opportunities of the country. Repayment in money alone would not suffice: I was financially prosperous and rich in experience. Money could be repaid by my executors, but experience I must repay myself—and now or never.

My friends did not know this, and hence it was a great surprise to them when, in 1912, I suddenly entered politics, and threw myself heart and soul into the enterprise of securing the Presidential nomination for Woodrow Wilson. "Why," they asked me, "should a man like yourself, whose whole active life has been spent in the thick of the battle for wealth, embark on the untried sea of politics? And, why, if you are determined to take the risks of this experiment, do you choose so forlorn a hope, as the cause of the least likely of all the candidates, for the nomination of the party that has elected only one President since the Civil War?"

The answer was as simple to me as it was strange to them. My life had been an intense struggle between idealism and materialism. In youth I had burned with an enthusiasm for the ideal, which had fed alike upon the teachings of the Reverend Dr. Einhorn in my boyhood, the inspiring association which I had enjoyed with a saintly Quaker doctor in New York, the noble messages to which I had listened from Christian ministers, and the austere and lofty ethical philosophy of Dr. Felix Adler. In my youth I had resolved to devote my life to idealistic enterprises: I had even joined a group of disciples of Dr. Adler known as the "Union for Higher Life," which was pledged, not only to an evangelical spreading of his system of ethical culture, but also to practical works of philanthropy and human betterment.

In early manhood, however, the temptation of materialism had beset me in a familiar form. My early marriage had been followed by a financial disappointment; and I was compelled to devote more time than I had expected to providing for my family. My intention was to make their future modestly secure, and then to resume my idealistic avocation. I soon found, however, that I had a special gift for making money. By the time I had secured the competence which had been my ambition, I had become fascinated with money-making as a game. Before I realized it, I was immersed in a dozen enterprises, was obligated to a hundred business friends, and, like all my associates in the business world, was going headlong in the chase for wealth.

Fortunately, in 1905, the prospect of disaster brought me to my senses. I foresaw the panic of 1907; and, while others all around me plunged onward toward the brink, I paused and took stock of my future. I began to sever my financial connections. This process of slowing down my business pace gave me time for other introspection; and I realized, with astonishment and dismay, how far the swift tide of business had swept me from the course I had charted for my life in youth. I was ashamed to realize that I had neglected the nobler path of duty. I resolved to retire wholly from active business, and to devote the rest of my life to making good the better resolutions of my boyhood.

It took me some years to divest myself of my business obligations on the one hand, and,

CLARK AND WILSON AT SEA GIRT IN 1912

In the accompanying article Mr. Morgenthau describes the gloom which the late Champ Clark brought to the preliminary notification gathering at Sea Girt, and its amusing aftermath

NOTIFYING MR. WILSON OF HIS NOMINATION AT SEA GIRT
Described by Mr. Morgenthau in this article

on the other, to find a practical field for social service. During this period, in which I was "finding myself," I was attracted to the career of Woodrow Wilson. I admired the courage with which he was fighting the battle of democracy at Princeton. And, in the early months of 1911, I was even more delighted to watch his progress as Governor of New Jersey: the splendid fight he was making there to overthrow the rule of the bosses, and to write into the statutes of the state those seven measures of practical reform which his enemies derisively dubbed the "Seven Sisters."

"Here," I said to myself, "is a man who does not merely preach political righteousness; here is a practical reformer. This man has Roosevelt's gift for the dramatic diagnosis of political diseases; he has Bryan's moral enthusiasm for political righteousness. But he has other qualities which these men lack: these are, the constructive faculty, the imagination to devise remedies, the courage to apply them, and the gift of leadership to put them into effective action." I wished to know more of this new and promising character. I resolved to find an occasion for meeting him.

Such an opportunity came a few weeks later. As president of the Free Synagogue in New York City, I invited Governor Wilson to be a guest of honor at the dinner in celebration of the fourth anniversary of its foundation. As I presided at the dinner, and as the Governor was seated at my right, it gave me a chance to get acquainted. I found in him at once a congenial spirit, and in that one intense conversation I got more from him than I could have gotten from half a dozen casual meetings.

On my left was the other guest of honor, Senator Borah of Idaho. He and Wilson proved instantly antagonistic. The air was electrical with the clash of their dissimilar temperaments. How startled I would have been, that evening, could I have realized that this discordance of their natures, of which I was at that moment acutely conscious, had in it the seeds of a future battle—an epic struggle, with the White House and the Capitol for its headquarters; the world for its audience; and the destiny of the nations, following the

greatest war in history, the prize that was staked on the issue.

I was then, in fact, aware only that I was seated between two men of strong and mutually unsympathetic natures; and that they seemed equally to feel this natural antagonism. Wilson revealed it by his request that he be allowed to speak last: he plainly wished to study his rival before he made his own oratorical appearance. Borah was even more palpably depressed by the presence, at the same table with him, of this strange, new, powerful personality, whose glittering intellect and polished manner were so strikingly contrasted with his own blunter, though, in their way, also powerful weapons and character. The Senator was so disturbed by this impact with Wilson's personality, that his own speech of the evening fell far below his usual high standard. He himself was so deeply impressed with this deficiency that twice afterward he recalled to me his comparative failure of that evening. These two men thus seemed predestined to combat which, with natures so intense and powerful, could be nothing less than mortal. When, in 1920, Wilson lost (as I believe, only for the moment) his gallant campaign for the League of Nations, and fell truly a soldier stricken on the field of battle, partly because of blows that were dealt by Senator Borah, I could not but revert in memory to the vivid picture of that evening in New York in 1911, when the two men met and took each other's measure.

They were not alone in this measuring of mettle. Governor Wilson's speech of that evening was a revelation to all of us who listened. We saw in him a man of lofty idealism, and a knightly spirit; his convictions grounded on the secure foundation of a deep study of governmental institutions, and of the history of the human race; his political philosophy erected symmetrically upon these firm foundations; its façade adorned with a beautiful conception of democracy and justice as the ideals of political endeavor. I, for one, felt that here truly was an inspired leader, behind whom all men like myself could range themselves, and know that their efforts to advance his fortunes would be an effective participation in the highest form of public service.

BRYAN AND "THE COCKED HAT"

Mr. Morgenthau tells in the accompanying pages the inside story of the "cocked hat" episode, which nearly cost Wilson the Democratic nomination in 1912

My own acceptance of his leadership was instant and decisive. I asked him whether he was really a candidate for President of the United States, and told him that I had a definite object in asking him the question. I was delighted with his reply. Looking me squarely in the eye, he said: "I know a great deal more about the United States than I do about New Jersey." "Governor," I said, "my object in asking you this question was to offer you my unreserved moral and financial support of your candidacy."

The enthusiastic impression I gained upon that evening was confirmed and strengthened two days later, when I attended the dinner of the National Democratic Club, at which the Governor was again a guest of honor. Here, again, he made a speech that was heartening to all who sought leadership in the struggle for the regeneration of America.

Let me remind my readers what the political situation was in 1911. That situation should be recalled in the light of the preceding fourteen

years. In that period (which began with the election of William McKinley as President in 1896), the United States had passed through one of the most momentous epochs in its political history. The election of McKinley by the Republicans, under the leadership of Mark Hanna, marked the culmination of thirty years of materialistic growth in this country—three decades in which the energies of the people were absorbed in the conquest of the West, in the building of our gigantic railroad system, and in the magician-like creation of our stupendous manufacturing industries. Pittsburgh was almost the new capital of a new nation, with its marvelous development of iron and steel. It was followed closely by the great manufacturing centres that sprang up in New York, New England, the Middle West, and Alabama. Monstrous fortunes grew up over night from the exploitation of our natural resources, our boundless supplies of coal, iron, oil, zinc, and lead. Masters of industry, like Carnegie and Rockefeller, amassed gold beyond the wildest dreams of even gem-laden Oriental potentates. Masters of transportation like Commodore Vanderbilt and James J. Hill created new empires for the residence of man, and gathered to themselves princely fortunes. Masters of finance, like J. Pierpont Morgan, sat at the golden headwaters of national enterprise, directing the fertilizing streams of credit, and, by taking toll of them as they passed, accumulated an imperial revenue. Below these men were nameless thousands, of only less ability, aping the masters, and dipping with feverish hands into the golden flood. Mingled with these builders were pickpockets of finance, pirates of promotion, and skulking jackals of commerce. But—all alike were money-mad. From the Morgans and Hills and Rockefellers and Carnegies, who wrought with far-seeing vision, down to the shopkeepers and smallest manufacturers, nine men in ten were absorbed in the game of riches.

MR. WILSON AND "JOE" TUMULTY
Whose share in the fateful Jackson Day dinner in 1912 is described in this article

Politics, too, had become infected. Public honors were no longer heaped upon patriots and statesmen: the proudest title of distinction was to be called "a captain of industry." The best brains of the country had been drained out of the public service into business life. Men who, in other days, would have led great public causes, were now presidents of great corporations. Their intellects were taxed to the last limit in the fierce struggle of competition. Their characters were formed and hardened into the inflexible will and ruthless determination of commanders of vast competitive business armies. Men like Morgan, upon whose shoulders rested the responsibility for billions of invested capital, brooked no obstacle that threatened for an instant the security of these vast aggregations of money, nor anything that would stand in the way of their continuous return of profit.

Such gigantic financial operations inevitably affected those inter-relationships of the people which are expressed in law; and organized government soon confronted the danger of being swallowed by organized business. By the close of McKinley's first administration, government, indeed, had become practically a vassal of business, little better than another instrument of power in the hands of the leaders

NOMINEE AND MANAGER

Mr. Wilson with Mr. McCoombs, whose violent controversy with Byron Newton is described in these pages

MR. WILSON AND THE REPORTERS

Following his first nomination

AN EARLY CLASH BETWEEN PRESIDENT WILSON AND SENATOR BORAH

At this dinner of the Free Synagogue in New York City, held in 1911, Mr. Wilson, then Governor of New Jersey, sat on Mr. Morgenthau's right and Senator Borah on his left. Both made him keenly aware that they were antagonistic in temperament—an instinctive antipathy which was to come to light under such dramatic circumstances and over such important issues ten years later

of industry. Legislation was bought like merchandise; lawmakers and administrators of law were corrupted. Politics had become an almost disreputable profession. Lobbyists of the most odious type flaunted their trade publicly. To the high-minded elements of the community it seemed as if the nation were plunging down the declivity of destruction to share the fate of Rome.

I was myself fresh from this seething caldron of materialistic competition, and I knew personally the men and the methods of Big Business, so that I had occasion to appreciate more keenly than most people the reality of the danger which confronted the nation.

To us perplexed political idealists the country over, who looked on with apprehension at this death grapple between the soul of the people and the ugly octopus of Big Business, the appearance of Woodrow Wilson on the horizon seemed a very act of Providence. Here at last was the leader: the man who, thinking our thoughts, sharing our visions, brought to us the promise of a political personality under whose banner we could range ourselves, organize our enthusiasm, and take fresh hope for redemption.

True, the Democratic Party organization was no better than the Republican. Nevertheless, I recalled with faith the words of that valiant reformer, Carl Schurz, who years before had said:

"Between them [the old parties] stands an element which is not controlled by the discipline of the party organization, but acts upon its own judgment for the public interest. It is the Independent element; which, in its best sense and shape, may be defined as consisting of men who consider it more important that the Government be well administered than that this or that set of men administer it. This Independent element is not very popular with party politicians in ordinary times; but it is very much in requisition when the day of voting comes. It can render inestimable service to the cause of good government by wielding the balance of power it holds, with justice and wisdom."

Here, I thought, in this great body of thoughtful independents of both parties, lies the hope of political regeneration. Woodrow Wilson is the only man in either party who stands out clearly for the things which all of

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THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION AT BALTIMORE IN 1912

At which the Missouri delegation lost Champ Clark's nomination by wasting fifty-five minutes in a snake-dance instead of pressing the majority he gained on the tenth ballot to an immediate victory

us hold dear. If we can introduce him to these men, if we can lift him up upon a platform high enough to permit his ringing words to reach across the continent, they will rally to his banner as we have done.

It was from these motives, and in this splendid hope, that I threw myself wholeheartedly into what my friends had called a "hopeless cause." Now was the opportunity to restore idealism to our Government; to place man, as of old, above the dollar; to place law once more securely above the greed and personal ambition of the individual. America was very dear to me! I had come to her an alien by race and speech; she had thrown wide open the door of opportunity to me; I had been free to find satisfaction for every one of my ambitions. Surely, the utmost I could do in her service was little enough to repay the just debt I owed her.

Let me return now to the dinner of the National Democratic Club, which I have already mentioned. I sat at a table facing the guests of honor, and before they seated themselves I went up and spoke to Governor Wilson. On a sudden impulse, he exclaimed: "Come over here, I want to introduce you to someone." He led me to another table, and there I had my first meeting with Walter Hines Page, who was then editor of the World's Work Magazine, and who was destined later to play such a momentus part in the salvaging of civilization, while acting as President Wilson's Ambassador at the Court of St. James's. Wilson and Page had been acquainted for many years and they addressed each other familiarly.

"This," said the Governor, laying his hand on my shoulder, "is the Mr. Morgenthau I talked about to you this afternoon. Now you two get acquainted." He then returned to the speakers' table, and Page spoke to me and expressed his hearty satisfaction at welcoming "the latest recruit to the little band of Wilson adherents." He invited me to call upon him at his place of business, at Garden City, Long Island, for a longer conference.

Two years later Page and I recalled this scene, under very altered circumstances. I stopped in London on my way to Constantinople. There I found Page installed in the American Embassy. When I entered his private office, Page had cleared his room, and we faced each other there alone—Page sitting forward on the edge of his chair, his elbow on the table, his head leaning against his hand, and with the most quizzical and expectant look

upon his face. I said to him, "Ambassador, I know what you are thinking about."

"Well, what?" he challenged.

"You are thinking," I said, "of the day when the Governor of New Jersey introduced the retired financier to the magazine editor. That was only two years ago; and now what a difference! He is President of the United States; you are here as his Ambassador to the Court of St. James's; and I am his Ambassador at the Sublime Porte. And you are thinking that it's mighty funny."

"No; you're wrong," said he.

"Then what are you thinking?"

Still giving me that quizzical look over the top of his glasses, and dropping his voice to the very bottom of his diaphragm, he rumbled, "I was thinking it's *blanked* funny!"

Some time after our first meeting I called on Mr. Page at Garden City, and told him I was now ready to immerse myself completely in the campaign; and some months after this William G. McAdoo invited me to join him at a luncheon with William F. McCombs, who was now in full charge of Wilson's campaign for the nomination. I then agreed to subscribe a substantial sum, and, also, to undertake raising money from others. They accepted both offers gladly. I found the first by far the easier to make good. To redeem the second was a very different matter: my friends in the business world looked upon me almost as one who had lost his reason. "Why," they asked me, "should any one who has property be willing to entrust the management of the United States to the Democratic Party? How can a reasonable man hope for Wilson's nomination against veterans like Bryan, Clark, and Underwood? And how can any Democrat hope for victory against the intrenched Republicans?"

It was the hardest proposition that I ever undertook to sell, but we managed somehow to meet our financial emergencies as we came to them.

Meanwhile, the other candidates were busy. William Jennings Bryan had been, for years, at once the prophet and the Nemesis of the Democratic Party. He controlled its national machinery. Thrice he had lead it to defeat, and now, for the fourth time, he aspired to lead the charge. Party politicians, who knew that Bryan's economic heresies were fatal to the party did not dare call together the national committee, where his discipline ruled their actions. The only other place where party councils could be taken was in the national Capitol. For this reason, the cloakroom of the House of Representatives became the whispering gallery of other aspirants. The House developed two candidates for the nomination: Champ Clark, the genial Speaker; and Oscar Underwood, the popular and substantial floor leader of the majority.

Nevertheless, we adherents of Wilson were not dismayed. Our plan of action was to secure a few state delegations, and, for the rest, to concentrate our energies upon creating, through the press, a sentiment among the Democratic masses, which, we hoped, at the end would prove irresistible in the Convention.

The first great test of our success (and, what was more important, of Wilson's capacity to grow to national stature) came on the occasion of the Jackson Day dinner at Washington on January 8, 1912. This classic festival of Democracy has, every quadrennium, a special and a solemn significance for candidates for the Presidency. It is somewhat like the opening day of the Kentucky Derby at Louisville, when the favorite horses are led out before the first race for the inspection of the spectators. A seat at this dinner is as much prized by Democratic politicians as a grandstand seat is at the races. The candidates and their managers are as much excited as are the horse owners and their trainers. Upon the showing made at this preliminary try-out depends much of the crystalization of the sentiment amongst the politicians in favor of one special candidate.

Our first experience with this dinner was a disappointment. We men who were active in Governor Wilson's behalf had our headquarters at the New Willard Hotel; and we had gone there a day early, to make arrangements for more than one hundred of the leading Democratic politicians and citizens of New Jersey who were coming on to Washington the next day, to back up Wilson's aspirations. Imagine our dismay when we found that, of the sixty-five tickets for the dinner to which New Jersey was entitled, fifty had been given to Mr. Nugent instead of to Mr. Grosscup, the chairman of the state committee. Mr. Nugent was one of Governor Wilson's bitterest opponents, and well enough we knew that we could not get back the tickets from him.

News of this blow came to me at 11 o'clock at night, just as I was turning out my light preparatory to retiring. My telephone rang.

I heard the excited voice of Judge Hudspeth, the national committeeman from New Jersey, exclaiming: "Come right over to our room! We need you at once!" "But," I protested, "I am just getting into bed for the night." "Haven't you learned yet," he cried impatiently, "that politicians never sleep?"

Reluctantly, I got back into my clothes and went to his rooms. There I found McCombs, Congressman Hughes, Mr. Grosscup, Joe Tumulty, and others. They were angry at the miscarriage of the tickets, which they attributed to trickery; and gloomy at the thought of the poor showing we would make to our hundred and more friends from New Jersey who were coming down to the dinner, and who would charge us with lack of influence in the higher councils of the party.

I turned the situation over in my mind while they were talking, and said:

"I think I see a way to turn this defeat into a victory. Let us arrange an overflow dinner of Mr. Wilson's friends exclusively, and give him an opportunity to show his appreciation of their presence, and to get their inspiration."

WHAT HAPPENED AT THE OVERFLOW DINNER

THIS idea of a separate dinner at the Shoreham Hotel was a happy inspiration, for at the main dinner at the Raleigh not more than fifteen diners were really friends of Wilson. It was a discouraging outlook for a man who faced the ordeal of trying to win an audience. The overflow meeting solved this difficulty. It gave him the encouragement of an enthusiastic greeting from a large body of his friends before he had to face the unsympathetic audience at the main gathering.

The morning of the day of the dinner Governor Wilson came to Washington and went into conference with Dudley Field Malone, Franklin P. Glass of Alabama, and myself at a luncheon in his room. He was confronted with a serious problem. The newspapers of that very day were full of the letter he had written to Adrian H. Joline, in which he had been guilty of that famous indiscretion of saying that "William Jennings Bryan should be knocked into a cocked hat." As we sat at luncheon about twenty reporters were waiting outside for Mr. Wilson to give them an explanation of this letter. It might have the gravest political consequences. Bryan was still the most powerful politician in the party, and, though he was not able to gain the nomination for himself, he could easily keep any other man from getting it. Wilson was deeply concerned to find a way out of this difficulty; but though he was greatly worried, I can still recall with what keen appetite he attacked a big steak and plateful of vegetables, while he asked for our suggestions. He listened to us all, and then he said:

"Now, let me bare my mind to you. What did I really mean when I wrote that letter? I have always admired Mr. Bryan as a clean-thinking, progressive citizen. I have always admired his methods of diagnosing the troubles and difficulties of the country. But I have never admired, nor approved, his remedies. What I really meant, then, was that *his remedies* should be knocked into a cocked hat."

We then discussed the means by which this explanation should be given to the public. We finally agreed that Wilson should not give it through the press, but should wait until the Jackson Day dinner, that evening, to make his explanation. Malone then went outside and told the reporters our decision.

In the meantime, we had heard that Bryan was not really much annoyed at Wilson, because he realized that the men who were trying to injure Wilson were trying to injure himself also. Hence, we sent an emissary to Bryan to ask whether he would be willing to speak at our overflow dinner, and though he declined the invitation, he did so graciously.

The main dinner that evening at the Raleigh was attended by more than seven hundred eager politicians from all parts of the country. It was an exciting occasion for everyone, and an occasion of special apprehension for us, because it was Wilson's début.

About midway of that dinner Wilson slipped away from the speakers' table, and drove over to the Shoreham. There, our happy gathering of a hundred had been kept entertained and enlivened by speeches from Tumulty, Dudley Malone, and others. When Wilson arrived, he found an audience eager to be charmed, and it put him upon his mettle. He gave a very happy speech; and when he left, to return to the Raleigh, there were cheers and felicitations ringing in his ears. It put him in fine feather for his masterly effort of the evening at the main dinner.

Here I had an opportunity to observe, at very close range, one of the most interesting spectacles of my whole experience. At the speakers' table sat Judge O'Gorman, the toast-

master of the evening. At his right was William Jennings Bryan, the ever-hopeful leader of the Democrats, who was playing each of the important candidates against the other, in the hope of killing them all off, and taking the nomination himself. There sat also Underwood and Clark and Foss and Hearst and Marshall. Pomerene was there, as the representative of Governor Harmon of Ohio, and Judge Parker, happily forgetting his defeat. Each man knew that this moment was charged with fateful destiny. As each one made his speech, I could see the others taking his measure, and watching the crowd of diners to divine its reaction. Bryan, as the patriarch of the candidates, was to make the last address of the evening. It was to be his opportunity for a great oration that would restore to him the mastery of the party.

Wilson was the last speaker to precede him. When he arose, there was a brief applause of politeness, with an extra short outburst from the little handful of fifteen adherents. Every speaker who had gone before him had talked of party harmony. Wilson seized the opportunity of this text to clear up, with one masterly stroke, the dilemma of the "cocked hat" story. After a few happy remarks of acquiescence in the plea for harmony, Wilson turned to Mr. Bryan and, with a really Chesterfieldian gesture, said: "If any one has said anything about any of the other candidates, for which he is sorry, now is the time to apologize," and made a smiling bow to the commoner.

The audience broke into spontaneous and sincere applause at this stroke. They appreciated both its manliness and its cleverness; and they sat up with really expectant attention to hear the rest of his address.

Wilson rose to his opportunity. His speech revealed to these men a new power in the party. He made a splendid exposition of the issues before the country, and gave his vision of the remedies, with beautiful eloquence and unanswerable logic. The audience progressed from rapt attention to enthusiasm.

All this time I was watching the face of Bryan. I have never seen a more interesting play of expression on the stage than the exhibition which he unconsciously gave. Here was the rising of a new political star, which he well knew meant the setting of his own. His face expressed in turn surprise, alarm, hesitation, doubt, gloom, despair. When Wilson took his seat amidst tremendous applause Bryan's face was that of a man who had met his Waterloo. He rose like one who was dazed, and made a speech of abdication. He said that the time had come when a new man should be nominated, a man who was free from the asperities of the past, and that he was willing to march in the ranks of the party, and work with the rest of us to help on this victory, which he saw assured. He then started to sit down, but everyone applauded so vigorously, shouting "Go on! Go on!" that he became confused. For once, his political sagacity forsook him: he did not realize that he should stop. He regained his feet, and made a sad anti-climax by telling the diners stories of his observations in the Philippines and elsewhere. The evening was a Wilson triumph.

WHEN THE WILSON TIDE TURNED

THE effect upon Wilson's fortune was instantaneous. The next morning our little headquarters was the Mecca of the politicians. Congressmen and Senators and members of the national committee streamed to our rooms at the Willard. Some came to pledge us their support of Wilson; others to take the measure of his managers. Of the latter class, Senator Stone of Missouri was the most interesting. We saw then how he had earned his title, "Gum Shoe Bill." He dropped in, so he said, for just a minute's conversation, as Mrs. Stone was waiting for him in the lobby, where he had promised to rejoin her in a few minutes. He stayed for more than half an hour. He spent that time telling us a very humorous story, which would be worth retelling on its merits, if it were printable. It dealt with several whimsical characters in a little town in the Ozarks, and he told it with all the rich embroidery of characterization and dialogue, with which the best Southern story tellers elaborate their narratives. It was really a little masterpiece of the raconteur's art, but it had no pertinence to our serious business. I soon became aware, however, that Stone himself had a serious purpose. All the while he was spinning his story out, to make it longer, his eyes were stealing from one face to another of his auditors, shrewdly appraising their reactions, studying each of us to learn what he could of our characters and foibles. When he finally drew the story to its close, sprung the "nub," and got a round of laughter, he left, as I felt sure at the moment, with a

pretty definite estimate of each of us in his head.

The extraordinary success of Wilson's Jackson Day speech had its evil effects as well. It made other candidates realize that the man each of them had to beat was Wilson. Thus, all the politicians centred their attacks on him. They ceased their efforts to take delegates away from one another, and alloted to each candidate an undisputed field in the territory where he could help to make a showing. Their plan was to prevent Wilson from coming to the Convention with a large pledged vote.

In the meantime, we devoted our efforts to making Wilson popular among the Democratic press and masses, building up, throughout the country, a sentiment which made him the second choice in nearly every section where a favorite son got a preference with the delegates. Our greatest fear was, that one of the two strongest candidates might yield his strength to the other in the hope of defeating Wilson.

Fortunately for us, the logic of the situation made our strategy also the best strategy for Bryan. He and his brother, with their keen political sense, were playing exactly the same game as we were. The result was that every candidate came to the Convention with his full strength, and a determination to use it.

We had other troubles. Repeatedly, we faced financial difficulties, and many times the few men of means among us had to go down into their own pockets to make up the deficiency. I had to do so myself, and I leaned heavily on devoted friends of Wilson, like Cleveland H. Dodge, Charles R. Crane, and Abram I. Elkus. Then, too, there were personal differences. I shall never forget when Dudley Field Malone, with his high-powered temperament and his high-flown oratory, burst into my office, exclaiming, "I come with a message from a King to a King!"

"Come to earth, talk English," I responded.

"Well," he said, "the Governor has sent me to ask you to investigate his row between McCombs and Byron Newton. He wants you to settle the matter without his intervention."

I sent for Newton first, to get his version of the trouble; and when he called, he was so unbridled in his language and so sweeping and illogical in his accusations against McCombs—he gave me an ultimatum that either he or McCombs must be instantly displaced—that I did not wait to hear the other side of the story, but promptly decided in McCombs's favor. I concluded at once that Governor Wilson could not afford, at that critical moment, to expose himself to the charge of being ungrateful toward McCombs, who, notwithstanding his shortcomings, had rendered him invaluable services.

At last came the great days of the Convention. We went to Baltimore with less than half enough pledged delegates to secure the nomination. Our hopes lay in the splendid impression that Wilson had made upon the country, and in the generalship we should exercise upon the floor of the Convention. The odds were all in favor of Champ Clark. He had better than a hundred more pledged delegates than Wilson, and the ground swell of the politicians in his favor. Still, we were not daunted.

There were elements in our favor. The Baltimore *Sun*, chiefly through the enthusiasm of Charles H. Grasty, created an atmosphere of Wilson optimism in the city that had an undoubted effect upon the delegates. And a determining influence with many delegates and the public at large was a wonderful editorial, written by Frank I. Cobb and published in the New York *World* at the psychological moment.

THE FATAL CLARK SNAKE DANCE

THE supreme opportunity for all of us to use our best talents in behalf of Wilson came at the dramatic climax of the Convention when, on the third day and with the tenth ballot, Champ Clark received a majority vote of the delegates. Though two thirds were necessary to get the nomination, Clark's adherents thought that the achievement of a majority marked the turn of the tide and the assurance of victory. They had sound historical warrant for this faith: for never before had a Democratic candidate who received a majority of the votes failed to get the nomination.

If Clark had been able to capitalize that critical moment; if his managers on the floor of the Convention had played their hands a little better, he would have gone to the White House eight months later.

When this tenth ballot was announced, the Convention greeted the Clark majority with wild enthusiasm. What his managers should have done was to have pressed this advantage to an immediate conclusion. A few more quick ballots taken under the emotion of that

moment would doubtless have carried him over the line to victory. Instead, they wasted the opportunity, and the Missouri delegation organized a snake dance around the hall, and spent the next fifty-five minutes frittering away the precious enthusiasm of the Convention by cheering themselves hoarse in celebration of an assumed victory. They stimulated the joy of Clark's adherents by bringing in his young daughter, wrapped in an American flag, and placing her beside the chairman. This pretty picture provoked a fresh outburst of triumphant cheering.

Those fifty-five minutes cost Clark the nomination. McCombs, Palmer, McAdoo, and the rest of us had a hurried consultation on the platform, not ten feet away from Ollie James, the impartial chairman, who did nothing to discourage the wild demonstration. We agreed on a plan of campaign, and, as lieutenants, all scurried about the hall, consulting with the leaders of the other delegates. We got the Underwood forces to agree to stand fast for their candidate on the next few ballots, and made the same arrangement with the Marshall and Foss delegates, pledging ourselves, in turn to hold our people fast for Wilson.

THE TURNING OF THE TIDE

IN three quarters of an hour we had corralled our delegates safely out of the path of the Clark stampede. They sat immovable in the face of the frenzy of the crowd. When the Clark demonstration had subsided, and the next ballot was taken, the Clark managers had a rude awakening: the result was practically unchanged. Then, with a stroke of political genius, Mitchell Palmer arose, and claimed recognition from the Chair. Tall, massive, and extremely handsome, Palmer was at the height of youthful grace and vigor. The Chairman recognized him, and Palmer moved an immediate adjournment to the following morning. Before the Clark delegates grasped the meaning of this manœuvre the motion had been put and carried. This respite gave Clark's enemies a full day in which to make fresh alliances against him, and every one of the succeeding thirty-five ballots cut down his vote in the Convention.

The tide had turned. Wilson's strength grew steadily, because as soon as a delegate realized that his own candidate's cause was hopeless, his thoughts turned from his personal preference to the welfare of the party, and, in almost every case, he realized that Wilson was the one man to lead it on to victory. They realized, too, that a solemn duty rested on them. The Roosevelt defection from the Republican Party had ruined its chances, so that these Democratic delegates knew they were not merely nominating a candidate—they were actually electing a President.

After the nomination, the preliminary notification followed at Sea Girt a few days later. Here, again, was an opportunity to study human nature. Most of the defeated competitors for the nomination came and tendered their hearty congratulations. But Clark came like one who was attending the funeral of his hopes. He could not master his disappointment, nor conceal it. His depression lay upon the gathering like a cloud. It was so palpable that Tumulty saw that something must be done to lift it, else the proper spirit of the occasion would be destroyed. Tumulty then came to me, and suggested that I take Clark for a ride, to which I gladly assented. I approached Clark, and invited him to use my car. He accepted and asked if he might go anywhere he wished, and, of course, my reply was, "Certainly." He then explained that his daughter was visiting in the neighborhood, and he would like to see her. Filling the car with his friends, they drove away, with my son, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., at the wheel.

When my son came back, he had a broad smile on his countenance. "Where, do you suppose," he exclaimed, "Clark asked me to take him? His daughter is staying with George Harvey's daughter!"

The "George Harvey" to whom my son referred was, of course, Mr. Wilson's former supporter with whom he had then recently had a much-advertised disagreement, and who is now Mr. Harding's much-discussed Ambassador in London.

Here was a dilemma! I had already told Governor Wilson that Clark had gone to visit his daughter, and that she was staying with friends in the neighborhood, and he had said: "I shall see that my daughters call on her." Now, I had to tell him who "the friends in the neighborhood" were. When I did so, he only smiled, and said: "That's rather awkward, isn't it?"

COAL PROBLEMS AND PRICES

By FLOYD W. PARSONS

Mr. Parsons, the author of this article, was the founder and for many years editor of Coal Age. *After his graduation from college as an engineer, he learned the fuel business from the bottom up, beginning with two years work in the coal-mines, and later serving as chief engineer for important operations. He thus knows the subject on its practical side and its theoretical side.*—THE EDITORS.

COAL is not only the foundation of America's industrial life, it is also the base on which civilization is built. No nation can hope to be supreme among the countries of the world, in war or peace, if it lacks a bountiful supply of coal. We often read, or hear it said, that this or that business is the "key" industry of a nation, but the truth remains that there is only one "key" industry—coal-mining.

Coal is the ancestor of more useful products than any other element of nature available to man. From the time we rise until the day is done, we maintain an intimate association, either with coal itself or one of its by-products. The leavening agent in our bread and the gas we bake it with are from coal; so are the agents that tan our shoes, and that vulcanize the rubber in our automobile tires. We are indebted to coal for the various forms of ammonia that go into fertilizing, refrigerating, electric batteries, and household uses; for aspirin, salicylic acid, and many other cures for common colds; for elements used in manufacturing insulating coatings, phonograph records, and pipestems; for benzol, one of the best available fuels for automobiles and internal-combustion engines; for food preservatives, moth balls, and disinfectants. While coal furnishes us picric acid and trinitrotoluol, it carries locked in itself synthetic oil of wintergreen and the delicate flavoring extracts and perfumes.

When the World War was being planned, German statesmen devoted their time largely to studying the coal map of Europe. When hostilities commenced, the strategy of the Teuton generals centred about possession of the coal-fields of France and Belgium. Great Britain's preëminence in world affairs was built on her surplus production of coal. The biggest problem in Great Britain to-day is how to meet American competition in the export of coal. England's coal has given power to her ships and economic balance to her trade. The future of the British coal problem is closely linked with the futures of the British food and manufacturing problems. For example, in past years Great Britain supplied herself with cheap beef by exporting coal to Argentina and bringing back the carcasses of cattle.

History shows that for several centuries—in fact, since the beginning of a coal industry—the consumers of coal have condemned the practices of the so-called "coal barons," or producers of this essential product. The cry, "nationalize the coal-mines," has been heard in English politics for more than a generation. The fight to accomplish this aim in England has reached the point where it threatens to become a national disaster. Even though the latest strike be ended on terms fairly satisfactory to all sides of the controversy, it is a fair presumption that the settlement will be only a temporary one, provided the American coal industry is permitted to go forward without undue restrictions being placed on it by the Government or by labor. Even though coal-miners in the United States receive double the wages of British miners, American coal is produced at about one half the cost of English coal. American miners using machines produce from two to three times as much coal each year as do an equal number of British miners using mostly hand methods. While this condition prevailed prior to the war, British exports of coal were not seriously affected, because America lacked ships as well as an export policy.

Just as the coal problem in Great Britain has become the most acute and difficult question confronting that Government, so the coal problem in the United States is tending to become our most important political and industrial issue. Before getting directly to the point of the discussion, let me clear the way by laying down a few fundamental facts. Four

sevenths of all the probable coal in the world lies in the United States. Canada has one seventh, China nearly one seventh, Germany one seventeenth, and Great Britain one fortieth of the total. We have in the United States upward of fourteen hundred billion tons of the various grades of so-called "soft" coals. This supply of bituminous coal should last us for several centuries. In addition, we have enough anthracite coal (practically all in the state of Pennsylvania) to last from fifty to seventy-five years, on a declining production.

Gaging the industrial development of the different nations by the per-capita consumption by the people, it is interesting to note that here in the United States the consumption of coal per person is 6 tons annually; in the United Kingdom it is 4.9 tons per capita; in Germany, 3.4 tons; France, 1.4; Italy, 0.34, and Russia, 0.18. Previous to the war, Belgium consumed about 4 tons per capita, which fact indicates the intense development of that small nation's industrial life; indeed, the 8,000,000 people in Belgium use annually nearly as much coal as the 170,000,000 people in Russia, exclusive of Poland. While the miner in the United States produces better than 1,100 short tons of coal annually, and ranks first in the matter of individual output, the Japanese miner produces an average of only 155 tons each year, and ranks last. Here in America, coal is produced in twenty-eight states by approximately 6,000 mining companies employing about 750,000 men in and about the mines.

It is impossible to discuss coal-mining prices and problems without first pointing out the two besetting sins of the industry. The first, if not the more important, is the seasonal operation of the mines. The seasonal nature of coal-mining is more responsible for the industry's labor troubles, and for the dissatisfaction on the part of miners, than any other one thing. No class of workmen ever have been satisfied with seasonal employment. Not long ago American miners demanded a six-hour day; not because they were dissatisfied with the number of hours they had to work, but for the reason that they were determined to bring about an equalization of the work. If the men were given six days' employment at a fair rate of wages, there would be little discontent among the rank and file.

Stabilization of the coal industry, particularly the bituminous industry, is no easy problem. Lumber improves with storage; shoes and textiles can be easily warehoused; the production of iron and steel plants can be stored during a slack season. In practically all these cases, the matter of storage depends on the ability of the producing company to finance their operations until demand has caught up with production. The storage possibilities in coal are limited. Although many grades of coal will stand storage, none of them are improved by it, and quite a few kinds of coal deteriorate through storage. It would require sixteen times as much space to store the nation's yearly production of bituminous coal as would be needed to store the nation's supply of iron and steel products.

Since 1890, the bituminous coal-mines in the United States have worked only 83 per cent. of a normal 300 days each year. In 1914 the mines worked only 195 days. In 1919 the average days worked was about the same as in 1914. A careful investigation has shown that the cost of mining coal at one colliery will vary as much as 60 cents a ton from one month to another, depending on the number of hours the mine is idle. A manufacturing plant may be closed and only a watchman left to guard it, but in coal-mines, the forces of nature work unceasingly, and as a result the cost of upkeep continues at a high rate, even if coal is not produced. During the summer months, the production of bituminous coal in the United States often falls as low as 23,000,000 tons per month, while in the winter season the production of soft coal will average upward of 50,000,000 tons per month. It should be plain, therefore, that any industry having more than 100 idle days each year and a seasonal variation of 100 per cent. in output, cannot be operated on an economical basis.

This failure to equalize the load in coal-mining has still other effects that are far-reaching. The railroads of the country own approximately 1,000,000 coal-carrying cars. Coal furnishes about 34 per cent. of the nation's total railroad tonnage. On certain roads the transportation of fuel amounts to 60 per cent. of the total freight moved. As the business is now conducted, the so-called coal-carrying lines must store thousands of their coal cars during the summer months. This practice increases railroad expenses, for cars in storage not only afford no revenue, but they deteriorate rapidly during the period of disuse. In the fall months, when the coal rush commences, the

railroads must gather together a small army of workmen, which force is subjected to expensive training in order to fit it properly to repair and handle coal cars.

THE ANTHRACITE BOARD

THE history of anthracite mining should provide an interesting lesson for the bituminous coal industry. Prior to 1900 the hard-coal mines of Pennsylvania worked an average of only 170 days each year. During the decade which ended last year, the average working time of the anthracite mines was 255 days per year. This improved situation was a direct result of the Anthracite Board of Conciliation, a body composed of representatives of the operators and the miners, and created by President Roosevelt during the difficult days of the hard-coal strike in 1902. This conciliation board, while only a common-sense court, has settled approximately 650 disputed cases in eighteen years, and has established an enviable reputation as a just tribunal. The hearings before the Anthracite Board are informal in character and are marked by an absence of legal talent. A case is never brought to the Board until the employer and the local mine boss have found that it is quite impossible for them to adjust the matter in dispute. While there have been a number of purely local strikes in the anthracite field, there has been no general strike of hard-coal miners since the Board of Conciliation was first organized.

VALUES WHICH GO UP IN SMOKE

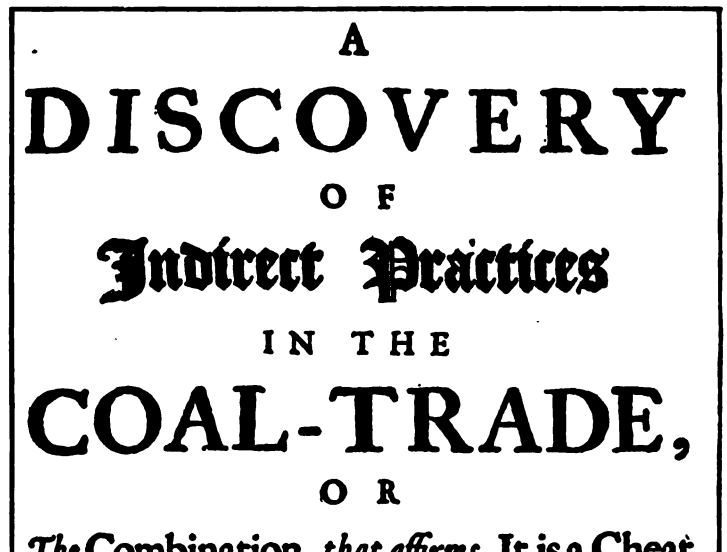
THE second sin in the mining and consumption of coal is waste. While this may be said of practically all industries, it is particularly true in the handling of our fuel resources. Practically all of our anthracite production is consumed in our homes. Of our annual bituminous coal output, 40 per cent. is used for steam or industrial purposes, 27 per cent. is burned by the railroads, 15 per cent. is domestic coal, and the remaining 18 per cent. goes for coking, exports, smithing, gas-houses, and bunkering. Assuming that it is possible to obtain the by-products from only 25 per cent. of the industrial coal and 50 per cent. of the railroad fuel, through establishing central stations and electrifying; also that all the domestic coal can be coked first—we find that 195,000,000 tons of bituminous coal that is now burned raw should be coked. If but two thirds of this tonnage can be subjected successfully to by-product practice, the saving would amount to something like $200,000,000 annually. The values which go up in smoke in the United States each year are nothing short of appalling.

The losses to the nation through coking coal in beehive ovens continue at the rate of millions of dollars each year. The total capacity of our coke ovens is approximately 60,000,000 tons of coke annually, of which total nearly one half comes from by-product ovens. The manufacture of by-product coke in the United States is a comparatively new business, the first ovens of this kind having been installed only a little more than twenty years ago. Prior to the war the Germans were the leaders in the practice of extracting the by-products from coal through coking. When the World War commenced, Germany was coking 10,000,000 tons more coal in by-product ovens than the rest of the world combined. This policy of the Teutons in extracting the highest possible value out of their coal supplies is largely responsible for Germany's supremacy in dyestuffs manufacture. One authority estimates our annual losses from coking coal in beehive ovens as follows: Tar 320,000,000 gallons; ammonium sulphate, 436,000 tons; surplus gas, 240,000,000,000 cubic feet; benzine, 65,000,000 gallons; and toluene, 16,000,000 gallons. The yearly waste of these same elements through firing raw bituminous coal in this country amounts to more than $400,000,000.

A four-foot seam of coal contains enough ammonium sulphate to fertilize the land above it for more than 500 years. Assuming that 100 pounds of ammonium sulphate are needed each year to fertilize one acre of cultivated land, it follows, therefore, that we are burning up each year in our beehive ovens enough nitrogen to fertilize 8,720,000 acres. An acre of wheat land treated with an application of 100 pounds of ammonium sulphate will show an increased yield of at least seven bushels of wheat per acre. Therefore, if we carry this thought a little further, we find that the country's production of wheat would be increased by more than 60,000,000 bushels a year if the ammonia that is now wasted in our beehive ovens were saved and effectively used.

The absolute power of oil and coal over humanity may eventually be broken by scientific discoveries and engineering skill, but right now all the nations of the world are

at the mercy of the present fuel industries. This being true, it follows that each and every citizen of the United States should take an active interest in the present practices of mining, handling, and burning coal. No matter where we live or what we do, the cost of coal is a heavy item in our budget of expenses. Whenever we can raise our voices to help do away with the seasonal operation of coal-mines, or lend aid to sensible suggestions for eliminating the waste of the valuable constituents of coal, we should do so without hesitation. However, we should all act with great discretion when it comes to considering the now common proposal that the coal industry be taken out of private hands and placed under government control. It is little wonder that the people of America have become disgusted with the handling of the coal problem and are willing to turn to almost any scheme that holds forth hope of relief from the high prices for fuel which have prevailed for several years. It has been my purpose in the foregoing to show how vital the coal industry of the United States is to the welfare of every other American industry and to every individual. For this very reason we must avoid all action except such as is based on sound fact.



A

DISCOVERY

OF

Indirect Practices

IN THE

COAL-TRADE,

OR

The Combination, *that affirms*, It is a Cheat to be Just, and Just to Cheat, *with the Vanity of False and Malicious Reports detected, and expos'd to Publick View, by* C. P.

I

I Think myself oblig'd in several Respects, to Publish this short Tract for my own Vindication; Not doubting in the least, but it will be very acceptable to all impartial and disinteressed Persons, tho' as unpleasant to some few, that are otherwise dispos'd: And to assure those few, who are my unreasonable

B

AN ANCIENT GRUDGE

Outcries about coal and all connected with it are not modern. Here is a reproduction of a title page from a hoary tract in which the writer sounded a note sympathetic with a certain feeling to-day, but he was writing in the year 1700

In any discussion of coal mining, we must bear in mind first of all that hard-coal mining is a business apart from soft-coal mining; yet whenever legislation is proposed relating to coal, no distinction is made between anthracite and bituminous coal. The rates of mining wages in anthracite and bituminous mining are different, and the mining methods are unlike. The production of anthracite is more of a manufacturing business, due to the extensive preparation of the coal, while the product itself is a luxury rather than a necessity. In our every-day life, it is to bituminous coal what cake is to bread. Householders in a limited area of the United States insist on having anthracite simply because of its superior cleanliness, convenience, and efficiency as a fuel. So far as our industrial life is concerned, the production of anthracite could be discontinued at once without causing much of a flurry in the situation. The fuel bill of the American railroads last year totaled upward of $700,000,000 and practically no part of this enormous total was expended for anthracite. Several million people in that eastern section of the United States where anthracite is used almost exclusively as a household fuel, read in their daily papers about an impending coal famine and other items of startling interest, and immediately assume that the dire predictions refer to hard coal, whereas in nine cases out of ten, the featured coal news of the day covers only bituminous coal and is in no way related to the anthracite situation.

One investigator found that 85 per cent. of the soft coal produced in the United States is purchased by the agents of 55,000 corporations. This means that less than one tenth of the population of the United States buy more than four fifths of the nation's bituminous output. While the people eventually pay for this coal in the form of finished products, its cost is not noticed so markedly as is the cost of the hard coal which the citizen must pay for in a lump sum out of his own pocket. Practically no anthracite coal is exported, and yet when the consumer reads in the paper that large shipments of coal have been sent overseas, he assumes that these shipments are reducing current stocks, and thereby making it more difficult for him to get his winter's supply. A week later he reads in his paper that the price of steam coal at the mines has slumped materially, and he can't understand why he must pay just as much as ever for the coal he puts in his cellar. The truth is that such a statement concerning steam coal refers only to bituminous, the price of which is subject to fairly wide fluctuations, while anthracite prices, due to more steady operation of the mines, are far more stable. Another thing that causes confusion is the practice of selling anthracite on the basis of the gross ton in certain markets and on the basis of the net ton in other localities. In Baltimore, Washington, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh, anthracite is usually sold for so much per gross ton of 2,240 pounds. In New York and Boston the unit of measurement is the net ton of 2,000 pounds.

Anthracite is mined in practically one state—Pennsylvania—while bituminous coal is mined in nearly two thirds of our states. Bituminous coal is produced in more than forty separate and distinct fields, and each district competes with all adjacent ones. Competition in bituminous mining has always been keen and somewhat wasteful. The profits of soft-coal operators before the war were so small that members of the industry found it difficult, if not impossible, to interest capital in the business. Anthracite mining, on the other hand, is more closely organized, and the business is conducted with far less waste. About 74 per cent. of the output of hard coal is produced by a group of eight companies. Because of this limited circle of control of anthracite mining, the charge is often made that the industry has become a business monopoly. In answer to this charge, the anthracite interests point to the cost report of the Federal Trade Commission, which states: "The increases in the prices of anthracite coal since 1916 have on the whole been closely proportional to the increases in costs of production." George Otis Smith, director of the United States Geological Survey, in a recent letter to Senator Edge, said: "It is perhaps a question whether a jury of disinterested observers from another planet, neglecting the consideration of the internal management of the industry and thinking only of its service to the public, would not conclude that the American people had been better served by the closely organized anthracite industry than by the wasteful competition of the bituminous industry."

Director Smith is also authority for an interesting table (which appears on this page) that shows the separate items of cost of a ton of coal shipped by rail from a mine in Pennsylvania to a town in northern New England. The carload of coal was delivered in varying lots to several individual consumers. Since the coal was obtained direct by these purchasers, no wholesale or retail dealers' profits are included; only the local dealer's charges for services in handling the car on the siding, and weighing the coal:

COST OF ONE NET TON OF ANTHRACITE COAL, EGG SIZE

Labor—inside	$3.38	
outside	.64	
powerhouse and general colliery	.18	
administrative	.07	$4.27
Material—inside	.79	
outside	.57	1.36
Reserves—local taxes	.12	
Insurance, compensation, and other hazards	.24	
Depreciation, depletion, obsolescence, etc.	.33	.69
Cost to producer (total mine cost)		6.32
Selling expense		.08
Margin from which are to be paid Federal taxes and dividends		0.52
Cost to buyer at mine		6.92
Freight charges	$6.25	
United States tax on freight	.19	6.44
Cost to buyer; delivered at local railroad station in northern Maine		13.36
Yard and office expense of retail dealer		.22
Delivery in consumer's bin		1.59
Total cost to ultimate consumer		$15.17

It should be noted that, in this table, Mr. Smith has overlooked the fact that out of the margin of 52 cents for taxes

and dividends, the mine operators must pay for colliery improvements and interest on borrowed money. The total of these two items will average no less than 20 cents a ton. A recent bill signed by the Governor of Pennsylvania putting an *ad valorem* tax on anthracite production will further add to the cost of mining hard coal.

Recently I talked with Percy C. Madeira, president of the Anthracite Operators' Association, and secured from him some interesting facts which bear on the cost of mining hard coal. Eighteen tons of water, on an average, are hoisted from the mines for every ton of anthracite marketed. In some mines, as much as twenty-seven tons of water are raised for every ton of coal produced. The pumps in the anthracite collieries have a capacity of 823,641,120 gallons for every twenty-four hours, or an amount equal to the water consumption of the city of Philadelphia for two and a half days. The weight of the water hoisted in the hard-coal mines each year is from 30 to 40 per cent. greater than the weight of all the coal—anthracite and bituminous—mined in the United States in 1918, the year of greatest production.

In 1919 the anthracite mines used more than 50,000,000 pounds of explosives and about 775,000 tons of timber (nearly 500,000,000 board feet). This means that in producing a ton of coal the operator consumes eleven ounces of explosives and about seven board feet of timber. Each and every minute one and four fifths tons of air are forced into the anthracite mines for ventilation. One quarter of a ton of air is handled for every ton of coal shipped, and it takes a lot of air to weigh a quarter of a ton. In many anthracite mines, one half ton of rock, dirt, and other refuse is hoisted for every ton of coal produced. It took years to build the Panama Canal, and yet the anthracite miners in less than three years remove from the depths of the earth a greater yardage of rock and coal than the United States Government handled in ten years in Panama.

MAJOR ITEMS OF COST

THE two important elements in the cost of both hard and soft coal are labor and transportation. Both of these costs are now at the highest figures ever reached. Both freight rates and mine wages were fixed by commissions created by Federal action and operating under governmental authority. The mine owners had little or nothing to do with the establishment of the wage scales now prevailing. On a long haul, approximately one half of the price paid for coal goes to cover freight charges. A few years ago coal could be shipped from the mines in southern West Virginia to Hampton Roads for $1.40 a ton. At the present time this haulage cost is about $2.38. Five years ago coal could be shipped by water to New England for 50 cents a ton; to-day the charge is from $2.50 up, an increase of 500 per cent. At the commencement of the war, coal could be shipped from the Georgia Creek field in Maryland to a near-by Eastern city for $1.18; the present charge is $2.53. The cost of bringing coal from this same field in Maryland to a float on the Hudson River at New York is $3.36. In other words, it costs more to bring a ton of bituminous coal from the mines to a big Eastern city than it does to mine the coal and put it on the railroad cars. It is not at all unusual for the freight charges on a ton of coal shipped from West Virginia to certain points in New England to reach the high figure of $8.00 a ton. Five years ago the cost of handling a ton of coal from the local yard in a town or city to the householder's cellar averaged about 75 cents; to-day this cost averages from $1.50 to $2.50.

In justice to the producers of coal, it should be stated that the mine operators generally have no more control over the prices that consumers pay for coal than have the farmers in the West, who raise cattle and sell hides to be made into shoes, over the prices that people pay for shoes. That there has been profiteering in coal—both bituminous and anthracite—no one who has investigated can deny. But is it wise to legislate restrictions on the country's most important industry, simply because a few mine operators and many groups of retailers have been unscrupulous and unfair in their practices? In every country there are revolutionaries working on the master scheme of a general strike. Such a plan to be successful must commence with the coal mines, and nationalization of our two great coal industries would make the scheme far easier to execute. The recent coal strike in Great Britain *cost that country more each day than the World War cost* the British daily, which serious situation shows that while it is easy for a government to meddle with an industry, the return of the business to normal operation under private ownership is not nearly so

simple. In enacting laws to regulate industry, the important consideration is not so much the length of the step, but its direction.

Before the war, the citizens of this and other nations found resources within themselves to remedy their troubles. To-day the universal cry is for legislative action to solve each problem. The chief trouble in the United States at the present time is that our industrial life is out of balance. The Government's policy during the war was to get production at any cost, and as a consequence the wages in those industries which were operated under Federal control still remain at record levels, which condition is seriously retarding the readjustment of industry. Notwithstanding our recent experiences in substituting official incompetence for the efficiency of private management, there is a wide-spread belief that the Government is infallible. Federal employees receiving three or four thousand dollars a year are permitted to render decisions of the greatest importance with regard to the regulation of industries, the practical problems and principles of which are entirely foreign to their experience and training. There is great danger in encouraging the idea, now being advanced in Great Britain, that it is proper to tax the public to pay high wages to workmen in basic industries.

THE RADICALS AND DECREASED PRODUCTION

THE United Mine Workers here in the United States have adopted the nationalization idea permanently, and well-informed people—former Governor Cornwell of West Virginia being one of them—assert that there is a close agreement between the radical union mine leaders in this country and in England. For the first time in many years, the anthracite and bituminous mine workers have joined forces and have arranged their contracts with the operators so that the wage agreements in both the hard and soft coal fields expire on the same date—March 31, 1922.

In the meantime, the production of bituminous coal for the first seven months of this year was 50,000,000 tons less than for the same period of last year. If there should be a recovery in business this fall, and the year's demand for soft coal should equal that of 1920, there is little doubt but that the nation will be face to face with another serious fuel situation. Notwithstanding slack business, there is now practically no surplus of bituminous coal above ground anywhere in the United States. Experience has shown that a coal surplus cannot be accumulated during the winter months. All of which indicates the probability of an acute situation in our fuel markets early next year, when the new wage agreements in both the hard and soft coal fields are being negotiated. Most people are expecting a recovery in business, certainly by next spring, but let no one leave out of his calculations that vital consideration — an adequate coal supply.

The public is clamoring for lower prices for coal. The miners' leaders have stated definitely that the present wage agreements must not be altered until their contracts expire at the end of next March. If business begins to mend before that time, will the mine workers agree to a reduction in their present record wages? There might be hope for a satisfactory settlement, in view of the lower cost of living, if the miners could be assured of more regular employment than they have been given in the past. However, the seasonal nature of coal mining appears to be an unchangeable element of the problem. Men who work only 200 days or less each year cannot be expected to be happy with a wage which is on a par with the wage of other workers engaged in more congenial occupations, and employed 250 or 300 days annually. The public will be sorry if it fails to give close attention to developments in our national coal situation during coming months.

In a succeeding article, Mr. Parsons will cover other phases of the fuel problem in America, develop conclusions as to the future of the coal industry in the United States, and discuss the relation of coal exports to world trade supremacy

ARABIAN NIGHTS AND DAYS

A Second Chapter from a Hitherto Unpublished Personal Record of the Arab Revolt and Conflicts with the Turk

By COL. THOMAS E. LAWRENCE

I CAME again into Sherif Abdulla's tent, and announced my complete recovery and an ambition to do some damage to the Hedjaz Railway. Here were men, guns, machine guns, explosives, and automatic mines. Let us use them.

Abdulla, though he was Feisal's elder brother and the first instigator of the Arab revolt, seemed apathetic and wanted instead to talk about the royal families of Europe. The slow march of his own war bored him. But I fired to enthusiasm Sherif Shakir, his cousin and second in command, and by his help secured license to do our worst. Shakir loved the Ateiba and swore they were the best tribe on earth, so for our main body we would take Ateiba. Then we thought we might take a mountain gun, one of the Krupp veterans, and there was also a queer little mountain howitzer, sent to us from a Nile gunboat, which I wanted very much to try. It looked like a vegetable marrow on wheels, and lay back on the ground to be fired. I could not conceive that it was any use. Shakir promised to collect the force, and it was settled that I should go ahead to search for a good target. If possible it was to be Aba el Naam, a near and important station.

My companions were Fauzan el Harith, a famous warrior, and Mohammed el Kadhi, a son of Dakhil Allah, hereditary lawman of the Juheina, whose old father had guided the Turks down to Yenbo last December, but who was now one of our patriots. Mohammed was about eighteen, heavy and reliable. We rode off down Wadi Ais with twenty-five men, but after three hours the heat was too much so we stopped by a great lotus or jujube tree (but the fruit was scarce) and rested under it during the middle of the day. These trees are very shady, and there were few flies, unlike Abdulla's camp. Wadi Ais was luxuriant with thorn trees and grass. There was a cool east wind, and the air was full of white butterflies and the fragrance of flowers. In the late afternoon we mounted again, and in an angle of the valley passed a ruined terrace and cistern. There were once populous villages in this part making important use of subterranean waters. To-day all is waste.

We started at five next morning after a long night, and passed through the last hills and out into the Jurf, an undulating open space which runs down to Jebel Antar, a remarkable crater twelve miles to our south, and a landmark from afar, with its split and castellated top. We turned half-right in the plain, crossed to the low range of hills which cuts it off from the valley where the railway lies, and stopped at last by the final hill, over which lay Aba el Naam, quite close but well screened from sight. We could spy out our enemy from the hill-top, and thither we climbed in easy stages before sunset. The hill was about a thousand feet high and very steep, and from it we saw the station clearly, less than three miles off. It had a pair of large two-storied houses of basalt and cement, a circular water-tower, and other buildings, with many bell-tents and huts in the station yard. There were trenches but no sign of guns, and we could see only about three hundred men in all. A large bridge north of the station had its own post of a dozen tents on a black knoll behind it. We had heard that they patrolled their neighborhood very actively at night. This seemed undesirable, so we sent off two men to each blockhouse with orders to fire a few shots at them in the dark. The Turks thought it a prelude to attack and stood to arms all night.

We meanwhile were comfortably asleep and rose early next morning. At first it was very cold, with a restless dawn wind blowing across the Jurf, and making a noise in the great trees around our camp. As we climbed the hill, however, the sun came out, and an hour later it was hot. We lay in the long grass among

the stones of the foremost cairn on the hill-top, like lizards, and saw the garrison parade. There were three hundred and ninety infantry, little toy men who ran about when the bugle sounded, and formed up in stiff lines below the black buildings, and then with more bugling scattered, and then the smoke of cooking fires went up from all sides. A herd of sheep and goats came out from the station and moved toward us in charge of a little-ragged boy. Before he reached the hill there was loud whistling down the valley from the north, and a tiny train puffed slowly into view, crossed the bridge, and halted in the station, panting out white breaths of steam.

THE FAITHFUL SHEPHERD

THE shepherd lad kept on steadily and drove his goats with shrill cries up our hill. The best pasture was on the top and down the western side. Hussein, one of our men, moved behind the ridge along which the boy must come, and as soon as he was safe from observation from the station, jumped out and caught him. The lad was a Heteimi, one of those outcasts of the desert, members of no recognized Arab stock, whose children commonly hire themselves out as herds to the tribes about them. He cried continually, and made efforts to escape from us whenever he saw one of his flock straying uncared for about the hill, so that in the end the men lost patience and tied him up tightly. Fauzan tried to talk to him, but all his anxiety was for his goats, and he could tell us nothing about his Turkish masters.

These shepherd boys are a peculiar class. From infancy they follow their calling, and it takes them in all seasons and weathers, day and night, to the wild places of the hills. They are condemned to absolute loneliness. For ordinary Arabs the coffee-hearth is a university and their world revolves about it. There they hear all the best talk and news of the tribe, its poems, histories, love-tales, law-suits, bargainings. By constant sharing in the hearth-councils, they grow up to be masters of expression, dialecticians, orators, able to hold their own in any company and never at a loss for the words that move men. The shepherds lose all this. Their lives are in the wilderness, with nature's dry bones, and they grow up naturals, hardly sane in outlook, knowing nothing of the affairs of mankind, but very wise in edible plants, wild animals, and the habits of their own goats and sheep. They are paid miserably, but they get their food free when in camp, and in the desert the abundant milk of their charges is their perquisite and mainstay.

We kept this lad prisoner all day while we watched, and at dusk climbed down again to our party, bringing with us all we could gather of the flock. There we learnt that Shakir would arrive that night, so Fauzan and I went out across the plain toward the railway till we found a convenient gun-position among some low ridges less than two thousand yards from the station buildings. On our return, very tired, we saw fires burning among the trees, and found Shakir just arrived, and his men and our men roasting goat-meat contentedly. The shepherd was tied up hand and foot to a tree, for he had turned violent when he saw his charges unlawfully slaughtered, and had tried to defend them with his own body. He refused angrily to taste any of the supper, and we only forced bread and rice on him by threats of instant punishment. The men tried to convince him that we would take the station next day and kill his master, but he would not be comforted.

MINING THE RAILROAD

SHAKIR told me after supper that he had brought with him only three hundred men instead of the eight or nine hundred he had hoped to bring, so we had to modify our plans considerably. We would not take the station, we would frighten it. The simplest way was to open an artillery action from the front, and to mine or cut the railway to the north and south, in the hopes of catching the train still waiting there. Accordingly we chose out a dynamite party to blow up at dawn a section just north of the bridge, and I went off with a mine, and a machine-gun and its crew, to lay a trap south of the station, the side from which help would most probably come. Mohammed el Kadhi guided us very well up to a deserted part of the line which we reached just before midnight, and I laid the mine; it had a Martini action, to fire into twenty pounds of blasting gelatine when the weight of the locomotive overhead depressed the trigger.

It took about an hour to lay, and then we posted the machine-gun in a little bush-screened watercourse in full command of the spot where we hoped the train would be derailed. The crew was to remain here while the rest of us went down

farther south to cut the telegraph wires. When we had gone as far from camp as we reasonably could, we turned in to the line again, and again were fortunate to strike it in an unoccupied place. Unhappily it then appeared that none of the four Juheina with me could climb a pole, and eventually I had to struggle up one myself. It was all I could do, after an illness, and when I cut the third wire the flimsy pole shook so much that I lost grip, and came slipping down sixteen feet with a crash upon the shoulders of Mohammed who ran in to break my fall, and got nearly broken himself in consequence. We took a few minutes to recover breath, but after that were both able to walk off to our camels, and eventually got back to our camp just as the others were saddling up to go forward into position by dawn.

We let them go and I fell down under the trees for an hour's sleep, without which I felt I would collapse utterly. It was only just before daybreak, the hour when an uneasy sense is in the air, affecting all animals and making even sleeping men turn over on their sides. It wakened Mohammed who wanted to see the action. To get me up he came across to me and cried the morning call to prayer in my ear. I sat up and rubbed the sand out of my swollen eyes, discussing with him the merits of prayer and sleep. He suggested that there was not a battle every day, and exhibited to me the cuts and bruises he had sustained during the night, in helping me. I had as many myself, and my hands were full of splinters besides. When fully awake we rode off to catch up with the army, after untying the still unhappy shepherd boy, and advising him to wait there for our return.

A LOCOMOTIVE BLOWN UP

'HE tracks of the others were easy to follow and we reached the guns just when / opened fire. The howitzer was as eccen- as we had expected, but the mountain did excellent work and smashed all the floor of one building, damaged a second, a hole in the water tank, and hit the pump n. One lucky shot struck the first wagon he train, which caught fire and burned ously. The locomotive cast off and went y to the south. We watched her eagerly he approached our mine; and when she was t there was a puff of dust and a report, and came to a standstill. The damage was only to the front part, as she was going backward, and the charge exploded late. We waited and watched in vain for our machine gun to open fire, while the drivers on the engine jacked up the front wheels and tried to make temporary repairs. Then we learned that the gunners had become afraid at their loneliness, and had packed up and started back when they heard our gun-fire. It was too late to do anything to fill their place, and half an hour later the engine went on again toward Antar station, going at a foot's pace, and clanking loudly, but still going. It was sad.

VICTORY FOR THE ARABS

MEANWHILE all the wood and tents and trucks around the station were burning and the smoke was so thick that we could no longer shoot. So we started to go closer to see what were the results. On the way an outpost of nine Turks tried to surrender to us, but the Arabs mistook their signs, and killed them with a volley. We found there a protected train, with double-skinned trucks, lined with shingles. It was burning very hotly, and the Turks were too close, so we did nothing more. Shakir came away with us, and we decided to break off the action; the Ateiba could have rushed the station, but possession of it for the few hours we could have held it did not seem worth a casualty. We had captured thirty men, and killed and wounded seventy of the enemy, and had had only one man on our side slightly wounded. Traffic on the line was stopped for three days, while they repaired damages, so that our experiment was justified to that extent.

We rode straight back to Abdulla's camp which we reached on April the first. Shakir, who is splendid in habit, held a grand parade, and thousands of joy-shots were fired in honor of his victory. I found the little Heteimi lad a billet as shepherd to Dakhil Allah, Mohammed's father. This consoled him for losing his former place without a reference, and his consolation was turned into active joy when we gave him a new shirt and a colored head cloth. He asked for the kindness of a rifle thrown in!

WAR DANCES BY NIGHT

IN THE evening I was wandering in the thorn-grove behind the tents when I began to see through the thick branches a wild light shooting up in bursts of flame, and through

the flame and smoke came the rhythm of drums, and hand-clapping, and the deep roaring of a tribal chorus. I crept up quietly to look, and found an immense fire, in a ring of hundreds of Ateiba, all sitting on the ground one next the other, and gazing intently on Shakir, upright and alone in their midst, the leader of their song and dance; he had thrown off his cloak, so that he stood up in only his white head cloth and his white robes, and the powerful firelight was reflected on these and on his tense features. He threw up his head as he sang, and whenever at the close of a phrase he raised his hands high into the air, the full sleeves fell back to his shoulders, leaving his thin arms bare in a wizard's gesture. The tribe round him beat time to his steps with their hands, and bayed out the choruses at his nod. The circle of trees outside the range of the firelight, where I stood, was alive with Arabs of stranger tribes whispering to one another, as they listened to the war dances and ballads of the Ateiba.

ANOTHER ATTEMPT TO BLAST THE RAILROAD

IN THE morning we determined on another trip to the line, to make new experiments with the automatic mine which had only half-succeeded at Aba el Naam. Old Dakhil Allah agreed to come himself this time, since the project of looting a train tempted him, and with us went about forty of the Juheina and one of the chiefs of the Ateiba, Sultan, a boon friend of Abdulla and Shakir, and a good-tempered, hare-brained fellow. We took a machine-gun and its soldier crew with us, to settle our train if we caught it, and were clear of the camp by mid-afternoon.

We rode along Wadi Ais nearly to its mouth into Hamdh, finding it very green, and full of excellent pasture, for it had flooded twice already that winter. Then we bore off to the right a little, across a ridge and down to a place where there were many Harb tents. Dakhil Allah halted among these, expecting to be entertained, but they and he were old enemies, and they ignored him. He was very angry at this breach of the Sherif's peace, and sent off word at once to Abdulla, that the offenders might be brought to book. They gave us a sheep, however, so we had a proper meal, and then slept in the sand, rather distressed by a sharp shower of rain before midnight. However, the next morning was dry and hot, and we rode on into the huge plain which is Wadi Hamdh, or rather the confluence of the four great valleys Tubja, Hamdh, Ais, and Jizil. The course of the main stream was full of *asla* wood, just as at Abu Zereibat, with the same leprous hummocky bed all covered with sand-blisters, but happily only about two hundred yards across. We rode over it, and on some miles farther, when we halted in a place like a wilderness garden, waist deep in juicy grass and flowers, among which our camels sated themselves in an hour.

AN ARABIAN DUST STORM

THE day grew hotter and hotter and the sun so baked the clean sandy soil that my bare feet could not endure it, and I had to put on sandals, much to the amusement of the Juheina whose soles were as tough as hide. As the afternoon advanced the sun became dimmer, but the heat increased more and more, with an oppression and sultriness about it that constantly took me by surprise, so that I was always turning my head to see if somebody was not standing just behind me, shutting off the air. There had been long rolls of thunder all morning in the hills, and the two peaks of Serd and Jasim were wrapped in folds of dark blue and yellow vapor that looked motionless and substantial. A few minutes after we had marched again I looked back at them, and noticed that part of the yellow cloud off Serd was coming slowly in our direction, against the wind, raising scores of dust devils before its feet. The cloud was nearly as high as the hill, and, as it approached, it put out two dust-spouts, tight and symmetrical columns like chimneys, one on the right and one on the left of its front. Dakhil Allah looked ahead and to each side for shelter but saw none, and warned me that the storm would be heavy.

When it got nearer the wind, which had been scorching our faces with its hot breathing changed suddenly, and blew bitter cold and damp upon our backs. It also increased greatly in violence, and at the same moment the sun disappeared, blotted out by thick mists of yellow air over our heads. We stood in a horrible faint light, ochre-colored and fitful. The brown wall of cloud from the hills was now very near, rushing changelessly toward us, and three minutes later it struck us, making a loud grinding sound, wrapping us in a blanket of dust, with large stinging grains of sand in it, twisting and turning in most

violent eddies, and meanwhile advancing eastward at the speed of a strong gale.

The internal whirling winds had the most disquieting effects on us. We had put our backs to the storm to ride before it, but these side blasts tore our tightly held cloaks free from our hands, filled our eyes, and robbed us of all sense of direction, by turning our camels right or left from their course; sometimes they were blown completely around. Once we were all clashed together in a vortex, while large bushes, tufts of grass, and even a small tree were torn up by the roots, in a dense wave of the soil about them, and were driven against us, or blown over our heads with dangerous force. We were never blinded —it was always possible to see for seven or eight feet each side—but it was risky to look out, since, besides the sand, one never knew if one would not meet a flying tree, a rush of pebbles, or a spout of dust.

RAIN IN THE DESERT

THE storm lasted for eighteen minutes, and then leaped forward from us as suddenly as it had come. Our party was scattered over a mile or more, and before we could come together—while we and our clothes and camels were all smothered in dust, yellow and heavy with it from head to foot—down burst torrents of thick rain, and muddied us to the skin. The valley began to run in little splashes of water, and Dakhil Allah urged us across it quickly. The wind chopped once more, this time to the north, and the rain came driving before it in great sheets like spray. It beat through our cloaks in a moment, and moulded them close to our bodies, and chilled us to the bone.

AN ACCIDENT IN THE HILLS

WE REACHED the hill-barrier to the east about three o'clock, but found the valley of our road bare and shelterless, and colder than ever. After riding up it for three or four miles we halted, and climbed a great crag in front to see the railway which Dakhil Allah said lay just beyond. The wind was so strong at that height that I could not hold on to the wet and slippery rocks, for the bellying out of my cloak and skirts. I took them off, and climbed the rest of the way naked, more safely and hardly colder than before; but the effort proved entirely useless. The air was too thick for me to distinguish anything. So I worked down to the others, and dressed thankfully: but on our way to the level we had an accident —an Ateibi with us slipped, at one very sharp ledge where there was a deep drop of fifty feet into a gorge, and pitched over headlong. He fell on his head and smashed his skull to pieces.

When we got back, my hands and feet were too numbed to serve me any longer and I lay down and shivered for an hour or so, while the others buried the dead man in a little valley. When they were returning they suddenly found themselves face to face in the rain with a man on a camel, who was crossing their track. He fired a shot at them, and they fired back, but ineffectually, and the evening swallowed him up to the westward. This was most annoying, for surprise was our main ally, and we could only hope that he would not return and give warning about us to the Turks. We then mounted again to get closer and find where we were, but had hardly started when down the wind in the misty valley there came very loudly the mess call of Turkish bugles. Dakhil Allah at once understood that in that direction lay Madahrij, a small station below which we meant to work, and so we steered by the sound rather angry again, for it spoke of supper, and in this wet night we could not hope to make a fire and bake bread from the flour and water in our saddle-bags, but for lack of other food we would have to go hungry.

LAYING A DOUBLE MINE

WE GOT to the railway about ten in the evening, in conditions of invisibility which made it quite useless to look for a machine-gun position: so in despair I finally pitched on Kilo 1121 (from Damascus) and laid my mine there. It was a complicated mine, with a central trigger to fire two charges thirty yards apart simultaneously: for we hoped by this trick to get the locomotive in whichever direction it was traveling. We spent four hours burying the mine, for the rain had caked the surface and rotted the ground. Our feet made huge tracks everywhere, on the flat and on the bank, as though a school of elephants had danced on it. Hiding them was quite impossible, so we did the other thing, and trampled the line to the north and to the south for hundreds of yards, ourselves and our camels, so that it looked as if an army had crossed the valley there, and the mine-place was no better and no worse than the rest. Then we went back to where it might be possible to

put a machine gun next day, and cowered down miserably in the open, waiting for the light. The cold was dreadful, so that our teeth chattered and we made involuntary hissing noises, and our hands were so cramped that we could not open or close them.

IN SUSPENSE

THE clouds had disappeared by dawn, and a red sun came up over the very fine broken hills facing us east of the railway. By midday it was nearly as hot as it had been the day before, and we were looking everywhere for shade. Before this, however, we had had two thrills. The first was a patrol from the south, which walked up inspecting the line before allowing the morning train to run over it. When they reached our footmarks they halted in astonishment, and sounded every inch of the ground to find out what we had been doing. But the mine was well concealed, and so they found nothing: yet the time of their search passed slowly for us. The second was the coming of the train, a heavy train of nine loaded trucks, full of women and children, civil refugees from Medina. It ran right over the mine without exploding it. As an artist I was furious, as a soldier deeply relieved, for women and children were not the spoils we wanted.

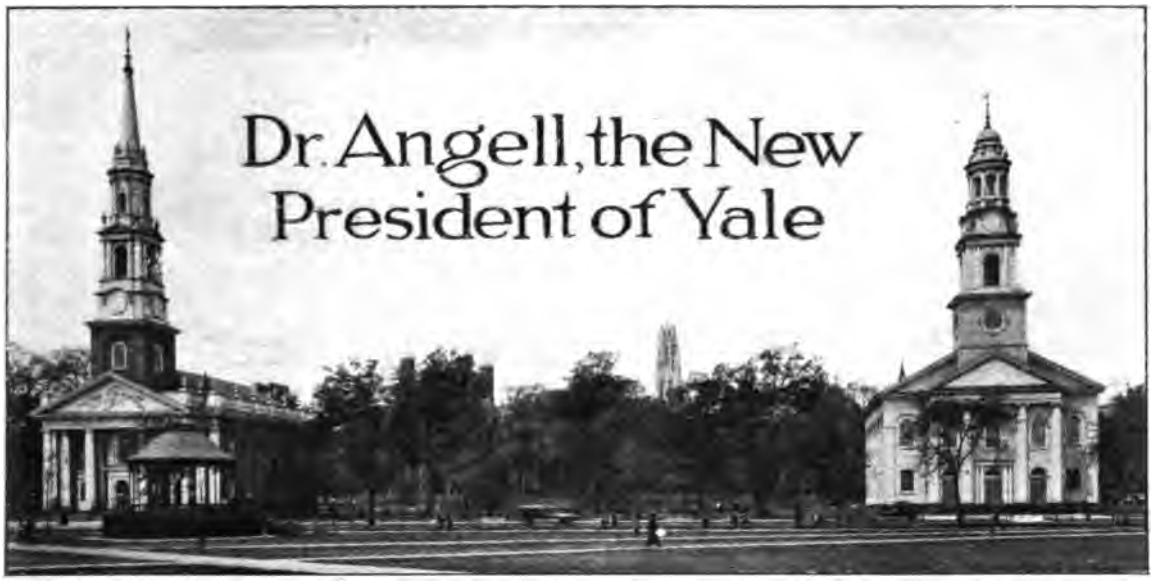
When the Juheina heard the train they all rushed up to the crest of our protecting ridge to see it. The Turks had a working party only a quarter of a mile from us, and our appearance was too much for them. They fled back into Madahrij, at least five thousand yards away, and from their trenches round it opened rifle fire at us. They must have sent news of us down the line, because the next station, Hedia, also came to life. We moved northward to some large trees, from whose shade we could watch the line at our ease, and we sat there till sunset in full view, to annoy the Turks, who fired on us at intervals. Incidentally, of course, we held up the traffic.

About five o'clock in the afternoon, things were quiet, so we mounted again and rode out toward the railway. Madahrij revived in a paroxysm of shooting. When we reached the line we dismounted, and all, led by Dakhil Allah performed the sunset, prayer between the rails. It was probably the first prayer of the Juheina for a year or more, and I was a novice: but from a distance we passed muster, and the Turks appeared quite bewildered. As soon as it was dusk I went off to find out why the mine had failed. This was best done by myself, but the Juheina were so interested that they had to come too. They brought my heart into my mouth by swarming all over the rails while I searched. It took me an hour to find where the mine was, so well had it been hidden. Laying one is dangerous work, but having to scramble in pitch darkness, up and down a hundred yards of rail, feeling for a trigger buried in heavy ballast made me glad I was insured, and sorry for the others, for the two charges were so powerful that they would have rooted up fifty yards of the bank, and probably killed us all. To be sure that would have completed the Turks' bewilderment.

At last I found the mine, and discovered by touch that the action had sunk one-sixteenth of an inch, due to bad setting, or to a subsidence in the rain. I re-set it, and then, to explain ourselves to the enemy, we began blowing up bridges and rails and telegraph poles at top speed, doing a great deal of damage in a few minutes. Afterward, we mounted our camels and rode fast down the windy valley into the plain of Hamdh. Old Dakhil Allah was too pleased with the mess we had made of the line to go soberly. As soon as he was on the sandy flat he beat his camel into a canter, and we all pounded after him madly in the colorless moonlight. The going was perfect, and we never drew rein for three hours. We over-rode our machine-gun and its escort who had gone on early in the afternoon, because they were slow-moving and we had to take precautions against the Turkish cavalry at Hedia. The soldiers heard our yelling rout coming through the night, and thought us enemies of sorts, and let fly at us with their Maxim: but it jammed after half a belt, since they were former tailors from Mecca and unhandy with it, so we captured them with much laughter.

We slept lazily long in the morning, and breakfasted at Rubiaan, the first well in Wadi Ais, on unleavened bread. As we were smoking after breakfast, just before re-mounting, we heard the distant roar of a great explosion behind us on the railway, and wondered if the mine had been found out or had done its duty.

In the evening scouts came in and said that at daybreak the Turks had brought up a repair train from Hedia, and the mine had exploded fore and aft of it. This was everything we had hoped, and, singing, we rode back to Abdulla's hospitable camp.



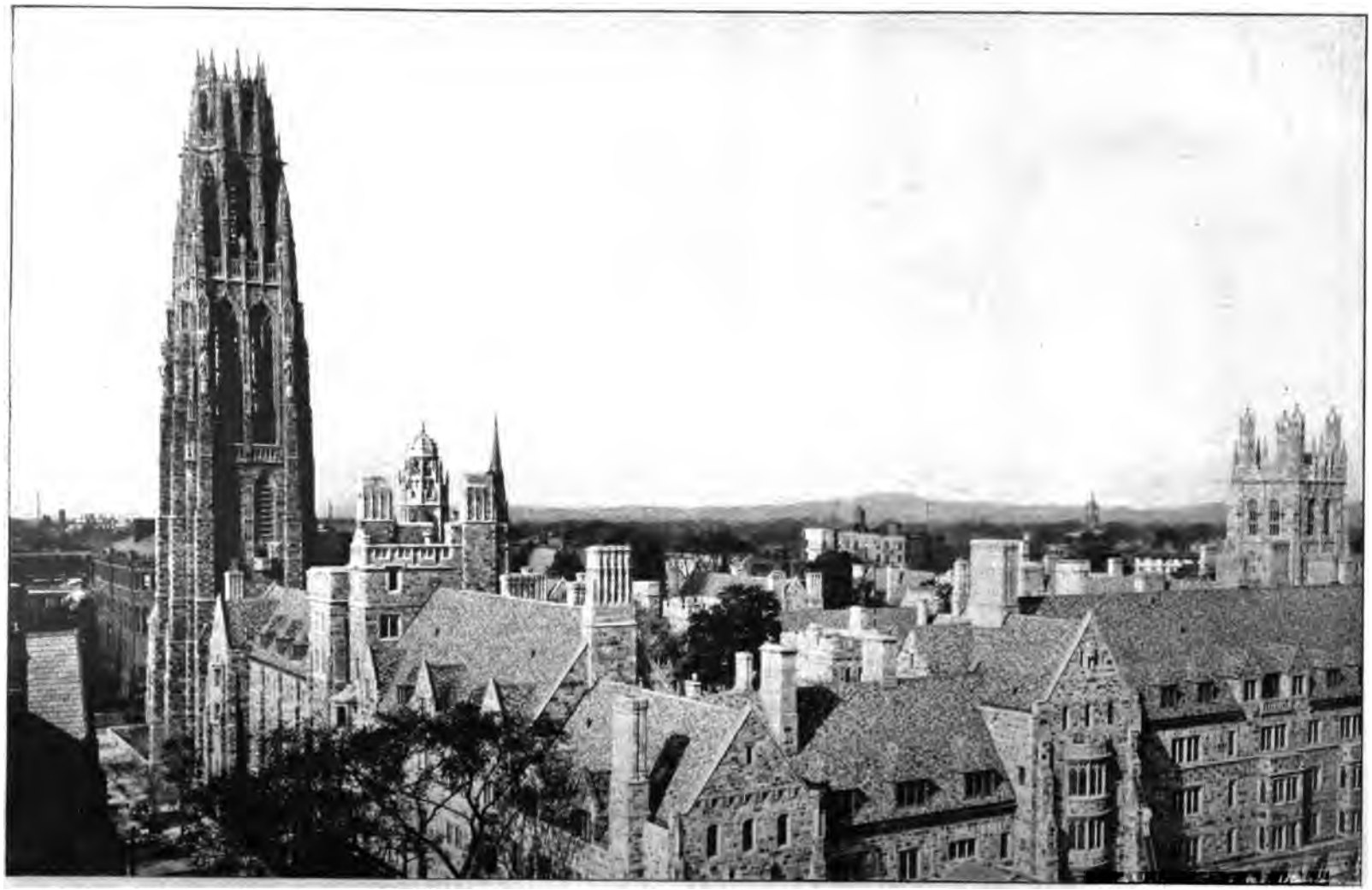
Dr. Angell, the New President of Yale

By JAMES H. TUFTS
Professor, University of Chicago

THE country at large, as well as the alumni and friends of Yale, may well be interested in the personality of Yale's new president. I do not propose to attempt a critical analysis of his qualifications; a friend is not usually best fitted for such a task. But a friendship extending through a period of more than thirty years has given me an opportunity to know certain things about the formative influences of his life and the development of his tastes, interests, and activities, which I am glad to share with the readers of the WORLD'S WORK.

It was of course generally assumed that the new president would be a son of Yale or at least of New England. At the first meeting of the regents of a southern state university for the purpose of choosing a president a short time ago, the oldest regent arose and said, "I trust this state is great enough, when seeking a president for its university, to ask not where he was born but what he is." A similar thought seems to have been in the minds of the Yale corporation. Yet if any New Englander is at all uneasy in mind because of the selection of a man who has spent his early years in Michigan and most of his professional life in Chicago, he may be reassured by the fact that the new president was at least born in Vermont, and that nearly all of his ancestors on both sides had been for many generations dwellers in Rhode Island. Indeed, the original Thomas Angell entered the state in the days and, if I mistake not, in the company of Roger Williams. As with most of the early settlers, this ancestry for the most part got its living from the soil. Dr. Angell's maternal grandfather, Alexis Caswell, however, was for thirty-five years a professor of mathematics in Brown University and closed his academic career with a term of four years as president of that institution. He may possibly be regarded as responsible for originating what may now almost be said to be taking on the character of a presidential habit. But it is the long and distinguished career of Dr. Angell's father which is of chief significance in that respect. A graduate of Brown University, engaged for a time in journalism, he was early chosen president of the University of Vermont, where he served for six years prior to his election to the presidency of the University of Michigan. He served in the latter position for thirty-eight years, and died in 1917, leaving a name of honor and affectionate remembrance.

The University of Michigan, from which Angell received his bachelor's degree in 1890 and master's degree in 1891, combined with the family environment to exercise a strong formative influence upon his personal, cultural, and educational ideals. The present writer was fortunate enough to be an instructor in the



Courtesy Simonds Com. Photo. Co.

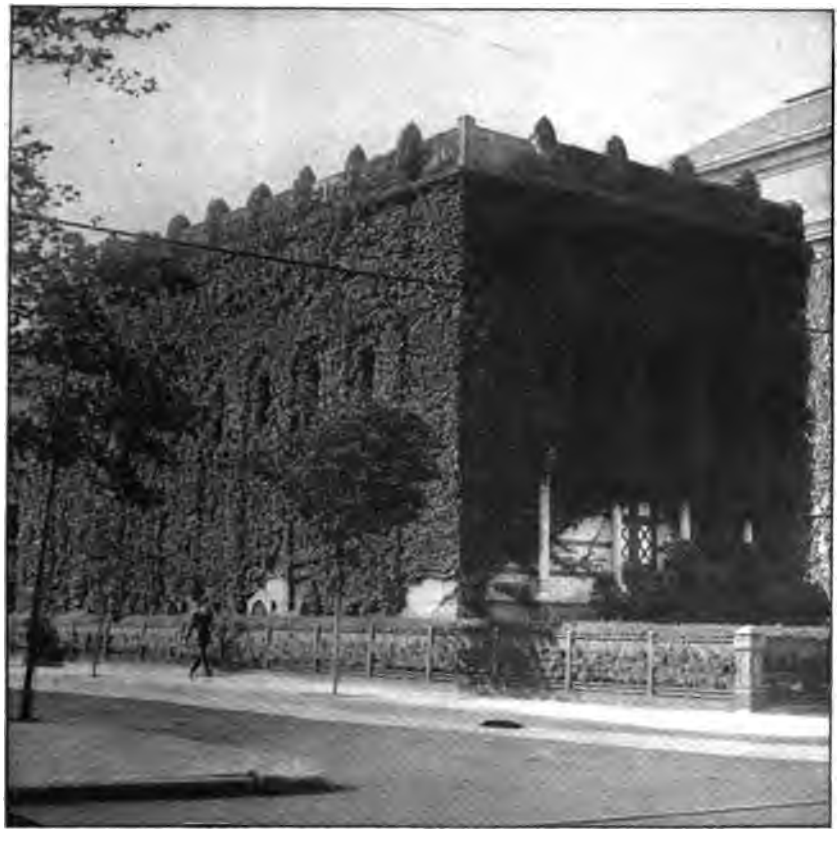
THE NEW YALE

The Memorial Quadrangle, of which James Gamble Rogers is the architect, is, perhaps, the finest example of collegiate Gothic in America. It is built around six courts with accommodations for 650 students. The Memorial Tower on the left is 200 feet high and dominates the University. On the right of the picture is Wrexham Tower inspired by a church at Wrexham, Wales, where are buried the remains of Elihu Yale, the first benefactor of the University

Photo by Charles Patch, Jr.

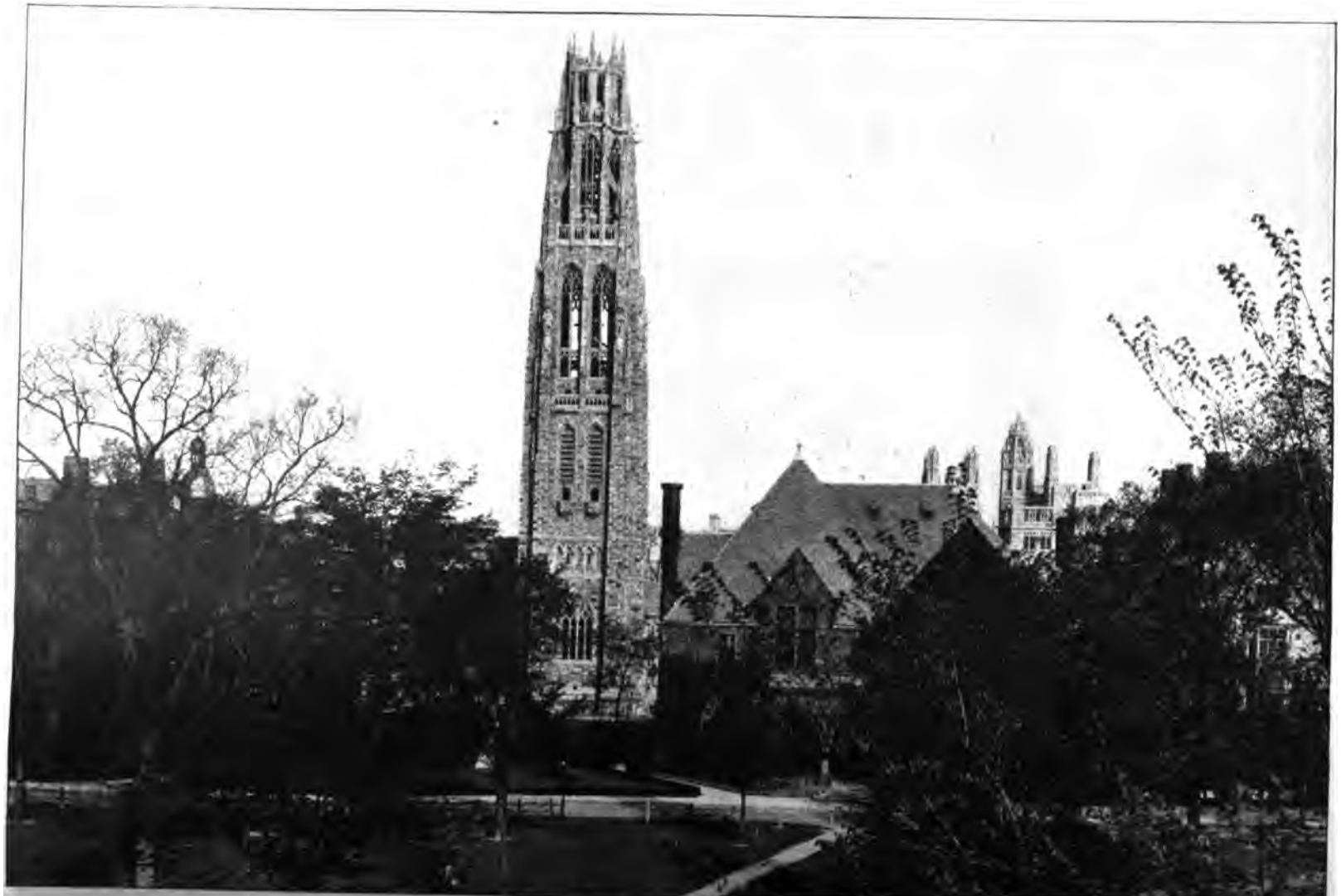
"TAP DAY"

Toward the end of Junior Year the Senior Societies select forty-five new members by tapping them on the back. Besides this another senior organization, the Elihu Club, selects from ten to fifteen men. The importance of this selection has been so exaggerated by some undergraduates that it has been criticized for unhappy consequences to over-ambitious students



AFTER "TAP DAY"

The ivy-clad, virtually windowless home of Scroll and Key, one of the four Senior Organizations within whose mysterious walls only fifteen additional men are admitted each year. Dr. Angell may find "Tap Day" and its social results one of Yale's problems



Courtesy Simonds Com. Photo. Co.

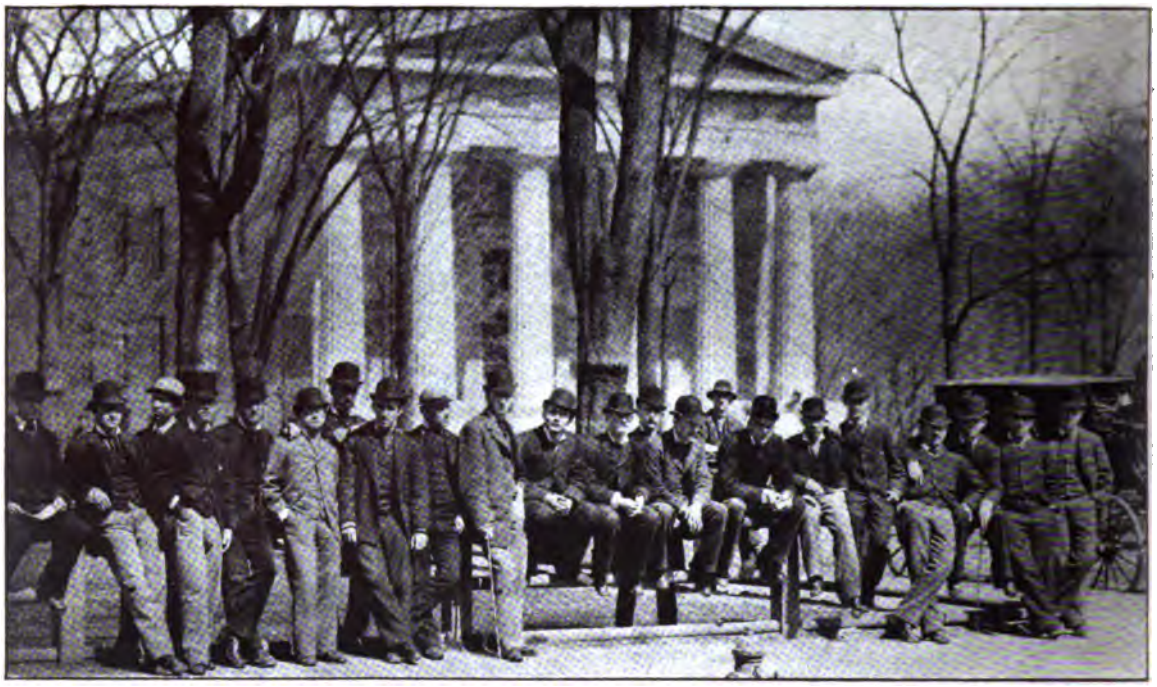
THE OLD AND THE NEW

A glance across Yale's time-honored campus toward the stately Memorial Tower which is the gift of Mrs. Stephen V. Harkness in memory of her son Charles W. Harkness of the class of 1881

Courtesy Simonds Com. Photo. Co.

"'NEATH THE ELMS"

One of the symbols of Yale are the elms which abound beside the ivy-clad buildings of the university



THE YALE FENCE AS IT WAS ONCE

The traditions of Yale are among its most precious possessions. Important among them is the Yale Fence upon whose time-worn rounds it is the privilege of all sons of Yale, except freshmen, to sit. That Yale has gone outside her ranks to find her president shows that narrowing traditions at the University are in the discard

rejecting their graduates. It tended undoubtedly to promote that condition which President Angell was accustomed to say had been his ideal, that every child might see a clear path leading from his home to the door of the university.

It was then in no crude western school but in an intensely alive, vigorously scientific, broadly humane, and genuinely democratic institution that Angell received his undergraduate training. No one who entered into all aspects of that life as fully as did Angell could fail to be subtly shaped by it. For the son of the president to maintain his standing among his fellow students as one of them and as a good fellow, while at the same time he realized his responsibilities, was not the easiest possible rôle. But all things are easier for the good athlete, and in both baseball and tennis Angell stood in first rank. He has always remained a lover of good sport, although believing thoroughly that the collegian's relation to sport should be that of an amateur for whom sport has its place in a vigorous, generous, and well-rounded life, not that of the professional for whom it excludes or dwarfs other interests. The university did not grade its students, but Angell's scholarship, as I knew it, showed the penetrative insight and the critically independent judgment, which, like all things excellent, are as difficult as they are rare.

Undergraduate life plays the larger part in shaping character and determining fundamental attitudes. Graduate studies define more especially intellectual methods, and give a professional as distinguished from the personal stamp. Angell's professional studies were largely influenced, in the first instance, by his contact with the acute and powerful mind of Professor Dewey who had just succeeded to the chair of Professor Morris. They were continued with more definite emphasis upon psychology with William James and his distinguished colleagues at Harvard. In those days nearly all young men eager to come in contact with the most vigorous and intense scientific work went to Germany, so did Angell. His year at Harvard was followed by a year at Berlin and Halle, which was terminated somewhat abruptly, before completion of the doctoral dissertation, by a call to the University of Minnesota. A year later Angell joined Professor Dewey in the Department of Philosophy and Psychology at the University of Chicago.

THE YALE FENCE AS IT IS TO-DAY

A corner of the old campus with the Fence in the foreground. It was in Connecticut Hall (the colonial building in the foreground) that Nathan Hale lived in his college days. A statue of the martyr, who is one of Yale's most renowned graduates, may be seen in the centre of the picture

It would be true in one sense that he helped to make the new university rather than that he was influenced by the university, and yet none of the group of active young men who made up the early faculty at Chicago could fail to be stimulated by the task of creating a new institution as contrasted with that of carrying on a high and worthy tradition in one long established. From the restless and overflowing energy of the president to the scholars and investigators of international repute on the one hand, or to the young men fresh from graduate study at universities of this country and Europe on the other, there was a contagious spirit of productive activity, of team work, and of generous rivalry. We knew that we had to prove our right to a place in the world of science and of scholarship; we had to establish connections with the forces of a city still young. The university's buildings were rising with dignity and beauty. The university encouraged publication by establishing a larger number of journals than any university before had attempted to foster. It was a good place in which to grow.

During the first fourteen years of his work, Professor Angell was a psychologist. He took little part in general faculty activities, and his administrative talents found scope only in building up a strong department, save as they were called upon for such occasional services as that of president of the Quadrangle Club. He published during this period his "Psychology," which rapidly came into wide use as combining at once scientific method with feeling for literary values. But he was, perhaps, most conspicuously known among his colleagues for his success as a trainer of future psychologists. Personal enthusiasm, and ability to inspire and direct fruitful studies, more than overcame defects in the university's material equipment.

It was in a sense an accident and yet, like most such accidents, in a deeper sense it was not at all an accident, that in 1908 Professor Angell made a somewhat tentative entrance upon administrative work. There chanced to be at that time a vacancy in the office of the dean of the Senior Colleges, and Dean Vincent said to Angell, "If you wish to experiment with administrative work without burning your bridges behind you, why not try this?" The experiment proved so satisfactory that when, not long after, Dean Vincent

A BIT OF HISTORY

In 1916 the great Yale Bowl was the scene of a pageant celebrating the 200th anniversary of the removal of Yale College from Saybrook, where it was founded, to New Haven

The upper picture shows a "prom," or commencement ball, of bygone days, when clothes were different, but the gaiety and importance of this social event were almost the same as they are to-day

The lower picture depicts a Revolutionary episode when the militia of Captain Benedict Arnold secured ammunition from the town of New Haven

A "TOWN AND GOWN RIOT"
An episode of the 1916 pageant memorialized the former riots between "Town" and "Gown," but this revival was between the Scientific and Academic students

COLONIAL DAYS
That the University had its founding in Colonial days was recalled by such pretty scenes as this during the pageant in the Yale Bowl

TICKETS FOR YALE BOWL
On the occasion of football games with Harvard and Princeton the public demand for seats is enormous, the line sometimes extending for three city blocks

Photo by Charles Patch, Jr.

went as president to the University of Minnesota, Dean Angell seemed his logical successor as dean of the faculties, in an office which, as organized at Chicago, included many responsible executive duties. It included problems of undergraduate scholarship and various student "activities" on the one hand, and of conference with faculty colleagues on the other. Extended absence of President Judson during the war on a mission to Persia led to the designation of Dean Angell, as vice-president, with corresponding responsibilities. Work at Washington during the war and later in the National Research Council and as president of the Carnegie Corporation during this last year has served only to confirm the general estimate of his characteristics as administrator which made him so generally liked by his colleagues at Chicago, and which his friends believe will meet as cordial a welcome at Yale.

I think that if Dr. Angell were himself asked what he relied upon most in meeting the problems of an executive, he would say, great and persistent diligence in making sure that he thoroughly understands every angle of the situation so far as is humanly possible, and in, the second place, a desire to understand the point of view of all persons concerned. His colleagues would doubtless add a third trait which is inseparable from any impression of him—a quick and genial sense of humor which is always lurking ready to flash out in a word or turn of thought, and to smooth the path of discussion when it tends to become thorny.

There are, of course, various types of executives who excel for various reasons, but the executive of a great modern university is wise if he recognizes his own limitations as a fallible mortal and utilizes to the full the abilities of his colleagues. He is also wise if he is himself

A NEW ACTIVITY
A course in field artillery now gives credit toward a diploma. Part of the new plant which President Angell finds is a stately armory containing guns, horses, and training equipment

YALE IN CHINA
At Changsha, in the heart of China, a college for Chinese students has been established and is supported by the New Haven university: it is called Yali

sufficiently imbued with the scientific spirit to make sure of understanding the largest bearing of the important subjects in the decision of which he must at least take a large measure of responsibility. It is highly fortunate if, underlying an open-minded scientific attitude and the disposition to get the other man's point of view, there is an intelligent grasp of the intellectual trends of the day, gained through achievement in one's own science, contact with other workers, and sensitiveness to the finer and nobler aspects of American tradition and present life.

Why, then, returning to our early question, did Yale select a man of Dr. Angell's antecedents and ideals? I cannot claim in any way to be in the confidence of those responsible for the choice, but if it signifies anything whatever more than personal fitness—and I incline to believe that the trustees were considering large matters of policy as well as desirable personal traits—one may suppose that they believe that to a national university at a somewhat critical point in its development, the educational and social ideals of the West may make a significant contribution. What are the distinctive features of the best ideals of East and West? It is not primarily in the stock from which faculties have come. The scientists and teachers of the Middle West were largely born in the East, or, at most, of one remove. Nor is it in the quality of scholarship. It is rather in the relation of institutions to the public, as has in part been suggested above. The East is the home of endowed institutions under corporate control, in many ways sharply separated from the community, for the most part founded by religious bodies, originally intended to train ministers and then other leaders in the civic and social body. No one

TRADITION'S DEN
Mory's, where generations of Yale men have drunk toasts, and where athletes have carved their names in the round table tops, the oldest of which hang on the walls

A CORNER OF THE NEW CAMPUS

Dr. Angell comes to Yale at a time when her greatest buildings are approaching completion. The walls and recesses of the Harkness Quadrangle preserve for posterity some of the personalities connected with Yale to-day and yesteryear, whose heads are cut in stone. The left insert is the head of Dr. Hadley, the retired president; on the right, is that of John V. Farwell of Chicago, chairman of the Yale Plans Committee

would question the great services which they have rendered. The western universities, and especially the state universities, have been more intimately related to the community. They are a part of the public-school system. They have been supported by taxation which has borne upon every citizen. They have in turn sought new ways of service to their states, to the high schools, to legislatures, to the farmer, to the housewife, as well as to the administration of justice and the healing of the sick. The effort to perform such wide service undoubtedly puts a strain upon an institution's resources; and yet those who have had experience with both kinds of institutions may feel confident that there has been decided gain, even if also at times there has been loss, in this more intimate relation of the university to the people's life.

What contribution then may it be expected that the new president will make to Yale life? Not, of course, any bald transfer or grafting on of western details of method or device. Rather is to be expected a spirit to discern new and enlarged lines of usefulness which the peculiar tradition, genius, and resources of Yale may fit her to make to the intellectual, civic, and spiritual life of the times. Material resources and equipment will be thought of in proper perspective as subsidiary to the all-important purpose. The more complex world relations into which we are compelled to enter, whether we will or no, the more difficult problems of economic order that await us because of the very magnitude of our population and industry, the increasing class consciousness not to be met by past formulas—these and other conditions need the broadest and most far-reaching intelligence. No individual counts much through his own resources. A great university, through the spirit with which it looks upon life and the world, may do much.

Is the Budget the Beginning of a New Era in Washington? A Hundred Representatives and Senators for Reform to Overcome Inefficiency and End Deadlocks

By WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD

I RECENTLY asked fifty Senators and fifty Representatives and several members of the Administration whether they believed that our governmental machinery needed reform. Every one of them answered, "Yes." They echoed a popular belief that our government does not meet effectively the tasks which our complex civilization puts upon it. It is not perhaps surprising that there is a popular feeling of this kind. But it is surprising to find so conservative a body as Congress is about its own affairs demanding a change. At no previous time in fifty years could a man have asked a hundred Congressmen this question and received such an answer. Even when the insurgent Republicans took much of the power from the Speaker of the House, their motive was not so much the recognition that our methods of government were inadequate, as it was the desire to break the grip of the Old Guard on the Government.

We are then entering a period—we are actually in it—which will contain dramatic and far-reaching changes in the adaptation of the principles of free institutions to the complexities of modern life.

Our forefathers made a government for thirteen million people who lived chiefly on the land. Their successors adapted it to steam transportation, to the abolition of slavery, to the introduction of the modern industrial system.

But war and the aftermaths of war have so intensified and quickened the problems that now confront us that we have got to simplify, quicken, and make more responsible the government that must handle them.

The difficulties which this Administration is having in doing the tasks that press upon it, as well as the deadlock during the last two years of the previous administration, exemplify the particular need of changes that will expedite the public business. This present Congress, besides exemplifying the need, also has begun to create the remedy. It has passed, and the President has signed, the budget bill.

Practically every other civilized country in the world has had a budget system, and in the last few years a great number of our states have adopted laws providing for budgets.

The Federal Government is a follower not a leader in budget reform. Perhaps this is well, for the budget bill, as actually passed, is a fundamentally sound piece of legislation. This is more important than the average press notices of the passage of the bill would indicate, for it is possible and probable that this bill will be the beginning of a metamorphosis of the workings of our government that will make the next few years notable in the history of our governmental institutions.

The bill provides that the President shall transmit to Congress on the first day of each regular session the budget which will contain a summary of the past year's income and expenditures and estimates of the coming year's income and expenditures. The first thing that this will do is to make the President's recommendations to Congress specific instead of general. If he puts down in the budget that he expects to get a billion dollars from a new tax, he will have to explain what kind of a tax will produce the billion. If he suggests a measure that will cost a half billion dollars, he will likewise have to suggest another measure for raising the money. Moreover, as practically every law passed by Congress either costs money or produces money, the

President can hardly prepare a budget without having pretty well thought out his programme for the whole year. Also, having brought the budget before Congress, he is responsible for it, as the president of a corporation is when he presents his budget to the board of directors. In the President's words this is, indeed, applying business principles to government.

The assumption is that, after the President has brought in his estimates based on careful study, Congress will take those estimates as the basis of its financial legislation which, under the Constitution, must originate in the House. As far as the law is concerned Congress need not base its bills on the President's estimates, but it is hardly conceivable that public opinion would not object if these budgets were ignored. The budget bill provides a new and better opportunity for Congress to scrutinize and control the Executive. Hitherto the Executive has made general recommendations for which he got the credit in the public estimation; Congress has had to supply the particulars which have often been more difficult and less popular than the generalities. Now the President must lay all his cards upon the table at the opening of Congress, and Congress has the right, and it is its duty, to examine and improve his programme.

RELIEF FROM "PORK"

CONGRESS will have more time for this constructive work if it takes full advantage of the budget. The President being elected by all the people is not under pressure from any one locality for "pork"—every Congressman is. If Congress accepts the President's budget as the basis of its money bills, no Congressman need be under pressure for local "pork" any longer. Now, when the representative of the local special interest turns up with his demand, the Congressman can answer: "I can do nothing for you beyond forwarding your request to the department to which it belongs, and that department will decide whether it wishes to sponsor your request in the budget. If it does, and the President agrees and recommends it, and Congress, as the final authority, agrees, you will get your money. There is no short cut. There are no special appropriations for special interests."

And the Congressman can let it be understood that the delegations will get no result from backing a rival at the next election, for the rival, if elected, will be equally unable to get special money favors out of the Treasury for the locality.

If the budget actually works in this way, as it can and probably will, Congress in a few years will have reached a new high level in the respect of the American people. The public knows now that the average Congressman spends a large part of his time in the quest of patronage, special favors, and "pork," in the hope that by the distribution of these items paid for by the public Treasury he may win favor for reelection. Congressmen wouldn't do this if the public didn't demand it, but the public, like the kings of old, can do no wrong! Consequently, it is the Congressmen who get the blame. If the practice were stopped, the native ability of Congress would in large measure be devoted to the important affairs of the nation instead of what may fairly be called the petty graft of "pork" and patronage—and once this change comes about, the influence and reputation of Congress will be immeasurably increased.

WHO WILL THE BUDGET STRENGTHEN?

IN POLITICAL circles one of the chief points of discussion about the budget system is whether it will strengthen the executive or the legislative branch of the Government.

It ought to strengthen both in the public estimation. Almost every successful President of the United States from the times of Washington and Jefferson has been the political leader of his party. The budget forces that leadership on the President. On the other hand it forces him to plan a definite programme and make it public and take the responsibility for it. This gives Congress time to scrutinize and discuss his programme publicly, so that it can hold him to a far more strict accountability than ever before. Added to that the budget bill properly provides that the Comptroller General and his Audit Bureau, which is to audit the accounts of the executive branch of the Government, is accountable to Congress.

Congress will scrutinize, revise, and authorize the President's programme as presented in the budget and its agent will check the actual expenditures after they are made. That provides for a stricter Congressional supervision of the Executive, both before and after the appropriation and expenditure of the public money, than we have ever had. It does not, however, make any particular arrangements for supervision during the process.

At present Congress performs this function by hearings and investigations but in practice these are almost always after the event. They are most common when Congress and the President are at loggerheads, and Congress is trying to convict the Executive before the bar of public opinion. These investigations do not provide a good method of sympathetic supervision of the Executive by Congress.

It is generally accepted that the most feasible method of providing this sympathetic supervision or coöperation would be to allow the members of the Cabinet to have non-voting seats in Congress from which they could explain the actions of the Executive either on their own initiative or when questioned.

CABINET MEMBERS IN CONGRESS

I ASKED the same one hundred Congressmen, who all agreed to the necessity for some changes in the machinery of the Federal Government, if they were in favor of giving Cabinet members seats in Congress. Thirty-nine were opposed to it. Sixty-one favored it. Of the sixty-one, twelve favored giving the Cabinet members the right to vote. The other forty-nine believe in giving them non-voting seats. To give them the right to vote, of course, would necessitate a Constitutional amendment.

Both the budget provision and the entrance of the Cabinet in Congress will create machinery which will inevitably fix responsibility for the action or non-action of the Government, and fix it publicly. Both will tend to clarify and expedite governmental efficiency and thereby promote economy. Both tend toward coöperation between the Executive and the Legislature; but they do not by any means ensure it. If a Congress did not like the President's budget, it could ignore it. It could, even after passing a budget, pass other appropriation bills, if it so desired. But in this case the President would undoubtedly have the public support in vetoing them unless they were accompanied by measures for raising the revenue, and this would be a great deterrent. Congress could also ignore the Cabinet members within its midst. While not so likely as heretofore (because public opinion could fix more clearly the blame), a deadlock between the President and Congress could happen, even if all these changes were effected.

The proper operation of the budget and the placing of Cabinet members in Congress will provide better means of coöperation when the Executive and the Legislature wish to coöperate. But it will not, of course, make a Democratic Congress, for example, desiring a low tariff, see eye to eye with a Republican President, desiring a high one. It can't force a Congress and a President to coöperate if they do not want to. So, whenever there is this condition, as often happens, our government becomes a failure until the condition is changed.

MEETING A DEADLOCK

THIS problem of the deadlock faces every free government in the world. There are three general methods of approaching it, which, for convenience, I am going to call the first, second, and third methods.

Under the first plan, used by the French, when the cabinet, which is the real executive, reaches a deadlock with the legislature (that is when it is given a vote of lack of confidence), it resigns and another cabinet is formed. But the members of the legislature do not resign nor run any personal political risk when they vote a lack of confidence. The consequence is that there is a tendency to change the French "government," or executive, with unfortunate frequency.

Under the second plan, which the British follow, the legislature likewise can get rid of the executive (cabinet) by a vote of lack of confidence, but the legislators are much more careful in doing this in England than in France, because, whenever they turn out a cabinet, they themselves must go before the people in a general election and put their own political fortunes to the test of the wisdom of their move. This makes the British Parliament somewhat slow and unresponsive about passing votes of lack of confidence.

Whatever their disadvantages, both these systems have the inestimable advantage of keeping the legislative and the executive branches of the same party in substantial agreement, so that prolonged deadlocks are practically impossible.

The third system is to have a fixed term of office for both the executive and the legislature, so that both legislature and executive must come before the people once in so often whether they believe it is necessary or not. This may, of course, sometimes cause a needless election and at other times delay a needed change, but, on the whole, judged merely as a method

of determining the times of elections, it would seem to present as good a chance of average efficiency as either of the other two—always with the proviso that the President and Congress are of the same party. At present we have this method of a fixed term, but without any means of making sure that the President and Congress will be of the same party. The most obvious method of ensuring this result would be to change the terms of the members of the House and the Senate so as to coincide with that of the President.

It would be possible without Constitutional amendment to adopt the idea of the English and French systems requiring that the Cabinet resign upon a vote of lack of confidence. If this were done, the responsibility for the policies would soon come into the hands of the Cabinet which would have to stand or fall by their success or failure and the President would tend to become a figurehead, as the King is in England and as the President is in France. There is a disadvantage in this plan in that the Cabinet, which would be the real executive branch of the Government instead of the President, would not be the direct choice of the people.

On the other hand, if the President, the Senate, and the House were all elected for a four-year term, the President, elected by the people, would still be the Chief Executive in fact as well as in name, and the Legislature and the Executive would almost certainly be of the same party, which would greatly lessen the danger of the periods of deadlock. The chief difficulty of this change would be that it would require a Constitutional amendment. Perhaps for this reason, and perhaps because it is not a familiar suggestion, only twenty-eight of the one hundred Congressmen whom I questioned favored it.

If the members of the Cabinet were to have seats in Congress, they would perforce have to give up part of the work they now do. As a matter of fact, sending the Cabinet to Congress presupposes a change in our conception of the Cabinet's functions. There are two rather divergent conceptions of the Cabinet. One considers the Cabinet primarily as an aggregation of administrative officers, each of whom attends strictly to his own department. The other conception is that the Cabinet is primarily a group particularly chosen as the wisest advisers to the President on the major policies of his term. Under this conception the actual administration of the departments would be carried on by permanent under-secretaries, who would have a far greater knowledge of the technical questions and the personnel of each department than the continually changing Cabinet officers ever have time to acquire.

THE SIZE OF THE CABINET

IF THE members of the Cabinet were given seats in Congress and were prepared to explain the policies of the Administration, they would almost necessarily have to be given under-secretaries for the actual administration of their departments. In this conception of the Cabinet a consolidation of departments could be effected so as to reduce the Cabinet to the size best adapted to its function of advising the President on major policies and explaining these policies to Congress, just so long as there were enough under-secretaries to attend to administrative duties.

However, this political rather than administrative conception of the Cabinet, while logical enough, is not common in this country. This probably accounts for the fact that only thirty-nine of the one hundred Senators and Representatives that I questioned favored a reduction in the number of Cabinet officers. That is somewhat surprising, also, for if the Cabinet is looked upon as an aggregation of administrators, it is natural for the President to select men of administrative experience from business. If, on the other hand, the Cabinet is looked upon primarily as a group of political advisers, it would be natural for the President to appoint men of political experience from Congress or governorships or other public offices. Moreover, if the members of the Cabinet sit in Congress, they will need political experience. A good many able men have failed to make successful Cabinet officers because, while they were familiar with the administration of business they had little experience in government and politics. The art and practice of government are not easier than any other business, and they usually require experience for success.

The extent to which my questions show that both the legislators and the men in the administrative branch of the Government recognize the fundamental need of change in the machinery of our Government was so astonishing to me that I have no apologies for repeating the results in tabular form.

The general plan before these legislators contained the following propositions: a belief

in the necessity of changes; a budget system; seats in Congress for the Cabinet; a reduced Cabinet; a coincident term of office for the President and Congress; an enlarged civil service.

The result of the poll was:

Belief in the necessity of reforms	100
Ready to support the plan as outlined	30
Ready to support the plan with amendments	70
In favor of the budget	90
In favor of cabinet officers having seats in Congress	61
With the right to vote	12
Without the right to vote	49
In favor of a reduced Cabinet	39
In favor of an extension of the civil service	82

Of the sixty-one members of Congress who voted in favor of giving the Cabinet seats in Congress, thirty-three were in favor of having the Cabinet resign upon an adverse vote. This might fairly be taken as implying a belief in the wisdom of our adopting the French system.

MR. BORAH'S IDEAS

FOR example, Senator William E. Borah said:

"I will accept and commend your plan, provided you will let me amend it. Either adopt the English system of holding a plebiscite when the Government is defeated, which would mean the return of Congress to the people for approval of their stand. Or adopt the second alternative which would be for the Cabinet, as *ex-officio* representatives of the President in Congress, to resign, whenever the by-election resulted in the defeat of the administrative party, and for the President to appoint new Cabinet officers belonging to the victorious party.

"I am rather inclined to the latter proposition. The people must rule. A defeat of the Administration in the by-election means that the people no longer approve of the President's policies, and therefore these policies should be reversed. A certainty of change in policy by the Administration at the command of the people would result in a keener interest in government affairs by them and a quicker response to their will. I recognize that the present system does not make a responsive government, and that some fundamental changes are necessary to establish such a system."

When Senator Borah's statement was shown to a member of the Administration, he agreed with the third remedy for the frequent deadlocks between the President and Congress, namely, that the terms of office of both Houses be changed to four years, beginning coincidentally with the President's inauguration. He continued:

"The objection that would be raised to this is that it removes the possibility of correcting for four years the errors of judgment that the people make at the polls, but this disadvantage would be more than compensated by ensuring a government that would function during the entire term. Further, the President, as a representative of the people, is anxious to carry out their wishes. His ear is always to the ground to learn their desires. There would be a minimum of danger of the Government's getting out of sympathy with popular thought consistent with the ability to function without deadlock."

REPRESENTATIVE McFADDEN

MR. LOUIS T. McFADDEN, chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee of the House, the man most closely allied with the monetary affairs of the nation, both spoke of the merits of closer coöperation between the Cabinet and Congress, and also he put his finger upon a vital question concerning the working of the budget which Congress will have to decide for itself:

"I am impressed with not only the desirability but also the necessity of a complete understanding, by the leaders in the legislative branch of the Government, of the Administration's legislative plans to enable a thorough compliance with pledges and a fulfilment of the demands of the public for proper legislation. I can see the opportunity afforded by a consolidation of the various duties and responsibilities of the Cabinet members as indicated in your suggestion, and believe that a better working organization would be available if the Cabinet members were relieved of much of the departmental routine, and so were available at all times for conference and consultation both with the President and with the men charged with the responsibility of piloting legislation through Congress. That members of the Cabinet would be available to the various committees of Congress and to Congress as a whole during discussion of legislation pertaining to the various departments, would seem to be a strong argument in favor of this plan."

To quote Mr. McFadden again: "I approve of the idea that no appropriation that is not included in the budget should be made without carrying provision for raising the necessary funds to meet it. One of the unfortunate things connected with the present plan of making appropriations is that when appropriations are made by Congress its interest apparently ceases, and, because of this, much extravagance and waste always exist in its expenditures. Many new demands are being made on the public treasury. Some of these assume large proportions, particularly the State Aid appropriation for roads, schools, etc., a comparatively new departure which has grown up in the past few years. Sooner or later owing to the demand of the public for a decrease in government expenditures and a demand for reduction of burdensome taxation, this demand for appropriating money will receive attention by those providing ways and means."

To establish the vitally important practice which Mr. McFadden advocates is simple in procedure, although not so easy in other ways. No Constitutional amendment is necessary. The House of Representatives needs only to amend its rules, and the thing is done.

The objection that is most often raised to the other changes advocated by Mr. McFadden—the seating of the Cabinet in Congress, which also could be done by an amendment to the rules of both Houses—is that it might tend to interfere with the doctrine that the executive, the legislative, and the judicial branches of the Government shall be independent of one another. It has become almost a sacred tradition that it is essential to the life of the Republic that the line of demarkation between the three branches shall be accurately defined and inviolable. To understand the reason for the insistence on the part of the founders of our Republic upon this subdivision of the Government it is necessary to secure a historical perspective of the causes leading thereto. The best explanation was given to me by a man of distinguished service in the Republican Party but not now in office. It was to this effect.

From the time of the Magna Charta to the formation of our Republic there was a fight between the right of kings to rule absolutely and the right of the people to rule. It had been bred in the bones of our ancestors to resist the right of absolute rule by the king. The king and his agents were the executives. The legislatures represented the people. Therefore, the more the legislature gained power over the executive, the more the rights of the people gained over the divine rights of the king. The distrust of the executive that arose from this situation was written into our government when it was created. In America, however, the President is elected by the people just as the legislature is. Both derive their power from the people. What one gains at the expense of the other neither adds nor subtracts from the people's sovereignty. But when each with equal authority blocks the other the sovereign will of the people is neglected. The struggle between the two is not to the public's advantage. The public interest demands that the legislature and the executive get together so that they can act effectively.

This feeling was echoed by many of the members of Congress with whom I spoke. The following four statements are typical:

FIRST-HAND INFORMATION FOR CONGRESS

PHILIP D. SWING of California: "One advantage of allowing members of the Cabinet seats in Congress that I do not think you have mentioned is that, under the present system, Congress gets its information about the needs of the departments at second-hand. The secretary of the department appears before the committee and tells of the needs of his department. The committee questions him minutely but its members carry back to the open session only what they remember of his statement, and they are unprepared to answer new questions that may arise, which they have failed to ask the secretary. If he appeared on the floor of the House he could answer these unilluminated points. As it is, Congress works pretty much in the dark and perforce must take the secretary's word concerning such legislation as he desires."

Julius Kahn of California, chairman of the Military Affairs Committee of the House: "It is absolutely essential that some scheme be devised that will prevent a recurrence of the unfortunate condition of affairs that existed during the last two years of Wilson's Administration, when neither the President nor Congress could accomplish anything. I do not know whether giving the Cabinet members seats in Congress would remove the cause of friction, but I am inclined to believe that it might contribute to that end."

Robert Luce of Massachusetts: "I believe that there is a necessity for some change in our system of government that will bring about a closer coöperation between the President and Congress. The plan now outlined appears to be in the right direction."

To that part of the discussion which concerned the possible reduction of the number of Cabinet officers, Senator Gilbert Hitchcock of Nebraska replied:

"There is another advantage to the combination which you suggest. It would reduce the number of our minor sovereigns, for every Cabinet officer is a sovereign in his own department. The Cabinet is not a recognized body in the Constitution. Its members are officially nothing but what their name implies—private secretaries to the President in charge of certain work alloted to them by him. But they have grown so powerful that they arbitrarily control their departments, and no one, however high, dares to go over their heads. If they were on the floor of the House and could be called upon at any time to defend the working of their departments it would probably result in their needing to explain more thoroughly their work as executive heads."

THE REORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

THERE is at present a joint committee of Congress working on the problem of the reorganization of the executive branch of the Government. Mr. Walter Brown, although not a member of Congress, is chairman of the committee and represents the President.

This committee might, as its name indicates, confine itself strictly to the reorganization of the departments by which certain economies could be effected in administration. It might also take up the much larger questions of the functioning of the Government itself and especially the relations between the executive and the legislative branches, for a perfectly organized administrative branch can not serve the public if the major policies are in deadlock between the President and Congress.

When I outlined the points mentioned in this article, Mr. Brown's comment was:

"The principal reasons for our troubles are: the Government does not function properly—there is too much overlapping between the departments; too much conflict of authority; too much reckless and unbusinesslike expenditure of the Government's money; and too little efficient service given to the Government by its employees. These conditions must be changed. I can discuss changes only in general terms, without any reference to specific recommendations that will be made later, because suggestions of any definite change will bring opposition from powerful influences exerted through Congress. . . .

"The plan of giving Cabinet members, seats in Congress would have to be hedged about with safeguards to prevent the Cabinet from gaining control of Congress. Another danger would be that the Cabinet under a powerful leadership might become the real Executive. This danger, however, is minimized by the fact that Cabinet members are Presidential appointees and hold office subject to the President's will. It might be well, however, specifically to guard against such a contingency. With these two precautions I believe that it would be highly advantageous for the Administration to be represented 'up on the hill.'

"Your suggestion to make the civil service include all government employees, except the elected and judiciary officers and those in charge of administrative policy, is probably too broad. Don't you think a man ought to be allowed to select his own personal staff? I agree with you, however, that the civil service should be very much enlarged. It should also be made more elastic by giving the administrative officers greater liberty in the advancement or discharge of civil service employees under them. Here, however, there ought to be more safeguards. Such a complete civil service would be a failure unless you can keep it free from politics. The difficulty would be to prevent the discharge or retention of men because of political affiliation. If you can devise some plan that would obviate this difficulty, the enlargement and reform of the civil service that you suggest would result in the Government being served much more efficiently.

"I am devoting every minute of my time attempting to devise a plan of reorganization. The Congressional committee and the President, represented by me, are striving to effect a reorganization and a re-alignment of the departments that will result in more efficient service, and in the reduction of the cost of government. The keynote of our plan is to put all the bureaus whose duties are of similiar import into the same department, and to take

away from a department those bureaus not connected with its major or underlying work. We put a man well versed in finance in charge of the Treasury, because the major duty of the Secretary of the Treasury is to supervise the fiscal policies of our Government. A good financier, however, is not necessarily an authority on sanitation, so why should the Public Health Service be under him? It cannot be properly managed except under the supervision of a competent health officer. We have at present eight separate and distinct secret service bureaus. They do not work in unison. If a member of one of the bureaus saw a violation of the law that was not within his particular province, I doubt very much whether he would make an arrest. Very probably, if he did, he would be told by the other bureau involved to attend to his own business. If all the detective force were under the Department of Justice, and were assigned as needed to the other departments, its work would be much more efficient—more criminals would be arrested, and the size of the detective service could be reduced. These are but two of many instances which prove the urgent necessity for a re-alignment of the bureaus of the Government. I have not progressed far enough in the study of the question to determine whether in the proposed reorganization it would be advisable to eliminate any of the departments. I believe that it would be wise to rearrange them into as few major departments as possible. The more concentrated the authority, the more efficient its work; the less red-tape, the greater saving to the Government. But I would not for the sake of reduction combine departments that would function better as separate entities. To be concise, I would combine all bureaus having similiar duties and place them in the department to which they naturally belong, and would then combine these bureaus into as few departments as are possible without reducing the efficiency of their work."

Senator Medill McCormick who is on the Joint Committee confined his remarks chiefly to the purely administrative reorganization. He said:

"We should look at the task of reorganizing our national government's activities in a practicable way and not through purely academic glasses. The immediate problem of reorganization is fivefold:

"First, we should relieve the Secretary of the Treasury of all of his non-fiscal functions so that he may give his entire time to the study and the handling of our national finances; second, we should relieve the War Department of all of its non-military functions, and confine its activities to its given work—that of land defense; third, we should remove from military control all of our colonial territories, and place their government under the jurisdiction of the State Department; fourth, we should create a Department of Public Welfare, into which should be merged all of the present welfare activities in the various departments and bureaus of the Government; and, fifth, we should create a Department of Public Works and Public Lands, which should have charge of all internal improvements, as well as the public domain.

"In addition to this, the Department of Commerce should be vitalized by giving to it certain bureaus whose functions chiefly relate to trade and commerce, but which are now scattered among several other departments.

"These are not all of the changes which ought to be made in order to bring about the greater effectiveness of the Government in Washington, but they are changes which must be made and which will be made. They are practicable changes. They are reforms which must be accomplished now and which will result in still greater reforms in administration later on. It is gratifying to note the spirit in which both branches of Congress are tackling them."

From those who are limiting their efforts chiefly to the regrouping of the bureaus in administrative departments to those who are working on the more fundamental problem of getting a responsible, responsive, and continuously functioning government, there is an infinitely keener and more sincere appreciation of the necessity of improving the governmental machinery than I have ever noticed in the twenty-five years that I have frequented the offices of our government. This feeling in Congress and in the executive departments is one of the most interesting and hopeful phenomena on our political horizon. The budget bill is a fine beginning to an inevitable reorganization of our government that will make it a worthy and effective machine for expressing the voice of the people.

THE REAL REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA

II. The Bolsheviki and General Wrangel, as Observed by a Man Who Has Dined and Fought with Both. Analogies with the French Revolution

By HUGO W. KOEHLER
Lieutenant-Commander, U. S. Navy

I SAW a good deal of both the Bolshevist and the anti-Bolshevist armies, but the more I saw of them the less important I came to feel that they were, and I write of them in detail merely to present the proof that Russia cannot be saved by arms alone.

I first came into intimate contact with the Bolshevist army immediately after its capture of Odessa, when I arrived on a destroyer sent to take away any Americans there.

The Commander-in-Chief of the army which had taken Odessa was the famous General Uborevitch, who has been active from the Arctic to the Black Sea and more recently throughout the Ukraine. He arrived at headquarters shortly after I did, and entered with much swagger though he greeted me in a rather hail-fellow-well-met style. I was rather surprised at his appearance of extreme youth, for he seemed not more than twenty-three or twenty-four. He was not prepossessing to look at—his small, beady, closely set eyes, cruel lips, alert manner, exceeding vanity, braggadocio air and manner, at once flippant and bumptious, were far from attractive. But he was sharp as a whip and quick to seize an advantage; his inordinate conceit appeared his weak point. Perhaps his most definite characteristics were that of utter unscrupulousness and the attitude that he would stop at nothing.

On stating that I wanted to get into communication with the American citizens who were still in Odessa and take them out to the ship if they wished to leave, the General replied that a matter of this kind could be determined only by the Moscow authorities, and it would be referred to them immediately. He then began an account of his own exploits and stated that he had come from Moscow, from the heart of Russia, to clear the borders of Russia of the bandits of Denikin's volunteer army who were aided and abetted by England and protected "a little bit also" by America. He added that he had decided, however, that for the moment I was his guest and would be so treated, and unless instructions to the contrary were received from Moscow, he would not hold me as a hostage although there was ample ground for doing so, since there were many enemies of the Bolsheviki—spies, etc., who had committed outrages against the Red forces—who were at that moment under the shelter of the guns of the Allied squadron in the harbor.

Referring to the various foreign men-of-war that had rushed to Odessa to look out for their own nationals during the evacuation, he asked me very pointedly why the Allied squadron, as he called it, had fired on the Red forces. I answered that I could answer only for my own ship—that we had not fired a single shot and had no intention of firing, and, for that matter not a single shot had been fired by any of the ships, save those of the Bolsheviki, since we had been in port. He smiled rather broadly, and then began on a most bitter tirade against the English. But his information seemed extraordinarily inaccurate, and his reasoning as unsound; he was simply blind to anything good in the English, and altogether unfair. His comments about the French, though less bitter, were equally far-fetched. This seemed odd in so shrewd a man, but the reason was obvious, he knew nothing about conditions anywhere beyond the Russian borders, and he used his imagination and that of his friends, to supply the deficiency.

Upon our conversation becoming general, the commissar, who had been listening all along, joined in and asked what America thought and what I thought about Bolshevism and the recent Bolshevist victories. I answered that I had not been in America since the war and so did not know American opinion in detail, but that I thought that, in general, American opinion was not impressed with the chance of success of any government based on the will of so minute

a minority as that of the present Bolshevist régime. Concerning the recent Red victories I stated quite frankly that it was my own impression that the Bolshevist advance was rather an example of the weakness of the Denikin forces than a sign of strength of the Bolsheviki. No one made any comment on this reply and I became very definitely of the opinion that at heart they agreed. Uborevitch stated that in a country such as Russia only an active minority could accomplish results—a majority was always too unwieldy. He went on with a rather boastful account of the Red army, stating that it now numbered more than four millions, and that when the organization now under way was completed the Bolsheviki would fear no one—not England, nor America, nor the whole world. By this time the General had gotten into a pretty good humor and to my great surprise suddenly waved his hand and said there was no harm in my seeing the Americans in Odessa in advance of instructions from Moscow, since I was to remain there in any case until he had orders concerning my disposition. On looking up these so-called Americans I found that only one of them could speak English, and that was of doubtful quality. Nor did they wish to leave Odessa, though I learned that a Mr. Rubin, an American who had been in Odessa for some time under the Denikin régime, had gone over to the Bolsheviki immediately upon their entry into the town and was said to have entered their service. This same Mr. Rubin has recently gotten out of Russia, but he appears to be disillusioned about Bolshevism.

DINING WITH THE BOLSHEVIKI

THE General then pressed me to stay for supper and would not take a refusal; he added, significantly, that in no case could he release me until he had instructions from Moscow. So I accepted with thanks and joined a long table where generals, colonels, orderlies, and soldiers, all sat down indiscriminately. I noticed that all of the officers I saw were Russian, but the large group of civilian officials were almost entirely Jews.

By the time supper was over the General, who had talked long and loudly and told many fine stories about himself, was in splendid humor, so when I thanked him for the entertainment, I asked if he would allow me to return the following morning to take off to my ship the Americans who were still in town, since it was necessary to go back to the ship the same evening. And in a burst of enthusiasm the General agreed to my departure and added that the following morning, when I returned, he would let me know Moscow's decision about allowing Americans to depart. So I left at once; nor did I feel it necessary to reply that, inasmuch as these so-called Americans had no interests in leaving Odessa, I had none in taking them! But I was very glad to leave, and needless to say, I did not return!

BOLSHEVIST DECEIT

UPON arrival at Sebastopol some days later, I was not a little surprised when the Commander-in-Chief of General Denikin's Black Sea fleet asked me the details of our battle with the Bolsheviki at Odessa. I smiled rather tolerantly at what I thought was a feeble attempt at some sort of witticism, but I soon became vastly more interested when he showed me the Bolshevist wireless *communiqué* of two days before, which the Sebastopol wireless station had intercepted. This contained a long statement to the effect that one Captain Keller (apparently myself!) of the American naval forces that had attacked Odessa the previous day, had that morning ventured into the town of Odessa where he had been apprehended by the Red forces. The *communiqué* further stated that upon his express assurance that the American vessels in the harbor would not fire on the town Captain Keller had not been detained as a hostage but had been allowed to depart. However, despite his solemn promise not to fire, no sooner had Captain Keller regained his ship, than he opened up a murderous fire on the centre of the town, and in the ensuing bombardment many innocent women and children were killed through the destruction of buildings as well as through shell-fire. This was further decried as simply one more example of the dastardly acts of the Allies, which was all a non-capitalistic government could ever expect from any capitalistic government; but nevertheless it was stated that protest would be made to the League of Nations.

A day or so later I was still further surprised by a message from Admiral Knapp, the commander of the United States naval forces in Europe, requesting information concerning a wireless telegraph message from the Bolshevist Government to President Wilson protesting in general against the bombardment of Odessa

by our forces, and in particular against my own wicked behavior, etc. etc. Of course the facts in the case are that we fired not a single shot of any kind, nor, for that matter, did any of the other Allied vessels fire a single shot during the entire time that we were in the harbor. The Bolsheviki knew this well enough —there was no possibility of their making a mistake about this, for the bombardment of a town from sea is not a thing likely to be confused either with a pleasant afternoon or a rain squall. So the whole fabrication would appear rather senseless. It is of interest, however, in that it so perfectly illustrates certain Bolshevist methods. The explanation is that such despatches were never intended to convince the recipients—that would manifestly be impossible—they were intended purely and simply for home consumption. For instance, the Bolsheviki knew well enough that we knew that we had not bombarded Odessa, nor did they think that they could persuade President Wilson that we had done so. However, many thousands of Russians who would not know the truth would see the despatch to President Wilson and would swallow whole the tale of the brutality and treachery of the Allies, which the Red authorities considered such useful propaganda. The railways, telegraphs, telephones, the mail, and the press are all controlled by the Bolsheviki. This situation, taken in conjunction with what amounts to non-intercourse with the outside world, enables the Bolsheviki to keep the large mass of Russians thinking upon a totally erroneous set of facts.

SOME INTERESTING LOOT

THE dissemination of lies and the prevention of the truth reaching Russia greatly help the Red régime to keep its armies together. Perhaps the most interesting batch of propaganda that I saw was the loot which I got in Melitopol with the help of half a dozen Cossacks lent me by the White general who had just captured the town. While the general was celebrating his success by a feast on eggs which for long had been too rare for a general in the White army, I collected literally a wagon load of Bolshevist pamphlets, papers, etc., from the propaganda bureau which the Reds had abandoned hurriedly. A counter-attack by the Reds forced me to abandon my cargo temporarily, but I later brought my booty out with me. On our return to the White lines we were received with much enthusiasm, though with few congratulations on our booty, which was examined by many of the curious and pronounced pretty poor stuff to make such a fuss about. But nevertheless all these documents, pamphlets, papers, proclamations, statistics, correspondence, etc., proved to be of great value to us for they enabled us to make an estimate of the Bolsheviki based on their own data, instead of that based simply on reports of those who were opposed to them. Moreover, it enabled me to check up my own observations and gave me an excellent line from which to direct further inquiries. So, despite the shrugs of my Russian friends, I always felt that this was real loot. Among the accumulation were great numbers of leaflets, posters, placards, etc., in French, and written at the time of the French Revolution, and with them were Bolshevist pamphlets, etc., patterned very closely after them.

ANALOGY WITH THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

THE Bolsheviki's use of the literature of the French Revolution indicated their belief that the Russian Revolution was a similar political phenomenon. If that theory is correct, and there are many facts to substantiate it, we may consider it normal for ten or fifteen years to elapse between the time of the first sudden political explosion and the end of the revolutionary era. The French Revolution began in 1789. The men who inaugurated it were followed by others far more extreme and these extremists—a small minority—ruled with a terror and tyranny by which they tried to force their theories upon the public, as they said, for its good. They lasted for a few years and, as their theories failed, a less radical and more able group followed, to be followed again by a dictator. Probably the history of the Russian Revolution will not exactly parallel the French, but it is much alike in the early stages. It was begun by fairly conservative radicals. They were followed by the Bolsheviki—a small minority—who rule by terror in an effort to practise impossible theories. The Bolshevist theories are demonstrating their impracticability. The Communists are rapidly abandoning communism. The next step in the evolution is about ready.

But to go back to the Bolshevist armies.

The majority of the Red soldiers are conscripted peasants. They are usually sent to fight far from their homes, and cajoled by the promise that their families will be cared

for in their absence if they are faithful, and threatened with the punishment of their families if they are not. Coming into service under these conditions they are kept in ignorance of world conditions and constantly influenced by Bolshevist teaching. Each regiment has besides its officers a political instructor. A cavalry detachment of Wrangel's army that I was with captured one of these instructors.

He had been serving with the Red army for some two years. As far as book education went, this political instructor had precious little of it, but he had native intelligence that went far to supply the want. He explained that every Bolshevist regiment had a similar political instructor, usually a Communist, and that great stress was laid on the manner in which he carried out his instructions. The first duty of these instructors was to keep the army indoctrinated with the Bolshevist idea, and then to spread such further propaganda as was sent out by Red headquarters. These instructors began with recruits, and, as a first principle, instructed each and every one of them in what they were fighting for and in the wrongs that the poor had suffered at the hands of the rich during the generations of the old régime.

Great pains were taken to point out the fundamental reason for these wrongs and then show that the suffering caused by the present Bolshevist régime was not inherent in the Bolshevist system but was due to the difficulty of righting in a few months the accumulated wrongs of ages of a bad system—a system impossible of good. The Red soldiers were also told that while they were fighting at the front their families and property would be cared for; that their fields would be plowed and sowed for them, grain gathered, and all else necessary would be done by the labor battalions. Moreover, the grain gathered from these fields would belong to their families, who were further to be provided facilities for exchanging it for manufactured goods.

Of course the soldiers found out that this was not true except sometimes in the case of the man who belonged to the few purely Communist regiments, but the failure to carry out this brilliant plan was declared to be due not to the inadequacy of Bolshevism but to the continuance of the "landlords' war," which required one more supreme effort on the part of the Red army. Even if the men remained unconvinced by this explanation there was nothing they could do about it except that those who had no families deserted at the first opportunity. But the men who had families could do nothing whatever because desertion on their part would mean simply that even the little that remained to their families would be taken away. These were the men who allowed themselves to be made prisoners so very readily —who would call out to the opposing troops that they would not shoot, if only they were saved from their own cavalry. For the Red cavalry is the big stick which drives the infantry into the fight.

A BLOOD PACT

AN ILLUSTRATION of the Red method of ensuring the loyalty of their officers came up when a Red aviator, formerly in Denikin's army, descended near Radionovka while I was there. This aviator had been very well and favorably known there in the Denikin forces, but had been captured by the Bolsheviki some months previously when he had made a forced descent behind their lines on account of an accident to his motor. Accordingly, upon his now descending behind the Wrangel lines, his former comrades thought that he had come over voluntarily from the Reds, and he was accordingly greeted enthusiastically. But he quickly dispelled the illusion by saying that his engine had stopped, otherwise he never would have landed. He then explained that in his squadron were twenty aviators divided into groups of five each. Whenever a machine went out over the enemy lines the four other aviators of that particular group were placed under surveillance until that machine returned. If it descended behind the enemy lines, no matter what the reason, the four were summarily shot. As a result of this system these aviators had bound themselves to one another by a most solemn oath never to come down behind enemy lines no matter what their sympathies, or what the risk. Consequently, the consternation of the aviator just captured; his non-return at sundown would mean the summary shooting of his four comrades.

I do not describe in detail the organization and methods of the Red army because the whole scheme and its results can be so briefly and accurately summed up. The military organization has, indeed, progressed, and to-day it is undoubtedly much superior to the unorganized and disorderly mobs of the early days, but the great point is that such gains in effi-

ciency have been accomplished not by Bolshevist methods or in accordance with Bolshevist principles but by the very system that Bolshevism, as such, decries so loudly. To be sure, the much hated epaulets have not yet reappeared, but the sleeve marks which have taken their place represent exactly the same idea and serve exactly the same purpose. For the fact that they are worn some ten inches lower down most certainly does not change the principle. And generals no longer are addressed as "Your Excellency" but the formal salutations of the old system that Bolshevism would destroy have slowly come back to their former vogue. Nor has a single Red military success ever been won save by officers of the old school using methods of the old school. So it is, indeed, problematical whether the improvement in the Red military organization has really added anything whatever to the permanent strength of Bolshevism, as such, since such improvement has been bought at the price of a sacrifice of fundamental Bolshevist principles.

The general attitude of the simple Red soldier has for many months been that first and foremost he is sick of war and wants to go back to his farm, invariably in some distant part of Russia. Apparently the Red authorities take the greatest care to send mobilized men to a front as far as possible from their native provinces. These men have really no interest in Bolshevism, or Communism, or Socialism—or Russianism, for that matter—for thousands of them were put into General Wrangel's army within forty-eight hours after their capture and were immediately sent back against the Bolsheviki; and they did very well —in fact, regimental commanders were not only glad to have them, but even preferred them to the raw recruits gathered in by Wrangel's mobilization in the Crimea.

As far as the soldiers themselves were concerned there was really remarkably little difference between the Bolshevist and the Wrangel armies—excepting, of course, the foreign element in the Bolshevist forces, the Letts and Chinese mercenaries, although the latter were very much fewer than the reports on the Continent would indicate. Both armies were made up of mobilized peasants who were in the army either because they were forced into it or because, under existing conditions, there was nothing else to do. Few, indeed, had any idea of what they were fighting for, other than the immediate military object of the particular unit to which they belonged. The nearest approach to any great national idea came during the period of the Polish offensive when the thought of a foreign invader did for a time infuse something akin to a nationalistic spirit into the Red troops. And oddly enough, although a Polish success would have meant much to the Wrangel forces because of the resultant weakening of the Bolsheviki, still they saw the advance of the Poles with much uneasiness and often made bitter comments concerning it. In fact, the height of the Polish success marked the closest approach to an understanding to which the Bolsheviki and anti Bolsheviki ever came, and there were even indications that, had the Poles continued their advance into Russia, the Wrangel forces would have made common cause with the Reds to repel the invader.

THE NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

REPEATEDLY one is struck with the almost entire absence of any national consciousness among the great masses of the Russians; and there are millions who have not even a racial consciousness. And yet the thought of a foreign invader always awakes a dormant spirit that galvanizes the whole shapeless mass into activity. This spirit has no relation to patriotism or nationalism, as we know the terms, but that it exists and that it is an enormous force even if it be clumsy and slow moving, every invader of Russia has had good cause to know! This feeling the Moscow authorities, with their keen insight into peasant psychology, turned to good advantage in the first place against the Poles and then against Wrangel. The Bolsheviki in their propaganda always stated that Wrangel was merely the tool of a foreign group and that his army was supported by foreign aid and foreign troops. That there was not a word of truth in this did not greatly diminish the effectiveness of their propaganda since the people had no means of finding out the truth. And the fact that Wrangel made an advance almost simultaneously with the Poles alienated many potential supporters in the interior of Russia who were bitterly hostile to the Bolsheviki and had long been waiting an opportunity to join an anti-Bolshevist movement.

The most successful exploit of this advance of the White army was the crossing of the Dnieper, which I had the fortune to witness:

On the day previous to the crossing of the Dnieper I had seen the capture of Chortitza Island, the former stronghold from which the old Zaporogian Cossacks directed their raids against the rich towns all the way from Constantinople to Poland. The Bolsheviki evidently had excellent information concerning the time and the place the White troops intended to cross, for they had concentrated all their artillery at the point selected. General Koutiepoff, who commanded Wrangel's forces, had considered it likely that they would have this information, as this was the only good ford along this stretch of the Dnieper. Nevertheless, all day long, as regiment after regiment arrived, infantry, cavalry, and artillery were all massed near the appointed crossing-place. But as soon as darkness set in, came the order to move, and with much sweating and swearing the entire army, with the exception of two batteries of artillery and a machine-gun company, got under way, part going up-stream, and the greater part going down-stream, where the river was considerably wider and deeper. At daybreak, as soon as the opposite shore could be made out, Koutiepoff's artillery at the ford began a brisk fire, and this was followed by all the noise that the single machine-gun company there could produce. The Bolsheviki replied with everything they owned. About twenty minutes later, at the three places most difficult to cross on account of the width of the river and the depth of the water, General Koutiepoff's army began its crossing, the Red artillery meanwhile pouring in an overwhelming fire on the ford which was being so carefully avoided. The result was that the division at the upper crossing got across at a cost of eleven men wounded, while the entire cavalry corps and the division at the lower crossing had no casualties whatever. And within forty minutes after the beginning of the action about nine hundred Bolshevist prisoners were busy hauling Koutiepoff's artillery across the river.

I talked with many of the prisoners within a few minutes of their capture, and there was no doubt whatever that their expressions of relief at being clear of the Bolsheviki were sincere. For the most part they were a ragged lot, many of them having only one boot —and others none at all. I kept on with the cavalry, and by nightfall I myself had counted more than 3,000 prisoners.

In view of the importance of the operations, the very small casualty list pleased General Koutiepoff enormously, and there was not a man in the army who did not understand that the reason of the small casualty list was that someone at the top had used his head; and the marching all night and the wading through icy water at the widest part of the river were soon forgotten in the enthusiasm for the leader who had so thoroughly outwitted the Bolsheviki. This is, of course, the sort of trick that will work only once, but Koutiepoff does not repeat. Time after time his resourcefulness was worth infinitely more for the morale of the Wrangel troops, than even all the prisoners and machine-guns and artillery that were captured as a result of it. The small casualty list on the above occasion also very thoroughly indicated the state of morale of the Red army, for with any fight at all they could have prevented this crossing entirely since they had a great advantage in position as well as in numbers, and they could have made the attempt too costly for a second one to be undertaken. And once the crossing was made the great natural strength of the right bank of the river made the Red efforts to oust the White very costly at best. Yet, within a month, these same White troops were staggering back under the smashing blows of the Red cavalry. What is the explanation? In the case of the crossing of the Dnieper by the Whites, the Red troops though greatly outnumbering the Whites, were made up of mobilized Russian peasants, who had no interest in the fight, and as there was no Red cavalry in their rear to drive them on, they simply did not fight. In the second case, that is when the Whites were driven back, it was Boudenny's Cossack cavalry who delivered the blow—again an illustration of the singular fact that the great Bolshevist strength is so largely non-Russian.

ENTER GENERAL WRANGEL

IN APRIL 1920, General Wrangel took hold of the demoralized remnants of General Denikin's army, about 70,000 strong, which by the grace of God and good weather managed to get from the Caucasus to the Crimea, although without bag or baggage, guns or munitions of any sort. About the only equipment saved was a few automobiles belonging to fat generals of the quartermaster corps.

I saw General Wrangel literally within a few minutes after his return to Russia. I was greatly impressed with him from the very first—his vibrant energy, his poise, his simplicity, his

air of leadership. Speaking of his plans, he gave as his first aim the unification of all the anti-Bolshevist efforts, then to reorganize the army, and with the Crimea as a base to form a nucleus where all Russians who did not believe in Communism and Bolshevism could get together to work out the salvation of their country. He was very frank about his plans, *but it soon became evident that he had no plan whatever except concerning the army.* Regarding things political and economic he seemed to have hardly an idea—much less a programme. I really think it never occurred to him that it would be possible to attack the Bolsheviki other than with an army. He considered the Bolsheviki simply a military force that had to be put down by a stronger military force. That after all there was an idea back of the Bolshevist army, and that in order to defeat that idea he would have to supplant it with a better one; that to win in this struggle it would not do simply to try to use the people for his own purposes no matter how splendid such purposes might appear to him; that the very nature of the civil war meant that it could be won only by a leader who would champion the cause of the great masses of the people—nothing of that sort had ever occurred to him. I doubt whether it can ever occur to him, splendid soldierman and patriot that he is—all his hope, faith, and energy were centred on his army. So we who were straining so eagerly for a glimpse of a real idea, could only hope and wonder whether, in the clamoring throng that surrounded him, he could find the right man to work out his political and economic programme. Without this neither Denikin, Wrangel, or any army commander that may appear, can succeed.

Despite the political hopelessness of the cause, Wrangel's military leadership was inspiring to watch.

April and May, 1920, General Wrangel spent in further increasing the morale of his army, which, pending the organization of a commissariat, was parceled out in small groups among the various Crimean villages. The principal part of this process was to make the army work. So thoroughly was the job done, that within about sixty days the beaten and bedraggled army, although still without equipment, was simply spoiling for a fight.

Accordingly, early in June, 1920, the advance was decided upon. It was entrusted to General Slashev, the dashing and picturesque young leader of the Crimean forces of the previous winter. About a year and a half before, he had started out in the Caucasus with five congenial spirits, had gradually attracted a few dozen others to his standard, and some six months later was leading a young army held together simply by his own personality. When I first saw him, early in February of that year, I was rather startled by his very odd uniform trimmed with wide bands of fur in the old Cossack manner, and slashed with much gold lace. More startling still was the dead-white pallor of his skin and the deep-sunk black eyes, which burned with almost an unholy brilliancy. But his unending good humor no matter what the odds against him, and his amusing originality, gave him great charm. This personal charm and attractiveness were about all he had with which to hold together his wild army—yet he held it with a firm hand. Among his many idiosyncrasies, I noticed that most of his orderlies and several of his aides-de-camp were extraordinarily good-looking young women. They may have smiled pleasantly at the General once in a while, but when they were on duty at the entrance of the hut where he lived, with drawn sabre in hand, huge dagger and revolver at the waist, rifle swung across the back, and a double row of cartridges across the chest, they were businesslike indeed. Though food was pretty scarce at this time, the General always had a few casks of wine somewhere handy for himself and his friends. He was reported to have all the vices in the calendar. He drank like a fish, he took cocaine, his disciplinary methods and dispensation of justice were very much of the rough-and-ready type, but he was adored by his army, though he had little but hardship and death to offer it.

A ROUGH-AND-READY GENERAL

A STUDY of the source of his power and his hold on his men is the more interesting because, although he is a superlative example, he is nevertheless typical of the kind of man that comes to the front in times of great upheaval under conditions such as obtain in Russia. Much of his strength undoubtedly came from the fact that his men felt that they all were in his confidence; that they knew what they were trying to do. He made a practice of publishing very short and trenchant *communiqués* to his army, and in these he managed to compress an extraordinary amount of simple common-sense and wit. The result

was that, instead of grumbling about the frightful conditions under which they were living, the soldiers usually spent their spare time discussing the latest stunt the General had done or was about to undertake. The day I saw him he had just hanged one of his friends who had attempted to start a mutiny. The body had been left swinging in the doorway of the railroad station, in order, as he put it, that "the lesson of such conduct" might be brought home to all men who had to duck under the body in passing.

The first advance of General Wrangel's army took the form of a landing force expedition; and consisted of about ten thousand men all told, embarked in twenty-seven vessels, including tugs, ice breakers, torpedo boats, and old cruisers. Although buffeted about for some days in a very bad storm, the expedition managed to make its landing in the Tauride, just north of the Crimea, in very good order, and immediately began the advance into the interior.

"SEVEN MILLION CZARS"

CONSIDERABLY more than in the military operation itself, I was interested in the people's attitude toward this advancing army, and in the point of view of the Bolshevist prisoners, who were arriving in increasing numbers within two hours after the landing of the expedition. When Denikin's army had made its first advance the previous year, it had been received by the population with flowers and rejoicing, but as the army had no commissariat and was consequently obliged to live on the country, the requisitioning thus made necessary, and the looting which differentiated little between friend and foe, before long turned the entire population against the Denikin forces; and this in itself was no small contribution to his eventual defeat; for the farther he advanced, the more enemies had Denikin made among the peasants. General Wrangel, determined not to repeat this blunder, not only issued strenuous orders against all looting and pillage, but also very strenuously enforced such orders.

And still there was no enthusiasm on the part of the population; on the other hand there was no hostility, the attitude being rather one of almost complete indifference. These people, all in rags, though food was plentiful in the country, had known the worst, and apparently cared little one way or the other, as far as the Bolsheviki and anti-Bolsheviki were concerned. Despite the heat I noticed many people in overcoats, simply because that was the only covering they had. The Bolshevist prisoners, too, were in very poor condition as regards uniforms. The only exceptions were two Jews, a doctor and his assistant, who had both uniforms and boots of good quality. When I came upon them and asked the *mujhik* who was guarding them who they were, he remarked that they were two of the "seven million Czars" that Russia had gotten in getting rid of one, a description of the present Jewish régime in Central Russia which I have often heard among the peasants.

The only moral force which ever animates the Bolshevist army is that latent feeling of natural defence which stirs in the soldiers somewhat, at such times as the Bolsheviki can convince them that the Poles or Wrangel intend to dismember Russia. The Bolsheviki also got some results from their propaganda that Denikin, Wrangel, and all the White forces were in reality the old landlords backed by foreign powers come to take the land from the peasants again.

The White armies, with their lack of a positive cause, with little or no programme except to fight the Bolsheviki, with a few fighting men at the front and the many hangers-on in the rear, these armies, too, can have no great driving force.

The solution for Russia is not primarily by arms. The Bolsheviki got control by an idea, not by an army, and they are losing control because their idea is losing its grip. The Red army will not prevent this nor any White army cause it.

In his next article Commander Koehler explains why the peasants prefer the Bolsheviki to the Czar, how they have passively resisted Bolshevism, and the great advance they have made in their own conditions during the Bolshevist régime and despite the Bolshevist theories. The article following that is devoted to the result of Bolshevism in the towns, showing how human nature and economic laws are defeating the Bolshevist ideas, and pointing the way toward the future.

The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

FRENCH STROTHER, MANAGING EDITOR BURTON J. HENDRICK, ASSOCIATE EDITOR

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J. PARKE CHANNING

Head of a committee of the American Engineering Council, appointed by Herbert Hoover when he was chairman of the Council to investigate waste in industry. The report of this Committee affords a careful analysis of the conditions of unemployment, idle machinery, health, and other phases of economic waste. This is the beginning of a movement by the organized engineers to promote better industrial conditions

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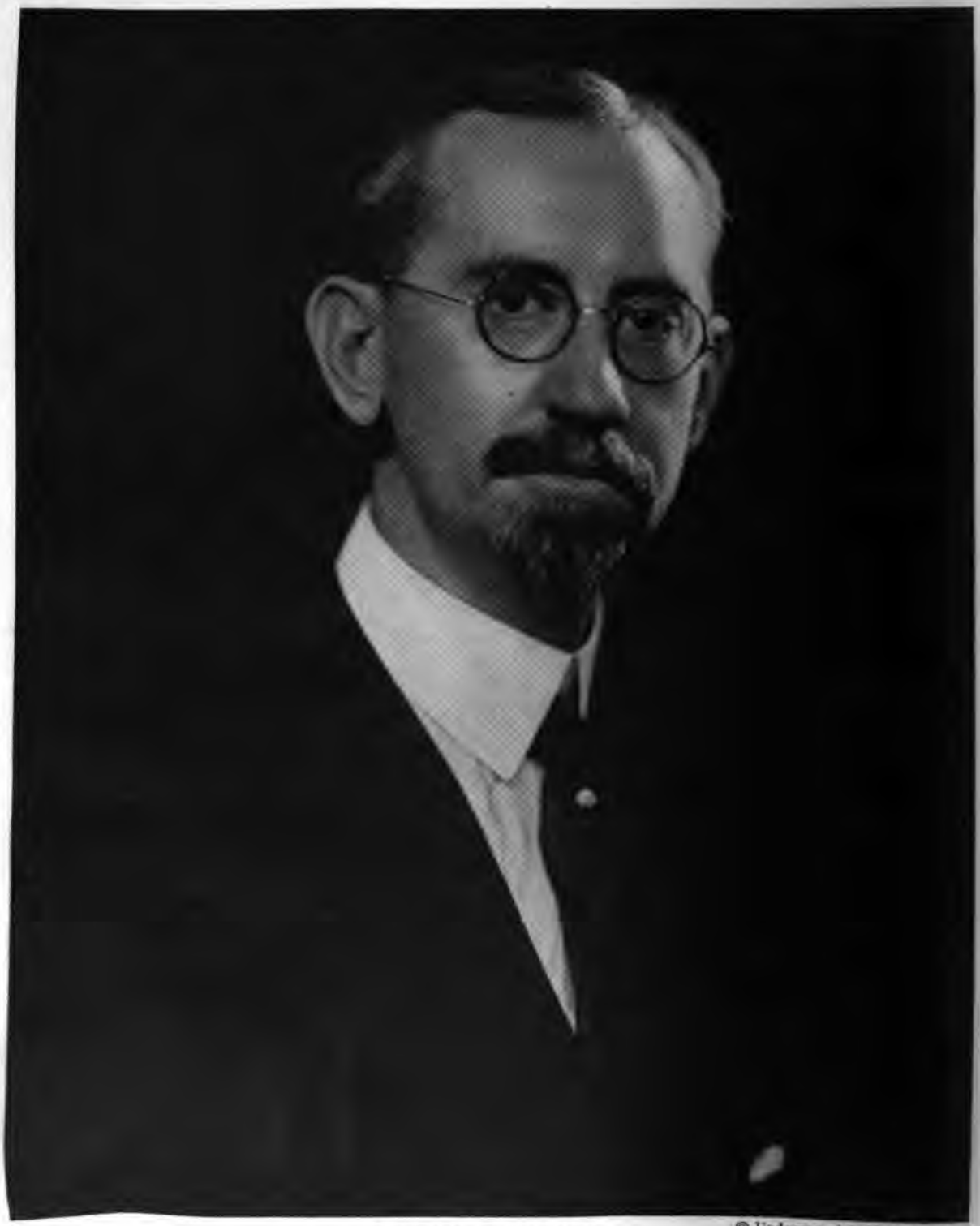
MARTIN B. MADDEN

Congressman from Illinois, who has been made chairman of the House Appropriations Committee. His committee has been renamed the Budget Committee and enlarged to meet the increase in the importance of its functions under the Budget Act, which puts Federal expenditures on a new and more efficient basis



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WILLIAM S. MURRAY

Chief engineer of the Federal Superpower Survey which recently submitted to Congress an exhaustive report upon the project for the reconstruction and unification of the power systems of the Northeast Atlantic Seaboard

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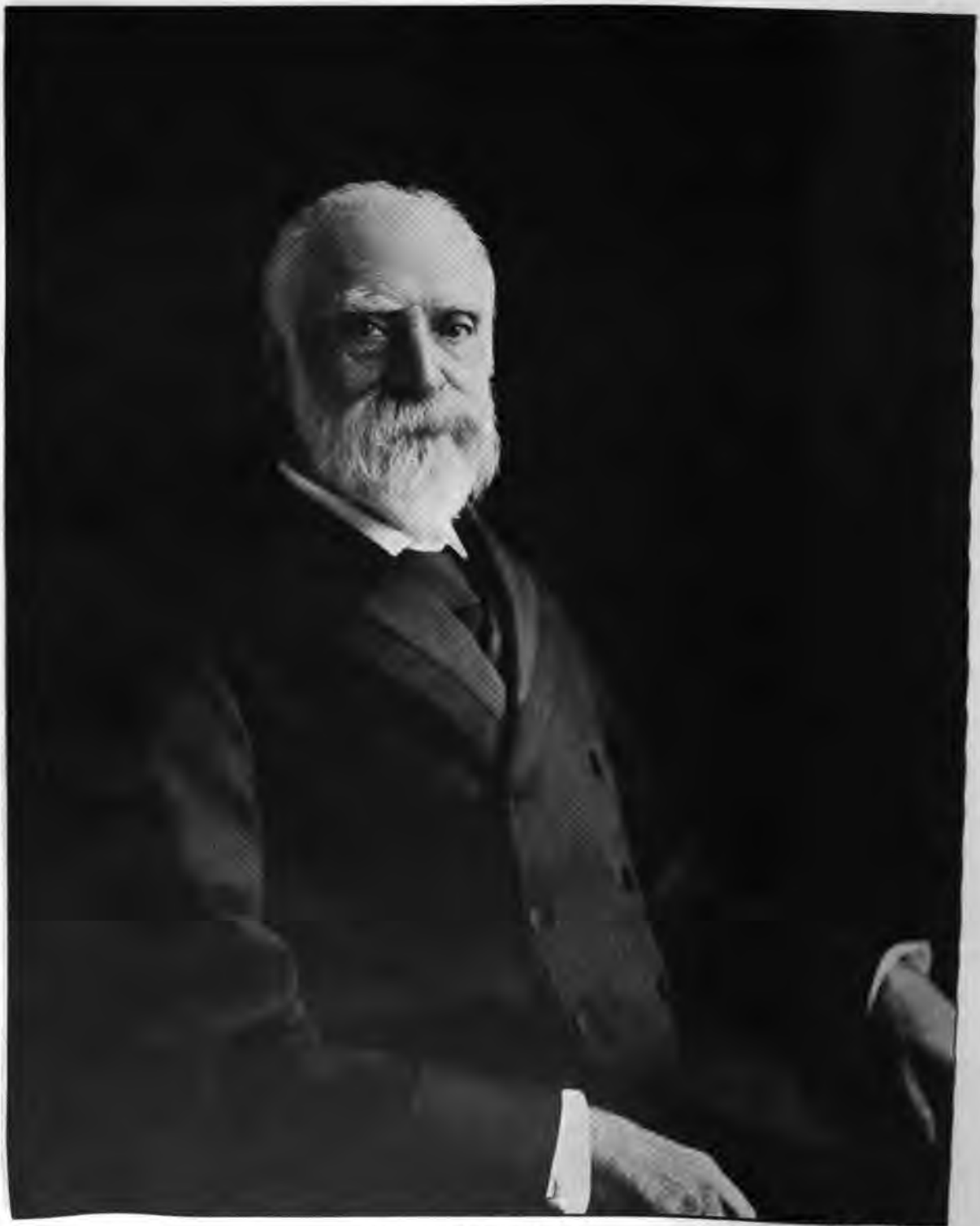
CHARL O. WILLIAMS

As a county school superintendent in Tennessee, Miss Williams displayed such ability and achieved such results as to attract nation-wide attention. She has been recently elected president of the National Education Association for 1922



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VISCOUNT BRYCE

Veteran British diplomat and author who recently delivered a series of notable lectures at Williams College on the general topic, "International relations of the Old World States in their historical, political, commercial, legal, and ethical aspects, including a discussion of the causes of wars and the means of averting them"

Military Disarmament

IN THE Treaty of Versailles, the paragraph which immediately precedes the clauses prescribing the disarmament of Germany is this:

> In order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations, Germany undertakes strictly to observe the military, naval, and air clauses that follow.

Having forced Germany to disarm, the logical thing for the conquerors to do is to voluntarily assume the virtue which they forced on the conquered. The great German menace being gone, why does the world not disarm? Whether the world will disarm—not altogether but reasonably—depends upon the degree of international confidence. The effort to disarm will be a test of that confidence.

Before the war, the German-Austrian combination did not border a single state that had confidence in them, with the exception perhaps of Bulgaria. Russia, Rumania, Serbia, Italy, France, Belgium—all these put their main military preparations against their German-Austrian borders. No nation that lived next to the Germans trusted them.

The French, like the Germans, had a great army, highly organized and based on universal service. It is significant, however, that the Belgian forts were mainly on the German and not on the French border, that the Italians were not fearful enough of the French to strongly fortify their French borders, and that Spain had not thought it worth while to make an alliance with Germany, nor fortify its northern border to protect itself against France.

In other words, all of her neighbors had boundaries of confidence with France except Germany, which had no such boundaries with any one.

The most notable boundary of confidence in the world is probably the United States-Canada line. It was unfortified when Great Britain and Canada were stronger than the United States and remains so when the balance of power has changed. A similar boundary of confidence exists between Sweden and Norway.

There is, then, scattered around the world a good deal of confidence. There is also, unfortunately, a good deal of distrust and fear. As long as the fear and distrust last, armaments will last with them.

In the words of Gen. Tasker H. Bliss, the military member of our peace commission:

"It is . . . fear, whether unreasoning or not, that must be taken into account in any attempt to come to an agreement about these armaments. Fear results in armaments, and armaments are simply a concrete expression of national policies. It is because they are so completely interwoven with the growth of these national policies that the question of their limitation is the most complicated one that confronts the world. It is not true that armaments on their present scale have been maintained solely for defense against wanton and unprovoked attack. They are maintained because national leaders know that their policies may invite or even provoke attack, or because they know that these policies may force them to attack themselves."

The relation between the armament and policies of the United States are a good example of the truth of General Bliss's formula.

We had a very little army because we had confidence that both borders were safe, and we did not suspect that any nation would attack our mainland from overseas. Even though our overseas possessions somewhat complicate our military situation, world disarmament, from a military point of view, does not hinge upon us.

The most difficult armies to reduce are in Europe.

The Bolsheviki, according to their own statements, have had from a million to a million and a half soldiers. The Red Army, however, is an ill-equipped, poorly organized force. It is not an army of conquest but an army of chaos. As long as it is directed by its present rulers, every nation that borders Russia must maintain an armed force for self-protection. Aside from the Red forces, there are only three considerable military establishments in Europe. Great Britain has an army of 425,000 on a paid voluntary basis. France has 735,000 soldiers, raised by universal service. Italy has a lesser force raised in a similar manner. France has the organization for expanding this 735,000 to several times that number immediately. As a police force for Ireland, Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, and the various other possessions, the British Army of 425,000 men is not too much in these unsettled times. As the chief means of making the Germans fulfil the Treaty of Versailles and as the final reserve force of law and order in Europe, the French do not feel that their army is much too large.

The era of confidence that must accompany disarmament has not come to Europe. The French still fear the Germans even in defeat; no one trusts Red Russia; and jealousy, suspicion, and fear are almost universal amongst the smaller states.

General Bliss is of the opinion that the first step toward military disarmament is an agreement amongst the leading military nations to abandon the system of "universal service" and its result, the "nation in arms." There is a great mass of opinion in support of this position. Universal service and German militarism are held to be one and the same thing. This is, however, hardly a fair deduction. Everyone, those opposed to universal service and those who believe in it, agrees that it is the most effective way to raise an army. The opponents of universal service advocate a paid army because it is more costly and less capable of expansion to meet an emergency. For everyone to agree to tie one hand behind his back and enter the fight one-handed is not a constructive way to end fighting. The problem is deeper than that. Disarmament rests on confidence. There will not be much difficulty in finding a method of disarming when the policies of the different nations justify their neighbors in trusting them. Such confidence is not altogether lacking. It exists in many places now. As Europe settles down it can be further encouraged. If the people continue to insist that their governments cut down expenditure, they will force out of existence many of the policies which demand armies. On the other hand, the pressure of public opinion for the settlement of disputes under the League of Nations, or some other form of arbitration, should, in time, lessen the public's belief in the necessity of armies to protect national interests. The limitation of armies in Europe is not at all a simple matter nor can it be suddenly achieved by any theory or piece of machinery. On the other hand, once Russia is settled, there will be no great nation in Europe, as Germany was, equipped and determined upon conquest. France is the leading military nation in the world. Yet, except for the Germans, France's neighbors do not fear aggression from her. She is the logical nation, therefore, to take the lead in military limitation. The situation presents a great opportunity for France to initiate a movement for a conference on land disarmament as the United States has done on disarmament at sea.

The U. S. and Naval Disarmament

SINCE the United States is now potentially if not actually the strongest naval power in the world, it is fitting that the United States should initiate the movement for naval disarmament. In this field the world is fortunate, for there are but three large navies. If a basis of confidence can be established between the United States, Great Britain, and Japan, the limitation of naval armaments can be effected.

Between the United States and Great Britain that confidence exists already. Any student of the history of the American Navy for the last thirty years will see the unmistakable evidence that its growth was designed to meet two contingencies.

1. The danger that Germany might threaten the Monroe Doctrine and our control of the Caribbean and the approaches to the Panama Canal.

2. The danger that some conflict of policy with Japan would lead that country to attack our Pacific possessions.

Our navy was not built with any reference to the British navy for we had confidence that it held no menace for us.

Such was the situation up to 1916. That year the United States adopted a great programme designed to make us the greatest naval power in the world. The policy that dictated this sudden departure was not the German danger nor the relations with Japan. The policy which created the programme of 1916 was the second of Mr. Wilson's fourteen points, namely:

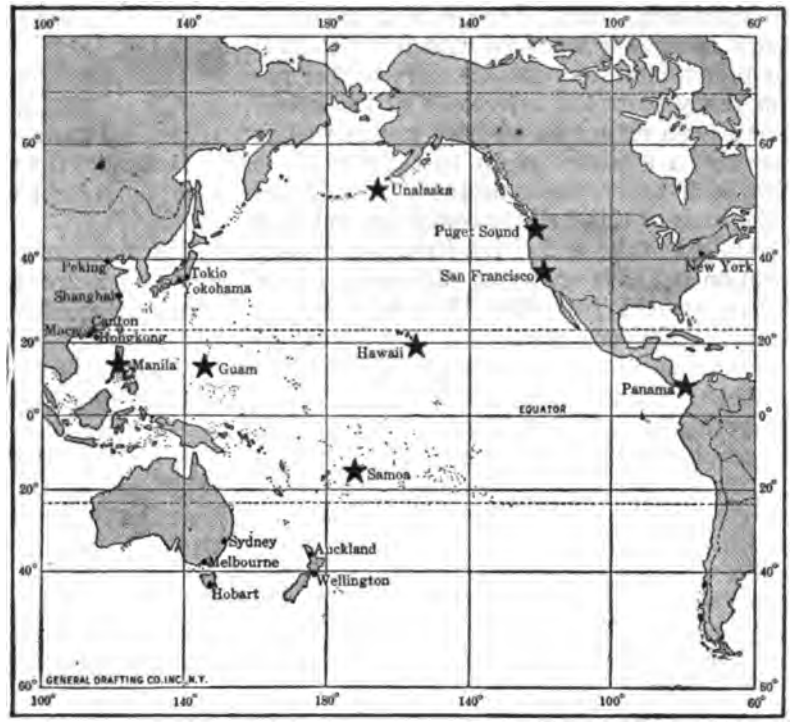
"Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants."

Mr. Wilson wished to get rid of practically all national navies. He evidently felt that the only way to force the British to this point of view was to demonstrate the uselessness of their navy by showing that we could build a bigger one.

Happily, the British confidence in American intentions was not disturbed by this. If it had been, the logical move for Great Britain would have been to make a combination with several other nations so that the combined fleets would be larger than ours, just as when the German army got too big for France to meet, she made

arrangements to get help elsewhere.

The continuation of the 1916 programme by the present Administration is a trading point in the present Conference. And the fact that the Government continued to ask the people for large sums for the Navy was one of the reasons why the Conference had to be called. The public insisted that some method be found of limiting naval expense. In this indirect way, President Wilson's somewhat paradoxical move of advocating our building the largest navy in the world in order to limit naval building has borne fruit.



OUR POTENTIAL CONTROL OF THE PACIFIC

If armed force, rather than reason, is to rule the destiny of the Pacific, our possession of the eight supremely important naval bases indicated on this map by stars, gives us potential domination of that ocean. The hope of the Washington Conference is that it may enable all nations interested in these regions to solve the problem in terms of thought and humanity, instead of terms of force

Prior to the 1916 programme, the United States had not built with relation to Great Britain. The British two-power standard likewise excepted the United States. Since the war, the British policy has twice been stated in the House of Commons. On March 17, 1920, Walter Long, First Lord of the British Admiralty said:

I believe it is a fact that the naval policies of all past Governments, whichever party they represented, have at least included this common principle, that our navy should not be inferior in strength to the navy of any other power, and to this principle the present Government firmly adheres. We are very fortunate in the fact that the only navy approximating in strength to our own is that of the United States of America, with whom we are associated in such a way that the idea of competition in armaments between us is one that is, to put it mildly, repugnant to us all; and we here—and I speak now not merely for the Board of Admiralty, but for the Government—hope and believe that if there is to be any emulation between the United States of America and ourselves, it is likely to be in the direction of reducing that ample margin of naval strength which we each alike possess over all other nations. That is the foundation of the naval policy of His Majesty's Government.

Lord Lee of Fareham, the present First Lord of the Admiralty, wrote on March 12, 1921:

Estimates can only be based upon policy, and the naval policy of the Government, as announced by my predecessor, in the House of Commons, on March 17, 1920, is to maintain a "one-power standard"—*i. e.*, that our navy should not be inferior in strength to that of any other power.

It can not be too strongly emphasized that, in making this long-delayed beginning with the replacement of obsolete ships, the Government neither commits itself to, nor contemplates, any building "programmes" in answer to those of any other power. Indeed, it trusts that it may be possible, as a result of frank and friendly discussion with the principal naval powers, to avoid anything approaching to competitive building, either now or in the future. But meanwhile it would be a dereliction of duty on the part of the Admiralty to allow the efficiency, training, or *moral* of the Royal Navy to deteriorate through neglect to provide it with *matériel* which is equal to the best and in which it can feel confidence.

Nevertheless, despite these statements and the fundamental confidence between the two countries, the 1916 programme is the basis of a building competition in the world now. No matter what you call it, if we set the pace and the British maintain a one-power standard, it is

competitive building. The British could maintain a one-power standard with fewer ships if our programme were smaller. As neither nation really fears the intentions of the other, the two can reduce on a parity just as well as increase on a parity as far as their relations with each other are concerned. Confidence is the basis of this, and the confidence between the United States and Great Britain is of long duration and has deep roots. It survives both Fenian attacks from the United States on Canada, and Venezuelan incidents. The realization of its silent power is what adds the shrillness of exasperation to the opposition which the German and Irish minorities bring against the reputation of Great Britain here, a shrillness that is proof of the strength of the confidence it attacks. Moreover, American and British policies have nothing sufficiently contradictory of each other to create fear or suspicion of each other.

Japan and Disarmament

UNFORTUNATELY our relations with the Japanese are not as good as our relations with Great Britain. Probably there is not any more anti-Japanese talk in this country than anti-British, and there are probably fewer resolutions passed condemning Japan than condemning Great Britain. But the distrust of Japan is for American reasons and, therefore, important, while the agitation against Great Britain is chiefly for Irish or German reasons and, therefore, less important.

The Japanese realize that the Americans and British will understand each other's policies, but they are not so sure that the two Anglo-Saxon countries will understand Japan, or sympathize with its needs and aims. They are a little fearful that they are being invited to a packed meeting in which they will always be in the minority.

The great problem before the Conference is to reconcile Anglo-Saxon and Japanese policies. To do this, it will not be sufficient to show Japan that if she does not agree with the other two, she will be an isolated naval power. The other two will have to help the Japanese delegates find a solution for Japan difficulties that can be made acceptable to the Japanese people and not inconsistent with the policies of the other two. The real problem of the Conference is to help the Japanese solve their problems and show Japan how she can remove the suspicions which she has of others and others have of her.

These suspicions and fears can not be completely or quickly removed. But unless there is instilled more confidence and less suspicion in both sides than exists at present, any armament agreement will rest upon a very insecure footing.

The fundamental problems which the Japanese face are four: the race problem, the territorial problem, the emigration problem, and the raw material problem.

The race problem is the most baffling of the four. The friction arises not because there is a difference between the Japanese and, let us say, the Americans; but because of implied inequalities in the difference. The facts are that the two races are sufficiently different so that they can not exist in large numbers side by side in harmony. That is true in California. It is equally true for Japan itself. If half a million Americans offered to settle in southern Japan, the Japanese Government would very quickly find a reason why they should not do so. Japan would no more give up a large section of her country to a non-assimilable people than will we. It is not the facts of race differences, but the feelings behind them that cause the trouble. Whether the Japanese excluded him or not, the American would still feel that he was superior to the Japanese and consequently, his feelings would not be hurt, and it would not worry him that the Japanese took the opposite point of view. The Japanese, on the other hand, for some reason feel badly because the Americans feel superior. The English and French have looked down upon each other for hundreds of years. Both looked down upon the United States for a time. The real cure for this sensitiveness is not irritation at the other nation but confidence in one's own nation. With that, the other man's feeling of superiority, be it because of race, size, culture, *kultur*, or any other reason, will not bother. The cure for the Japanese sensitiveness about race discrimination is within the Japanese themselves.

Closely connected with the race problem is the emigration problem.

Unquestionably the real ambition of the dominant military party in Japan is to create a Japanese Empire, in which there will be some profitable country for the Japanese to settle in large numbers; and other lands, populated by inferior races, for the Japanese to govern and

exploit. There is precedent in history for such ambitions.

But on the other hand, the world is much changed since those precedents were made. These changed conditions were irksome to German ambition and the Germans tried to ignore them with poor results. When the Anglo-Saxons, the French, and the Spaniards spread over the temperate zones of the world, they took land that was inhabited by barbarians whose mode of life supported a very sparse population. There is no large body of land in that condition now. In the days of those conquests, the exploitation of backward peoples was recognized as proper. To-day, world opinion more and more insists upon the government of backward peoples for their benefit and not the profit of the governing nation. The world no longer agrees that a dependency is synonymous with an exclusive right of exploitation.

The point of view of the Western nations toward Japan is briefly this: Japan can not get profitable colonies to put under the Japanese flag because there are none left; Japan has not proved its ability to govern dependencies in accordance with the modern spirit and, consequently, ought not to be given responsibility over many dependencies; but with equal opportunity to buy and sell in the East, dominated by the "open door," Japan can find an adequate outlet for her energies and work for her growing population.

The Japanese can answer by pointing to many discrepancies between the principles and practices of the Western nations. These give rise to the suspicion and fear in her mind that the Western nations apply the new principles of morality to Japan much more stringently than to themselves; and that if the Japanese army and navy did not exist, Japanese opportunity would be far less than it is. The Japanese, particularly the dominant political party, lack the confidence in us that leads to disarmament. They fear that if they attend the Conference they will be committed to the loss of their best bargaining card, and if they do not attend they will be put in the unfortunate position of opposing alone a movement which all the world wants.

There is, however, in Japan, a large liberal opinion which is willing to accept the new doctrines, and to forego, to a large degree any way, Japanese ambitions for territorial expansion. This party hopes to care for Japan's increasing population by making Japan an industrial nation. For this, raw materials and markets are necessary. Logically, China should supply both. But China is in chaos. Japan's attempts to secure a regular supply of raw materials from China have met with opposition both from the Chinese and from the Western nations. Her attempts at securing Chinese markets have met similar opposition. This, of course, may have been due to the manner in which the attempts were made, or there may have been some trade rivalry in the opposition, or both. But unless the Japanese Liberals can find some method of convincing the majority of their countrymen that there is a future for Japan in industrial development, those believing in territorial expansion will continue in control.

The fundamental task of the Conference is to show Japan a way to meet her difficulties and to convince her that the Western powers will play as fair with her unarmed as armed.

It is incumbent upon the Japanese, also, to remove as much of the suspicion which the world holds of her intentions as possible. To continue a policy of naval armament against the opinion of the world is a desperate venture in national policy. It might prevent others from disarming, but it would so encourage suspicion against Japan as to hamper every activity of hers far more than is the case to-day. Whatever problems disarmament presents to the Japanese are of minor importance compared to those which a refusal to limit naval armaments must, in the nature of things, force upon her people.

The Japanese, of course, publicly state that their navy is not designed with reference to the United States. On January 22nd, of this year, Takashi Hara, Premier of Japan, is quoted in the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* as saying:

> Although Japan, to-day, is recruiting larger navy plans, she is not ambitious to attack any other nation. The press stories asserting that Japan is building a navy against a hypothetical foe, and that that foe is America, are fantastic nonsense. Even with the present programme completed, Japan's naval strength still will be far less than required for an attack on America. The Pacific Ocean is wide; America is rich, distant, and powerful, and should Japan hope to attack the United States she must build a navy far greater than America's. Even those who ascribe the most aggressive motives to Japan on account of her naval construction, must know that the present Government simply is executing an old programme. The purpose of our building is obvious and simple. It is for the defense of

our commerce and coasts, and nothing more. Our naval experts believe that the present navy is insufficient for this purpose, and hence we must continue building.

But, if the Japanese navy is for defense of coast and commerce, it is defense against whom? The Japanese must either fear us, or some one else with a navy; or else they have policies of their own that require new naval strength; perhaps both. One thing is certain, they look with apprehension upon our 1916 programme.

The Cost of War

IN HIS article, printed elsewhere in this magazine, Mr. David F. Houston shows in a striking manner the cumulative cost of wars in the United States. The War of 1812 cost more than all the expenses of the Government from the beginning of the nation until it occurred. The same was true of the Civil War, and the same of our participation in the World War.

Gen. Tasker H. Bliss is an authority for the statement that the loss of life in the wars of modern times seems to take on this cumulative character also.

In all the wars (presumably in Europe and America) waged between 1790 and 1913, the total death loss was 4,449,300. . . . In the recent World War, lasting from August of 1914 to November of 1918, the total death loss in battle was 9,998,771. The number of wounded was 20,297,551; prisoners and missing 5,983,600. If we accept the usual estimate of the dead in the list of prisoners and missing, we have a total death list of 12,991,000."

The World Peace Foundation has printed an estimate of the effect of the war on population, made by the Danish Research Society on the Social Results of the War. This includes decline in the birth rate, and increase in the death rate, due both to losses in battle and deaths, and malnutrition, shock, etc. among the non-combatants.

This estimate places the population of Russia and Poland at 35 million people less than it would have been had peace prevailed. It places the loss in France at 3,340,000, in Germany at 6,300,000, and in what used to be Austria-Hungary at 5,800,000.

The World Peace Foundation estimates the financial handicap assumed by the world on account of the war at 350 billions of dollars. This is about eight times our direct war expenditure.

If we look at the immediate past, we might be comforted by the belief that this war is no more of a strain upon the present capabilities of mankind than were previous wars upon the people who fought them. The cost of the Civil War was as unprecedented in 1865 as the cost of the World's War was in 1918. We might from this acquire substantiation for the cheerful view that the world will recover with reasonable speed from these dreadful losses.

On the other hand, there are also instances in history where civilization perished by the too frequent use of its own sword.

Our Isolation Over

THE Senate passed the Borah resolution, requesting the President to call a conference upon naval disarmament and to limit participation in it to three countries, the United States, Great Britain, and Japan. The President went farther than this and included France and Italy in his invitation, and likewise broadened the scope of the Conference to include those subjects of policy upon which the nations base their armaments. Without a discussion of these policies, a disarmament conference must be futile.

To the bitter-ender apostle of isolation, such a conference contains the germs of the dangers which they felt to be inherent in the League of Nations. To agree to anything with any other power limits a nation's freedom of action. The whole question before the American people is whether, for the sake of the vast benefits of disarmament and peace, they can give up some of their freedom of action and develop trust in other nations.

For those who wish to keep out of all association with other nations, the time to protest is now. It is conceivable that this Conference of President Harding's might even lead us into the League of Nations. The four Allies who are going to discuss disarmament with us are already in the League of Nations, and there they discuss disarmament with practically every other nation. They can hardly practise two different methods of disarmament simultaneously. It will be necessary for them to bring into harmony their commitments to us and their commitments to the League. If that were done, it is possible that we might join the League or the League might join us. The

United States rejected the original Covenant, but it is going to adopt the principles of international agreement for common ends. Isolation is over.

The United States now shows itself willing to make international agreements upon so vital a question as armaments. The United States for many years has shown itself interested in arbitration and the machinery therefor. One of the most striking things in the American Constitution is the provision that no treaty can be made without the advice and consent of the Senate, which ensures its being made public.

The League of Nations stands for disarmament. It has a court of arbitration and has successfully arbitrated several disputes. It likewise stands for the publication of all treaties. Within a year after its inception, it has received from its members and published the texts of a hundred treaties.

The Supreme Council of the Allies, or even the Premiers of Britain and France alone, settles many questions in Europe of great concern to us. At times, and on certain occasions, representatives of the United States join the agents of the Allies in discussing or deciding questions.

In other words, the principal nations, ourselves included, now coöperate with one another, sometimes in large groups, sometimes in small groups, and through several different organizations; all, however, deriving their authority from the same Foreign Offices or State Departments.

If the League maintains its rigid Covenant it will probably not become the active machinery of international action. If it does modify itself, it may so become. But out of the situation some machinery will evolve which, it is hoped, will grow as it functions.

The President and Congressional Leadership

THE present Congress continues to add proof to the already well demonstrated fact that under the present system we can not expect either initiative or leadership from the Congress of the United States. If the public business is to be got through, the President must supply both the motive power and the guidance.

President Harding was loath to accept this view. He was very anxious, as chief executive, to coöperate with the leaders of Congress. But like his predecessors he has found that the leaders do not lead, and that unless he assumes leadership there will be none that is effective.

In 1913, when Mr. Wilson became President, he was convinced that the President must lead. He called a special session of Congress and laid before it three tasks—the passage of a Federal Reserve law, the revision of the tariff law, and the passage of an anti-trust law. The special session began on March 4th. Congress completed its three major tasks as follows:

The Federal Reserve Act became law December 23, 1913;
The Underwood Tariff became law October 3, 1913;
The Clayton Anti-Trust Act, was approved October 15, 1914.

It is universally agreed that the Federal Reserve Act was one of the most constructive and beneficial pieces of legislation passed since the Civil War.

The Underwood Tariff was the first tariff since the Civil War which was not dictated by special interests—the first honest tariff in fifty years or more.

The Clayton Law, including the creation of the Federal Trade Commission, has proved to be only a fair piece of legislation.

Yet as a record of effective governmental operation, the first months of the Wilson Administration have few equals. It was the direct result of Presidential leadership. Mr. Harding likewise called a special session and gave it three major tasks, the revision of the tax laws, the passage of a temporary emergency tariff, and the passage of a regular tariff.

The Emergency Tariff became law on May 28, 1921.

By August 4th, after five months of the sessions, the regular tariff had been reported to the House in such shape that the President had to protest one item and the public protested most of the rest of it. The tax revision had likewise just come from the committee to the House. In order to gain time to reorganize the programme, the President had to suggest a recess.

In the meanwhile Congress had passed the budget act and the immigration law, both good pieces of legislation, and a futile peace resolution. The President had had to intervene to prevent a disastrous bonus bill from becoming law.

The Congressional leadership wandered from

one thing to another, some good, some bad, some merely futile. It lacked any cohesive, constructive programme. The non-essentials were as likely to precede the essentials as not. By this failure of Congress Mr. Harding has had to assume the leadership to which his original philosophy objected. To the public this assumption of responsibility is a comforting and cheerful thing. The President has a programme. One part is related to another. It is made with a realization of the relative importance of measures and with an appreciation of the value of time. Now that he has accepted the responsibility of getting his programme through, the public may hope for effective activity by its servant, the Government.

For four months Mr. Harding waited with patience and to a large extent without interfering with Congress. By the first of July, however, he seems to have felt the inadequacy of Congressional progress. The record of his activity for the next thirty days—the month of July—is significant.

On July 7th the President went to the Capitol to urge the Senate to defer action on the bonus bill. On July 12th he appeared before the Senate and read his message urging the delay of this measure.

On July 11th the President wrote to Chairman Fordney of the House Ways and Means Committee asking that the duty on oil be omitted from the tariff bill.

On July 26th the President appeared before Congress again and urged legislation to allow the War Finance Corporation to finance the railroad claims against the Government.

Three times in a month the President publicly urged action on Congress. Practically every day during that month he talked to Senators and Congressmen.

Except in so far as the Emergency Tariff affected business—and the effect has probably been as much bad as good—Congress in five months accomplished nothing of importance to improve conditions. The prime essentials (the revision of the tax laws and the authorization of the Secretary of the Treasury to fund the foreign debt) were not attended to, although these problems were constantly discussed for months even before the nomination.

Congress has, then, again demonstrated that no matter what the pressing necessity, it can not of itself and out of itself supply adequate leadership to produce effective work.

On the other hand Mr. Harding, who didn't believe that this defect was chronic and who inferred he would not assume responsibility where Congressional leadership failed, has given good evidence that he not only will but can do so.

The President's legislative programme is plain. He asks Congress to speed up its tax revision, to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to fund the Allied debts, and to empower the War Finance Corporation to finance the Government's debts to the railroads, in order that they may buy equipment and start a revival in business. The importance of the passage of the tariff in his mind seems to be waning, especially since the tariff he is offered by Mr. Fordney has received so unfavorable a reception.

While trying to reorganize the legislative programme, Mr. Harding's administrative programme is making headway. The country elected Mr. Harding to produce economy and peace. The installation of the budget system, the funding of the Allied debt, and the reduction of armaments are the three practical methods of curtailing expenses—on all of these the President is at work.

The establishment of a peace other than an armed truce depends upon some form of international coöperation. Mr. Harding is cooperating with the Allies in Europe, and he has called the disarmament conference to establish some basis of international confidence on which disarmament may be begun.

One of the most interesting and significant happenings in the United States since the war was President Harding's letter to Mr. Fordney about the oil duty which Mr. Fordney recommended in his tariff act.

The President wrote:

> I cannot refrain from expressing the hope that your Committee will take note of the foreign policy to which we are already committed, under which the Government is doing every consistent thing to encourage the participation of American citizens in the development of resources in many foreign lands.
>
> The course has been inspired by the growing concerns of our country over the supply of crude oil to which we may turn for our future needs, not alone for our domestic commerce, but in meeting the needs of our Navy and our merchant marine.
>
> To levy a protective tariff on crude petroleum now would be at variance with all that has been done to safeguard our future interest. I can readily recognize the claim of some of the oil producers for a protective tariff on their product, but such a course

of temporary relief would be so thoroughly out of harmony with the larger policy which I have in mind that I should be more than disappointed if Congress decides to levy a tariff on import oil.

The oil industry is so important to our country and our future is so utterly dependent upon an abundance of petroleum that I think it is vastly more important that we develop an abundance of resources rather than temporary profit to a few producers who feel the pinch of Mexican competition.

That letter is a heresy to the theory of protection. It says in so many words that the welfare of the American consumer is more important than the profits of a few American producers. If that is true of oil, may it not also be true of lumber? We need to build houses almost as much as to run automobiles or crude oil engines. We have lumber in this country just as we have oil, but we need lumber and pulp from elsewhere just as we do oil. If a paragraph of the President's letter were paraphrased as follows, would it not still be true:

"The building and paper industry are so important to our country and our future is so dependent upon an abundance of wood that I think it vastly more important that we develop an abundance of resources rather than temporary profit to a few producers who feel the pinch of Canadian competition."

If this reasoning can be applied to oil and to lumber, it can be applied to most of the items on the protected list. The Republican Party has, heretofore, always acted as the attorney for the producer. Mr. Harding's letter is an appeal for the interests of the consumer.

It is also an appeal for fair dealing with other nations. He asks Mr. Fordney to take note of the foreign policy by which the United States has tried to gain for American capital and American trade equal opportunities with the capital and trade of other nations all over the world in the oil business. He implies that such a policy will be difficult if foreign oil business is penalized in this country. In other words, if we want opportunity elsewhere we must grant opportunity to others here. To the zealous protectionist, this, too, is heresy. To swap the privileges of the American market for any other markets of the world is, to them, like selling one's birthright for a mess of pottage. But here is a Republican President urging this very thing.

The President confines himself to the subject of oil. But suppose the Dutch were to say to us: "You are interested in oil. We are interested in tea. Your duties on tea are a detriment to us. If your tea duties were lower we might arrange the oil business to suit you." This particular thing is not likely to happen, but something similar might happen any time. If we want trade and opportunity abroad we can not get it by penalizing everyone else's trade here. *And we do want trade and opportunity abroad.* We want it badly. We want it badly enough for the leader of the protectionist party to be ready to bargain parts of the protective tariff for it. That is a very significant sign of our changed condition since the war. And the fact that the President has the courage to face the facts, even when inconsistent with party theory, is a most encouraging sign.

Government Financing of Private Business

MR. JOHN R. DUNLAP, the editor of *Industrial Management*, is making a vigorous appeal to the steel manufacturers to cut prices and thereby stimulate the activity of this "key" industry. In his words:

The problem now confronting our steel manufacturers is not new, and it is a perfectly simple one. Throughout the whole history of the iron and steel industry, extending back for over a century of time, we have authentic records of the fact that following each and every period of panic and industrial depression there has been a radical cut in all market prices of iron and steel. That must happen now, and no power on earth can prevent it, because the buyers of steel are fully informed and they positively know that the prices of steel must come down in keeping with all other staple commodities—wheat, corn, sugar, cotton, copper, lead, zinc, tin, and rubber. And to show the disparity between present steel prices and those before the war, it is only necessary to cite quotations from the *Iron Age*, the leading market authority in the steel industry, namely:

	Latest prices.	1913 prices.
Bars (100 lbs.)	$ 1.90	$ 1.40
Structural shapes (100 lbs.)	2.00	1.45
Plates (100 lbs.)	2.00	1.40
Sheet bars (ton)	35.00	25.00
Billets 4x4 (ton)	33.00	26.00
Sabs (tons)	34.00	27.00
Blue annealed sheets (100 lbs.)	2.65	1.65
Black sheets (100 lbs.)	3.50	2.25
Galvanized sheets (100 lbs.)	4.50	3.24
Tin plate (base box)	5.75	3.55
Skelp (100 lbs.)	2.00	1.45

At the same time, President Harding is urging

Congress to give the War Finance Corporation power to advance money on railroad securities so that the railroads may have funds with which to buy equipment. The railroads are the biggest buyers in the country. They have need to buy. If they are furnished with the money, they can buy in volume enough to start the retreat of General Depression. If, however, they believe that steel prices are too high, this buying will not be generous but hesitant and meagre.

With these conditions in the almost vital steel industry, it is interesting to note that Mr. Fordney's tariff bill holds out encouragement to the steel men to persist in high prices in the shape of protective duties. It even goes farther, it imposes such a duty on the ferro-manganese used in steel, most of which comes from abroad, that it seems to wish to force the price of steel up even if the manufacturers were willing to lower it.

In asking Congress to empower the War Finance Corporation to provide cash to pay the claims the railroads have against the Government, the President practically says that it is to the public's benefit for the Government to help the railroads finance themselves until they get on their feet.

This is what the suggestion comes to. The method is a little complicated. The railroads owe the Government money. The Government also owes the railroads money. Ordinarily in such circumstances the debts that offset each other would be canceled and the balance be paid by the larger debtor. In this case, however, the Government does not admit the railroads' claims in full, so that it remains problematical how much the Government debt exceeds the railroad debt. Purely from the Treasury point of view, the solution is to pay nothing until this excess is determined. But the railroads want cash to buy equipment and the President is convinced that if they get this cash their buying will start an improvement in general business, as well as save the railroads from further disasters. He accordingly wished to give the railroads $500,000,000 on account. As security for this sum, the Government has the railroad obligations for what they owe the Government. This being the case, the ordinary procedure would be for Congress to appropriate the $500,000,000. But these are times of economy and the President did not wish to urge further appropriations. There was, however, an appropriation already made which was not being used. The War Finance Corporation had been voted money by Congress with which to finance foreign trade. It had not been able to find enough proper foreign trade to use its money on. The President, therefore, asked Congress to change its functions somewhat and allow it to finance the railroads as well as foreign trade.

In recommending this procedure the President says:

> With this end in view you are asked to extend the authority of the War Finance Corporation so that it may purchase these railway funding securities accepted by the Director General of Railroads. No added expense, no added investment is required on the part of the Government, there is no added liability, no added tax burden. It is merely the grant of authority necessary to enable a most useful and efficient Government agency to use its available funds to purchase securities for which Congress already has authorized the issue, and to turn them into the channels of finance ready to float them.
>
> I can readily believe that so simple a remedy will have your prompt sanction. The question of our obligation cannot be raised, the wisdom of affording early relief is not to be doubted, and the avoidance of added appropriation or liability will appeal to Congress and the public alike.
>
> In the case of the railroads there is a moral and a contractural obligation, and your favorable action is no less urgent and will no less appeal to public approval. Railway solvency and efficiency are essential to our healthful industrial, commercial, and agricultural life. Everything hinges on transportation.
>
> After necessary and dramatic curtailments, after harrowing straits in meeting their financial difficulties, the railroads need only this financial aid which the fulfillment of our obligations will bestow to inaugurate their far-reaching revival. Its effects will be felt in varied industries and will banish to a large degree the depression which, though inevitable in war's aftermath, we are all so anxious to see ended.

This statement of the case is perhaps a little optimistic. It is true that Congress will not have to appropriate any more money. But the Treasury will have to get this $500,000,000 to give the War Finance Corporation. The War Finance Corporation has not got that money. It has authority from Congress to get it from the Treasury. The Treasury has not that money above the expenditures it faces. It will have to borrow the money and increase the national debt which it is trying desperately to reduce. There is now a floating debt of about two billion dollars. This half billion will be added to that.

It is wise to help the railroads to this extent if it will put them on a sound basis and help start a business revival. On the other hand, the public must realize that this half billion does not appear from nowhere. The public must either provide it in taxes or lend it to the Government.

And in helping the railroads in this manner, there is a danger which should not be overlooked. It is now three years since the war ended. The Government proposes to help finance a private or semi-private industry as a war measure. As a war measure it is justifiable, but three years after the war is over it may be taken as a precedent for peace times, and that would lead to unfortunate results. The danger of this is increased by the recommendation that the War Finance Corporation also help finance the farming industry. Will not the farmers return for similar relief with this precedent and a strong following in Congress when next there is a bad season or a period of low prices? Sound finance and sound government both urge upon us the necessity of withdrawing the Government from participation in private business as soon as possible, either as an operator of ships, or a financier for railroads and farmers. It is the road to State Socialism, and State Socialism is the end of individual enterprise and initiative, which happily still abound in America.

The Basis for Returned Prosperity

SIGNS are now visible of a gradual recovery from the depression through which business in this country, in common with the rest of the world, has been going. Business concerns, which enjoy able and clear-sighted management, have about completed the readjustment to new conditions in their selling prices, and to a large extent in their production costs. And what is more encouraging, some of them are reporting a growing demand for their products. Not many are in the dominating position Ford enjoys, and cannot adopt as arbitrary methods as he did to recoup their finances. But his strategy in cutting prices to stimulate demand and of eliminating every unnecessary expense throughout his organization has been the plan of generalship that has been found effective by many business leaders, large and small; and those who saw the value of such a plan months ago, are now in a strong position and ready to take advantage of the opportunities that are ahead.

As yet, buying on the part of jobbers and retailers is largely on a hand-to-mouth basis which makes it difficult for manufacturers to plan ahead, but with the revival of public buying which is under way, this will gradually change as confidence in the business situation grows. What is now needed as much as anything else is a realization on the part of everyone that we have passed the crisis of this depression and that the time for an optimistic outlook toward the future has arrived. Optimism alone will not bring prosperity, although it will have an important psychological effect; but optimism with work will bring much better business conditions. We might take a lesson from the present methods in Germany where work is going ahead rapidly and where the streets are posted with signs "Work and Reconstruct."

The iron and steel industry at this writing is still depressed, following its prosperity during the war; but the railroads, on which it depends for half its business in peace times, are now doing better, and orders for supplies and equipment seem in prospect. President Harding's plan, to have the War Finance Corporation advance the railroads a half billion dollars, is a step in this direction.

This attitude of the Harding Administration toward business problems is one of the most encouraging signs of the times. The disarmament Conference, with its possibilities for lightening the tax burden of the world, is one of the important "bullish" influences that normal business now has to contemplate.

These are signs of better times ahead. Authorities are beginning to agree on this point. The *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* recently said: "Things are certainly on the mend, and such a complete stoppage of work as now prevails in certain leading industries cannot long continue. That the business of a country with a population of 105,000,000 will remain indefinitely quiescent is unthinkable. And quite as surely is it out of the question to assume such a thing as regards the world's population of 1,500,000,000 people. The world's trade has been halted, but of course civilization must go on. The march of business, the preoccupation of the modern man, will be resumed. It is only a question of time. And signs are not wanting that the way is being prepared for this great event. The tendency of money rates throughout the world is downward.

Prices and wages are also falling. The trend is toward a reduction of costs, an ultimate stabilization of values, and a return to normal production and consumption; to the end that pre-war civilization may be restored, and the three primary wants of mankind, food, clothing, and shelter, once more put easily within their reach."

The National Bank of Commerce in New York, in a bulletin on July 21st, said: "The United States is practically through the period of violent business disturbance which began in May, 1920. We will, from time to time, have visible evidences of the distressing conditions through which the country has been passing, but these occurrences should be regarded not as indices to forward conditions but as relating to the past. . . . The period of general liquidation of the raw material markets of the United States has passed. . . . Wholesale prices of many classes of manufacturers have been fully deflated. . . . Retail prices show wide irregularities, but high-cost stocks have been largely disposed of. Price stabilization is, therefore, not far ahead. . . . Reviewing the world situation as a whole, for the first time since the armistice, there is a sound basis for a hopeful view."

Mr. John G. Lonsdale, president of the National Bank of Commerce in St. Louis, writing in July, said: "There is no doubt about it. Business has been very sick, and when such is an acknowledged fact with respect to any patient, the best we can hope for is a slow process of recuperation. Therefore, tempered optimism should be the order of the day in the commercial and industrial world; because, if the ordinary criteria can be accepted, the worst is passing, and forthcoming months will bring improvements, which, though slow, will still be appreciable."

Herbert Hoover has expressed his views by saying, "We have already turned the corner of this depression."

In an analysis of his reasons for optimism, he gives the following review of our economic position, and a statement of the ways in which we can help the upward movement:

Our whole standard of living greatly depends upon our imports and our exports are the great balance wheel for our production. Exports are vital to the stabilization of our industries, of price levels, of wages and of employment. While our exports do cover but a small per cent. of our total production, on the other hand, they comprise a large percentage of the production of certain industries. For instance, we generally export 20 per cent. of our wheat, 60 per cent. of our cotton, 75 per cent. of our copper, not to mention others. Unless we find a market for the surplus production of our great industries, we shall continue to keep some 25,000,000 of our people in reduced buying power. We might even drive them into poverty—during the many years that would be required to shift the whole basis of our internal production.

We are to-day the only great source of enlarged food production. Europe must and will draw from us a great proportion of food supplies that she formerly drew from Russia. I see no basic reason why we should not continue to export approximately the same large volume of foodstuffs that we have shipped abroad during the last twelve months.

Another great but uncertain shift in world forces will arise out of Germany. Germany is left without much gold, foreign property, or foreign business earnings of consequence; therefore, her payments must be made mostly by the sale of manufactured goods outside her borders.

If we analyze the effect of these forces on the market for our manufactured goods, either in Europe or in our much larger market outside of Europe, we quickly find two directions in which we occupy a position of some security. The first is in those exports of lower production costs which are the result of great repetitive production, which has its firm root in our enormous consumption. The second is in that large number of special manufactures in which the inventive genius and skill of our people have been developed beyond any country in the world.

As to our manufactures containing a large element of labor cost, in which we do not enjoy special advantages, we must look out and take measures of our own. . . . Fundamentally, we must get our production costs down. That lies only along the road of increased efficiency in our whole industrial machine. It means a willingness of our working people to put forth every effort that is in them consistent with health, proper family life, and good citizenship. The surest road to a continued high wage and the surest safeguard against unemployment are to remove every restriction on effort.

But when all is done, the real cure for all depression is courage and applied intelligence and the return to primary virtues of hard, conscientious toil and economy in living. On every side there is evidence that the vast majority of our whole nation is making an effort in those directions equaled only by that of 1918, and the day some months ago when we entered this effort we fundamentally turned the corner of this depression. While our recovery may be slower than some may expect, nothing can prevent the prosperity of a country where the people have enlightenment, wish to work, wish to produce, and wish to do right by their neighbors.

AMERICAN INVESTORS AND FOREIGN BONDS

Every month in this part of the magazine, the WORLD'S WORK *prints an article on investments and the lessons to be learned therefrom*

AMERICAN investors will have more foreign bonds offered to them, many more. Only thus can a foreign trade balance in our favor be financed. In the past, the people of Europe have been our best customers. Just now they do not have the money to pay us, but they need our goods more than they ever did. One economist says we must loan them money or see them starve. Furthermore, we need their trade to take up the surplus production in this country over and above what we need for our own use. It will be as true of these loans as were James J. Hill's comments on the Anglo-French loan—the first long-term credit to be placed with American investors to enable England and France to continue buying here during the war: "Its greatest benefits are to come to the people of the United States. One who looks at the plain facts will see that the grant of this credit for the purpose stated is far less an accommodation to the countries that ask it, than an act of necessity for us." We no longer must send war supplies to those who stand between us and the Hun, but we must send supplies to the undernourished people of the world, and it is as true to-day as it was in 1915 that we must grant these credits or our plants will stand idle for want of orders, and the return of prosperity will be longer delayed. The banks cannot provide the credit for financing this trade, for it must be long-term credit. American investors alone can supply it.

To-day, American investors are holding more than a billion and a half of foreign bonds that they have bought since the war started. Nineteen different countries are represented in the list of our foreign security holdings. More than two and a half billion have been sold here since 1914, and about one billion have been matured and paid off. The only defaults have been on Russian and Mexican Government bonds. The experience of American investors with foreign bonds has, therefore, on the whole, been a favorable one. Those who see the necessity for our taking more of them, but who fear they cannot be sold here in amounts adequate to meet the situation, reckon without that host of new investors created by the war. These new investors will not take many bonds individually, but collectively they will provide the requirements of our own government for refunding the maturing loans of our railroads, other utilities and industrial companies in need of vast sums of money, and also of foreign governments that look to us for help. It is the duty of our investment bankers to find the way to reach these many new springs of investment savings, and lead them into the streams and rivers of capital that will finance the requirements of the world. Steps are now being taken to do this.

Why should we look beyond our own borders for investment opportunities? We did not do so before the war, why should we now, when the war is over? At the risk of repetition, it is well to point out why Americans, for their own interest, must now finance other nations of the world. The reason is clear but is being lost sight of. Before the war, we were a debtor nation. We owed abroad something like five billion dollars. That was money the British, French, and other foreigners had invested in this country by the purchase of securities and in other ways. To pay the interest on that amount called for a trade balance in our favor, *i. e.*, an excess of exports over imports of three hundred million dollars a year. The war has changed all that. We have bought back a good part of our securities held abroad, American investors have taken a billion and a half of foreign bonds, and our government has loaned ten billions to the Allies. From a debtor nation we jumped in five years to the world's greatest creditor. The trade balance would have to be more than five hundred million against us to meet the annual interest running to us. Now the rest of the world has no such trade balance for us, and if it had, we would not want such an excess of goods sent to us. But the only way to keep the rest from

sending us more goods than they buy from us is to continue to loan them money to pay for what they buy here, until they get back to prosperous conditions, when they will begin to pay back what they owe us from their savings.

STATISTICS PROMOTE INVESTMENTS

GREAT Britain's leadership in world trade was due to British readiness to lend money abroad to finance trade; and to her bankers' skill in establishing credits for foreign buyers. America can take a place of leadership if her new investors are educated to lend as freely, and her bankers show the same skill in administering credits. Not only must our investment bankers locate the new springs of investment capital in this country; they must educate the owners of this capital to invest it in foreign as well as domestic securities. They must see to it that the foreign securities they offer to them are safe investments, then they must show them that their money will be safely invested in them. One house, that has specialized in Canadian securities with marked success, has recently done this in regard to that country. It has issued a booklet showing the agricultural and natural wealth of the Dominion, and pointing out the great material progress that has been made in Canada during the last few years. Such statistical information as it presents cannot but increase the confidence of investors in Canadian securities. The same thing should be done for other countries. While in many cases it would not show such a record of progress, yet it would increase the investors' knowledge regarding the security behind the obligations of those countries, and help to establish confidence in them. "American investors have grown to feel that when investing in Canada, they are investing at home," is the way this house explains the growing popularity of Canadian securities in this country. What is needed is more of an "at home" feeling regarding investments throughout the world. Familiarity with the wealth and condition of foreign countries and with the nature of their peoples will give something of that feeling. Some of the cosmopolitanism of the British is necessary to make us ready buyers of foreign securities.

In the last analysis, from the standpoint of the investor, the best safeguard he can have in buying foreign issues, as well as most others, is the recommendation of a reliable investment banking house that values its reputation. The experience that American investors have already had with foreign government issues shows the chief risk investors run, and the one which is hard to guard against—that of the instability of governments themselves. Not always does the overthrow of a government undermine the value of its securities, but such an event is likely to do so and this point of the stability of governments is one that the buyer of foreign bonds should take into consideration. If the government of a country is stable, however, and its people are able to pay the taxes necessary to meet the interest and principle of its obligations, then the bonds of that country are likely to prove good investments.

SAFETY FOR FOREIGN INVESTORS

ANOTHER point which is worthy of consideration is that external loan bonds, such as the foreign issues which have been brought out in this country in dollar denominations, are generally regarded as coming ahead of the internal loan bonds of the same countries. This is based on the theory that a country will regard the maintainance of its credit abroad as of more importance than the meeting of its obligations to its own people. In other words, should occasion arise when it could not meet all its obligations, it would first pay the interest and principle of its loans abroad. These are the kind of loans that will be made here to finance our future trade balance, and they will undoubtedly hold out some attractive opportunities for American investors. Those foreigners who bought our high interest bearing bonds after the Civil War were in much the same position that we are to-day in regard to the rest of the world. We have a large share of the world's investment capital. Our future position in world trade depends largely upon how we use it.

THE PASSIVE PEASANT WINS IN RUSSIA

Individual Ownership of the Land Gained upon the Fall of the Czar and Maintained Against the Bolsheviki, Is the One Solid Achievement of the Real Revolution

By HUGO W. KOEHLER
Lieutenant-Commander, U. S. Navy

THE peasants make up above 85 per cent. of the population of Russia, and according to the Bolsheviki themselves, 90 per cent. of the peasants are opposed to the Bolshevist régime, while practically 100 per cent. are hostile to Communistic doctrine and maintain a passive but successful resistance to it. There are in all Russia probably only half a million Communists.

In addition to the passive resistance of the peasants, and the activities of the "outside" armies, such as Denikin's and Wrangels, the peasants keep up an active resistance which, even if unorganized and sporadic, is ceaseless.

In trying to pass on the picture I got of the peasants' attitude toward the Bolsheviki, I must describe first the peasant bands that I saw which were actively opposing the Bolshevist control. To see what these peasant bands were doing, I got in touch with one of their leaders or Atamans as they were called, and traveled with him through the Bolshevist "lines" into the interior.

My principal object in undertaking this journey was to get first-hand information of the insurgent bands, their methods of operation, and their aims. All my previous questioning of people who certainly ought to know something of the subject, considering its importance to them, had netted me nothing more valuable than the certainty that they had no real information at all, and that their conflicting guesses must be wide of the mark.

After an interesting trek through swamps, crossing the Dnieper in a small barge for all the world like a Missouri River flatboat, we arrived at a small village where we spent the day concealed in a peasant's hut, and then at night proceeded on. Our only introduction to this peasant was that we needed to be hidden from the Bolsheviki, and he even let us have horses without further guarantee than our saying that we would send them back. On arriving at our destination we found waiting there ten other Atamans, who all belonged to the so-called Union of Atamans, to which my friend and sponsor also belonged. They all wore the simple peasant costume and carried revolvers and long daggers, but neither swords nor rifles.

In explaining their operations they said that formerly they had gone about in small parties which proceeded independently and met at appointed times and places, but that of late they had been able to work in large groups. This was possible because the intense hostility of the peasants to the Bolsheviki and the operations of the insurgent bands had forced the Bolsheviki to concentrate all their forces in large groups; these the insurgents could usually evade if they were too big for them to attack. This concentration of the Bolsheviki in large towns allowed the insurgents much greater freedom than when the former had a small force in each village; but, on the other hand, it made effective operations by small bands very difficult. Consequently, this condition had resulted in a union of eleven of these Atamans of insurgent groups, for purposes of operations on a larger scale. In the same way, various other bands were combining, and although such unions were still very loose and imperfect, they nevertheless represented the first steps toward organization.

This Union had so far carried out only one combined operation, but that had resulted very favorably in that they had captured a large Bolshevist supply train with sufficient supplies to carry all the members of this Union along for a considerable period. One of the items was 1,200 poods of sugar, another was four motor trucks, and so on, all of which they had hidden away. The Atamans of the Union said that the chief objects for which they were fighting were first to rid the Ukraine of the Bolsheviki, and second, to win self-government for the Ukraine. Asked to define their idea of self-government, they said that they wanted the Ukraine to be a state in the Russian Government, with the status of a state

in the United States, except that the Ukraine wanted its own flag and its own army like the state of the German Federation. My sponsor at this meeting I had previously known as an intense Ukrainian nationalist, and I had often heard him bitterly denounce what he called the overbearing big-brotherly attitude of the Russian federalists. But on this occasion he was evidently much tamed down, and he later told me that the idea of an entirely independent Ukraine was much stronger among the Ukrainians of London, Paris, and the other foreign capitals, than among the Ukrainians of the Ukraine.

I had brought along a copy of a Sevastopol paper which contained an address made by Markotoun, the Senior Member of the Ukrainian delegation in Paris, who had just come to Sevastopol to confer with General Wrangel concerning the Ukraine. When these Ukrainian Atamans read this address, which had made a considerable impression elsewhere, they all laughed uproariously and said that what he had said was very fine stuff, but who on earth was Markotoun, and how could he or any one else in Paris speak for the Ukraine? The idea of Markotoun in Paris kept them amused the whole day, and in fact as long as I was with them I heard all manner of sallies about the "Paris Delegation of the Ukraine."

In other words, the separatist tendencies were far less marked inside than outside Russia. While the Russian peasants' ideas may not be more strictly nationalistic than, let us say, the idea of a citizen of New York during our Revolution, none the less the Russian peasants resent the idea that Poland, England, France, or any other people should profit at Russia's expense or by Russian division.

FATHER MAKHNO

ONE of the first questions asked this gathering was what they knew of Father Makhno, the insurgent leader of the Ukraine. He is nearly unknown outside of Russia, but as a phenomenon inside Russia among the peasants, a knowledge of him and his doings is, I believe, essential to an understanding of the peasants' state of mind now, or the possibility of peasant action in the future. From my Ataman friends I got no first-hand information of Makhno and despite my best efforts, I never was able to find him, but I think I did acquire the facts about him which, if not altogether correct in minute detail, are correct in all essential particulars. From the earliest reports it became evident he understood the peasant mind, and so had started out with nothing more than the simple statement that every peasant must have land, and every house a master—first principles which any peasant could understand. Makhno was quoted by the monarchists as saying that a country is simply a great house, so it, too, must have its master—and who, save the Czar, could be master of a country? Which brief statement, said the monarchists, being the sum and substance of the political and economic ideas of all peasants, it was indeed small wonder that they flocked to Makhno. All of which quotations might be very well, save for the fact that Makhno never said anything of the sort! On the contrary, when one actually gets into the Makhno country, one learns very definitely that Makhno has pronounced himself very bitterly opposed to any monarchy and has confined his very sketchy political pronouncement to rather indefinite talk about freedom, and cries of "Down with the landlords!" but also "Down with the Bolsheviki!"

The few facts that are definitely established concerning Makhno are that he was born in the Ukraine near Gulaipol, where he later became a schoolmaster; that he has little education, but a great quantity of shrewd common sense and a very keen intuitive sense of peasant psychology; that he is intensely opposed to the rich, and devotes himself entirely to the interests of the peasants; that he is opposed, alike, to the Bolsheviki and all the anti-Bolshevist forces that have so far arisen; and that, although he himself is no great military leader, he heads a greater number of the insurgent bands which cover the Ukraine, with which he has operated very successfully, and continuously, without any support other than that of his peasant followers.

It appears he started out some three years ago by gathering together a small group of peasants with whom he began operations by pillaging various sugar and flour mills in the Ukraine. His success produced imitators, many of whom thrived for a time, but he alone survived. In the early stages of his career, his most serious rival was Gregorieff, the leader of a similar partisan band with about the same number of followers. According to all accounts, he invited Gregorieff to a conference, promptly picked a quarrel with him, shot him dead, made a short and trenchant speech to Gregorieff's men, and as promptly attached them to himself. Then, when his band had

grown to a considerable size but not yet big enough to face the Bolshevist Army which was bearing down on him, he told his men to evaporate, to go back and till the fields, and to reassemble at a time and place he would announce later. So his army was placed in reserve by the simple process of turning the horses homeward and taking off the saddle and hooking up the plow. But the great point is that the army did reassemble at the time and place designated, and promptly recommenced operations.

There is evidence that he has followed this same general procedure each year, for at times his forces consist of but a handful, and then within a fortnight they develop into an army of forty to fifty thousand. The reason for this is, that he understands perfectly that a campaign in spring and fall would attract few peasants, since the work in the fields then requires all their attention. Accordingly, at those times he orders his followers home to till and harvest their fields, and this accomplished, to rendezvous at time and place to be notified to them—with their horses, provisions, and all the arms and ammunition they can get together. That this system, which sounds so haphazard, actually functions, is shown by the very definite evidence of the great havoc he has worked with the Bolshevist communication trains, and by the fact that after every disappearance he has reappeared the stronger.

RUSSIAN PEASANT TROOPS

HIS troops are all cavalry; his commissariat is the simplest thing in the world, in the first place, because his campaigns are short and he sends his men home as soon as the fighting season is over, and secondly, because he has the support of the peasantry and so can subsist his troops on the provision which they bring with them when they assemble, plus the gifts of the peasantry and the results of the captures of Bolshevist supply trains. He does not believe in artillery, and rifles he describes as useless except as a stop-gap for a deficiency in machine-guns. So the only arms his forces carry are sabres and machine guns. For the latter, he has developed various ingenious mounts, such as very rugged little trucks and wheelbarrows with the wheel amidships; but his favorite mount is the back of an ordinary light, high-wheeled buggy or surrey, such as is found everywhere in Russia. All of which procedure is of course most unorthodox, but it is based on a very keen understanding of his forces, the character of the country in which they are operating, and what they are to do.

His usual procedure when starting operations, is to dash up to a village in great style—fine horses, fine carriages or sleighs, fine furs, and rugs—for he realizes the importance the peasants attach to these trappings. As soon as the peasants have gathered about him, he makes a short and very much to the point speech, for he has grasped the point that though the Russians dearly love to listen to long speeches, they pay precious little attention to them as far as action is concerned when it comes to the question of doing something. Then, what they really want, are short, crisp, simple sentences with plenty of meat in them—and simple ideas capable of being acted on at once. For instance, he will say: "Look at this town, its filthy streets, its heaps of rubbish, its shortage of water, the frightful condition of the sewers! Whose fault is this? Obviously the officials whom we pay to take care of these things. Down with these officials! Kill these officials!" Or again: "See these rags of yours! Why have you no clothes? Because you have no money! Why have you no money? Because the Jews have it all! Kill the Jews!" Or having surrounded a sugar mill, he will say to the assembled peasants: "Take what is yours, my children!" a suggestion they are not at all loath to accept, and which wins for him many cheers for his generosity. And so are all his pronouncements—all simple sentences, simple ideas, simple and direct action required, simple and direct action taken. For this is the sort of thing the peasant can understand, and understanding it, he acts on it.

CHIVALRY IN RUSSIA

VERY often, too, Makhno has captured towns in which he would allow his followers a day to loot the rich, but under most drastic threats as to what he would do if they touched the poor—threats which he as drastically carried out. He has been called a robber and a thief, but if this be so, he has at least made a virtue of it; for time and again he has robbed the rich only to distribute the plunder among the poor, saying he but gave them what was theirs by right—again a very popular doctrine among the numerous poor, even if not so agreeable to the few rich, who, here as elsewhere, get little sympathy in such matters. So, small wonder that he is

so enormously popular, and that he has had success while armies, superior in every other way, but lacking a leader with such simple common sense and common understanding, have been pushed into the sea.

On one occasion, when he captured a large city which he occupied for some months, he made no attempt whatever to set up a civil government of any sort, simply leaving the town to run itself as best it could. The foreman of one of the large factories in the town told me that he was one of the Committee that had gone to see Makhno to ask him what he wished to do about the factory. Makhno answered that he cared not a straw about any factory—it could do what it wanted—that he was interested only in the peasants.

There seems no doubt at all, that originally, he had practically no political idea whatever, much less a programme; but lately, the very fact that he was the sole ruler of the towns which he captured, forced him to adopt at least the rudiments of a political programme, although this seems not to have developed much farther than the idea that the towns are the natural enemies of the country. In other words, his is the crude beginning of an Agrarian Party.

THE PASSIVE PEASANTS

THERE is no great or general rising of the peasants in Russia. But the Union of Atamans, Feodichenko and his twenty subatamans in the Ekaterinoslav district, Makhno, and all the others are proof of the fact that the peasants are opposed to the Bolshevist rule, and that the Bolsheviki have not the power to establish their law and order in the country districts. Makhno's success is more than this. It is an indication that were a better leader to arise with a more adequate political programme, a sufficient peasant following might be organized to take control of the Government. So far, no such figure has appeared, but it is not impossible that such a one might come to the front with a peasant following; and it is certain that any leader who would hold control must have a peasant following.

So much for the active opposition of the peasants toward the Bolsheviki. It might be necessary to produce a champion to overthrow the Reds. But the passive resistance of the peasants has already nullified the Red régime as far as the greater part of the country is concerned. Most of the peasants neither fight the Bolsheviki nor do they obey them to any great degree, and they practise their theories almost none at all.

By questioning hundreds of peasants in Bolshevist territory, hundreds of others who had been in territory occupied at different times by both the Reds and the Whites, and by questioning peasant soldiers of both armies, I felt that I had gained a fair picture of the state of mind of the peasants in regard to Bolshevism.

BETTER THAN THE OLD RÉGIME

AND THE same ideas were repeated almost endlessly. Three facts constantly appear. First, there is a fairly general belief that when the wars—with Wrangel, and with Poland, etc.—are over, conditions will improve; second, that the Bolshevist rule is bad; third, that it is better than the rule of the Czars. The explanation of this last statement contains one of the most extraordinary paradoxes of history. The reason that the peasant prefers the Bolsheviki to the Romanoffs is that the peasant prefers individual ownership or capitalism to communism. I know that this sounds contradictory. Let me explain it. Under the Czars, while capitalism ruled all other industries, it was not applied to the peasant ownership of land. The land was assigned not to individuals but to villages and then allocated to the peasants in small plots, but only for a short period. In an effort to be fair, these plots were redistributed from time to time. In effect then the peasants under the Czars lived under a species of communism.

Over and over again I have had peasants explain that the only practical result of such a system is that no one takes any interest in the land other than getting the most out of it he can in the short time that the particular plot belongs to him. For the temporary owner has no interest whatever in improving the land or doing anything except exhaust it, since he himself derives little or no benefit from any improvement he might make.

Now the peasants who had suffered under this species of communism under the Czars have enjoyed individual ownership under the Communistic Bolsheviki; for, during the Revolution, the peasants seized the land and the Bolsheviki never felt able to try to enforce the theory of communism upon them. The consequence is that since both the peasants who formerly were under communism, and those who worked for the great landlords as laborers, have seized land and gained the added

freedom that property gives, they look upon the present régime as a distinct improvement upon the rule of the Romanoffs. The peasants have become really free men and landowners. That is the great achievement of the Revolution. For although a land of peasant communists and laborers gives but a poor foundation on which to build a popular government, a nation of free small landowners can be made a great and free country.

The peasants got the land because of the Bolshevist weakness, a thing they could not do under the Czars. The result is that they prefer the Bolshevist to the old régime.

They have a firm conviction that the old government was very bad; and no matter how much they might be suffering at present, they felt that when the war—which the Bolsheviki cleverly called the landlords war—was over, they would at least have freedom under the Red Government; whereas, if any of the anti-Bolshevist forces won the day, it would mean simply the restoration of the old régime, a consumation which even their present misery could not make them look upon with anything but the greatest dread, since they felt sure that any return of the old régime would be followed by repression even more severe than anything they had yet known. Again and again, I came across evidence of the great advantage that the Bolsheviki had reaped from the fact that there had been a foreign element in the anti-Bolshevist forces, and also from the general belief that any outside aid or intervention must be for the purpose of restoring the land to the former proprietors. Outside of Russia, and everywhere in monarchic circles, and literally from the thousands of officers of monarchical tendencies who served with Wrangel and Denikine, one would hear repeated over and over again that the peasants at heart really wanted a monarchy, because a monarch —a czar—represented order to them. I started out with this idea myself, but the more I saw of the peasants, who, of course, represent the great body of Russians, the more definite it became that they wanted no monarchy, and on the contrary, that they would have none of it.

BOLSHEVIST CONTRIBUTIONS

HOWEVER, when I would ask what good had been accomplished by the Bolsheviki, or during their régime, the most frequent answer was a flat-footed "none whatever." But some answered that in the beginning, there was more personal freedom, and that when the war should be over there would be freedom again, for never again would there be a czar. Some, too, said that the Bolsheviki had actually put through a reform in regard to prohibition. The generalization is true, that there is no drunkenness in Soviet Russia, not even any drinking, and that in the beginning the most stringent measures were taken against prostitution—that diseased prostitutes were summarily shot or put out of the way, and those not diseased were sent at once to women labor battalions, or arrested for lunacy. This reform had the same fate as most other Bolshevist reforms, for now, in the large cities where the proletariat is actively in control, prostitution, especially among the very young is more frightful than anything I know of in all history.

The most intelligent man I found—a former journalist—said that the only real contribution of the Bolsheviki was the theory that those who did not work should not eat, but that this theory was not carried out, for thousands of Jews and Communists did no work and still lived on the fat of the land. This same man, in answer to my question as to why people did not rise against these intolerable conditions, said that, of course, the very stringent and thorough repressive measures of the Bolsheviki were one reason, and the lack of organization was another, but that the fundamental reason that the peasants did not come out for any of the anti-Bolshevist movements was that they feared that the coming into power of any one of the anti-Bolshevist faction that had yet arisen would mean simply the return of the old régime, the reinstatement of the landlords, and the punishment of the peasants who had seized land belonging to the landlords and had looted their estates. He added that the Bolshevist commissars had taken great pains to destroy handbills dropped by General Wrangel's aeroplanes, evidently for the reason that if the Land Law, announced by General Wrangel, which actually and immediately gave the land to the peasants, had been known to the peasants in the interior of Russia; it would have had an enormous effect in favor of the Whites and against the Reds.

The Bolsheviki were quite successful in keeping the peasants in ignorance. The lack of communication, the lack of organizing ability, and a fear of Bolshevist reprisals prevent the peasant from rising as long as he is not deprived of the land and as long as no leader

arises in Russia with an idea that appeals to him. When I asked the peasants why, if they were so bitter against forced military service, forced requisitions, and the many other things of which they complained most grievously, the peasants themselves did not rise up against the Bolsheviki, they invariably answered they could not organize, that they were afraid of the spies who were everywhere, that they had no arms, and that if they were even suspected their whole village would be burned to the ground by the Communists. And more to this general effect.

But the real truth is not that they could not rise, but that they have not suffered enough to give them the incentive. By passive resistance they had practically repudiated Bolshevist rule. The peasants' passive defense of the Russian Church is a case in point.

WHERE THE CHURCH SURVIVES

DESPITE the efforts of the Communists in deriding the Church and in exposing its shams (for unfortunately the Russian priesthood, was not above imposing on the credulity of the peasants), the peasants have steadfastly refused to oust the clergy. In some places the Communists tried to use church buildings for other purposes, but they were not able to put this through, as the people who were quiescent under all other outrages stood firm on this subject; they said that if the churches were to be closed, synagogues also should go. Though the Communists took church property, and also that of the clergy, and even insulted the priest, the peasants actively resented insults to the Church itself. The Communists evidently realized that here they were on very dangerous ground, and they finally gave up active open measures against the Church although they continued to deride religion.

A number of peasants in a village near Tchaplinka, one day recounted with great glee their treatment of a commissar who had ridden into a churchyard on his horse and there announced his opinion of the Church and churchgoers. But he did not remain long, for he was promptly pulled off his horse by the angry peasants, and after rather rough handling, was thrown over the fence. No action was ever taken against the peasants for this. But in spite of their loyalty to the Church itself as evidenced by incidents such as above, the peasant attitude toward the priests is far different from what it used to be. I remember the village priest who complained bitterly that the same peasants who had taken this energetic action concerning an insult to the Church, did nothing to defend their priests from insults. In another village, I heard the details of an attempt by Bolsheviki to force the peasants to pay the verger the same prices as they paid the priest for the various ceremonies—christenings, marriages, etc. However, the peasants had united solidly against this, and the Bolsheviki promptly gave up the attempt.

COMPLAINTS AGAINST BOLSHEVISM

AS THE Bolsheviki gave up the practice of closing the churches while continuing to preach the principle, so did they also fail to enforce their principles of common ownership of property upon the peasants. There were requisitions but they were not general. And although the peasants are bitter against the mobilization, and requisitions, they have nevertheless, in general, never suffered the many requisitions of clothing, linen, household effects, and about everything else of value, which the townspeople have had to endure; nor have they seen at close hand the conduct and methods of the commissars.

The answer to the question, repeated with such unintermittent frequency, as to why the mujhiks do not rise and put an end to this Red Terror they dislike so thoroughly, has many factors; but after one has talked to sufficient hundreds of these peasants, the great fundamental truth gradually emerges, and in the end it appears quite plain. It is simply that in the mass they've suffered really very little compared to the townspeople, no matter how much individuals may have suffered. Add to this, that they see comparatively little of the evils of the system (many have never seen a commissar except at rare intervals) and then, too, the extraordinary difficulties of organization against a régime which has so widespread a system of espionage, and such prompt and efficacious methods of repression—all this in addition to the fundamental difficulties of organization in a country of great distances, with no free press and no freedom of speech nor of communication and it becomes almost obvious that only the most intense suffering, which could produce a spontaneous outbreak, would cause an uprising among the peasants sufficiently serious to threaten the Soviets.

As for the dissatisfaction with Bolshevism, the principal complaints against it that I heard

were that now no one could buy cloth, that the little tea there was, was no good, and that the old system of redividing the land every few years would have to go on again under the Bolshevist régime, *i. e.*, that still the peasants should not own their own land. I found a good deal of feeling because the schools were no longer functioning, but that feeling was due largely to the fact that the peasants observed that the synagogue schools were running while their own were not.

Often I would hear outcries against the Bolsheviki because the officials were so largely Jewish. Often, too, I heard that the Bolsheviki were not so bad after all. More than one peasant pointed out that, although the Bolsheviki had robbed him of his grain and cattle, in reality the sum total of what had been taken was less than he had been forced to pay out in taxes of one kind and another in previous years. When I asked the direct question as to what good the Bolsheviki had accomplished, almost invariably I got the flat answer that they had accomplished no good, that they had made promises and announced programmes, but had kept none of them. On the other hand, when I put the question less directly, it very often became evident that the Bolsheviki had accomplished some good. In the first place, whether he has actually been free or not, the peasant has in the last three years thought of himself as free, and just that single idea has had a great educational effect. When one is actually in Russia one sees very clearly that education is not entirely a matter of the study of books. The simple fact that during the last three years the peasant has thought himself a free man, as good as his neighbor and all of his neighbors, has in itself educated him enormously beyond anything one would think possible. And all this, notwithstanding that this freedom has been far from our idea of freedom.

I found, too, that although the peasants were fundamentally opposed to Communism, they believed strongly in a sort of modified Socialism, or a coöperative system. This feeling against the one and for the other was based simply on their experience with both—an experience which, as a matter of fact, has been rather extensive. Their ideas about Communism they summed up, by saying that everyone knew that when land was owned in common it meant simply that nobody really took care of any of it; and any one could see, they repeated over and over again, that the only people that had good land were the people who, because they owned it as proprietors, took care of it. As for the coöperative movement, they believe in it because they have seen it work in their villages, in the coöperative stores and the coöperative peasant industries which formerly gave employment to thousands of peasants during the winter months, and which have on the whole been so very successful.

A SUMMARY

A SUMMARY of the peasants' relations with the Bolsheviki, in a few words, is to this effect:

1. The Bolsheviki have drafted a comparatively small number of peasants for their armies.

2. They have commandeered produce and property from the peasants.

On the other hand:

1. The peasants have, under the Bolsheviki, maintained the individual ownership of the land which they took when the Revolution broke out.

2. They have in large measure resisted all the communistic practices of the Bolsheviki and entirely repudiated the communistic theories.

3. They have kept the Church from Bolshevist destruction.

4. They have produced local leaders, but as yet none with either the personality or programme to grow into a national leader.

5. Their most effective organization on which to build either an economic or political structure are the coöperative societies.

From all this it is plain that were the anti-Bolsheviki in the cities to rise against Bolshevism, the peasant would either help or be neutral. Bolshevism is not the main question to the peasant. Who has the control of the central government is not the main question to him. The main question is that he now has land of his own, that he is economically a free man, and that he has with this freedom gained a confidence which will make it impossible for any government to oppress him as he used to be oppressed. The Bolsheviki may come and go and their successors in government likewise, but whoever is in the saddle will have to accept the new position which the *mujbik* has wrought for himself in the Revolution. He has become a free man, and in the course of time a self-governing, prosperous nation can be made of free men.

Honor and Dishonor in Panama

A CHAPTER FROM "THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF WALTER H. PAGE"

By BURTON J. HENDRICK

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In this and succeeding numbers, the WORLD'S WORK *will publish several chapters from the forthcoming biography of the late Walter H. Page, Ambassador to Great Britain from 1913 to 1918—the five years that included the period of the World War. Even before the outbreak of the great conflict, the American Embassy, under Mr. Page, had several important problems to solve. That, caused by the act of Congress, passed in 1912, exempting American coastwise ships from the payment of tolls on the Panama Canal, proved one of the most momentous. The following instalment reveals for the first time the inner history of the tolls repeal of 1914 and discloses the important part Mr. Page played in this, one of the most honorable chapters in American diplomatic history.*—THE EDITORS.

IN THE early part of January, 1914, Colonel House wrote Page, asking whether he would consider favorably an offer to enter President Wilson's Cabinet, as Secretary of Agriculture. Mr. David F. Houston, who was then most acceptably filling that position, was also an authority on banking and finance; the plan was to make him governor of the new Federal Reserve Board, then in process of formation, and to transfer Page to the vacant place in the Cabinet. The proposal was not carried through, but Page's reply took the form of a review of his ambassadorship up to date, of his vexations, his embarrassments, his successes, and especially of the very important task which still lay before him. There were certain reasons, it will appear, why he would have liked to leave London; and there was one impelling reason why he preferred to stay. From the day of his arrival in England, Page had been humiliated, and his work had been constantly impeded, by the almost studied neglect with which Washington treated its diplomatic service. The fact that the American Government provided no official residence for its Ambassador, and no adequate financial allowance for maintaining the office, had made his position almost an intolerable one. All Page's predecessors for twenty-five years had been rich men who could advance the cost of the Embassy from their own private purses; to meet these expenses, however, Page had been obliged to encroach on the savings of a

life-time, and such liberality on his part necessarily had its limitations.

Mr. Page to Col. Edward M. House

London, England.
February 13, 1914.

MY DEAR HOUSE:

. . . .Of course I am open to the criticism of having taken the place at all. But I was both uninformed and misinformed about the cost as well as about the frightful handicap of having no Embassy. It's a kind of scandal in London and it has its serious effect. Everybody talks about it all the time: "Will you explain to me why it is that your great Government has no Embassy: it's very odd!" "What a frugal Government you have!" "It's a damned mean outfit, your American Government." The King keeps lecturing me. Mrs. Page collapses many an evening when she gets to her room. "If they'd only quit talking about it!" The other Ambassadors, now that we're coming to know them fairly well, commiserate us. It's a constant humiliation. Of course this aspect of it doesn't worry me much—I've got hardened to it. But it is a good deal of a real handicap, and it adds that much dead weight that a man must overcome; and it greatly lessens the respect in which our Government and its Ambassador are held. If I had known this fully in advance, I would not have had the courage to come here. Now, of course, I've got used to it, have discounted it, and can "bull" it through—could "bull" it through if I could afford to pay the bill. But I wouldn't advise any friend of mine to come here and face this humiliation without realizing precisely what it means—wholly apart, of course, from the cost of it. . . .

My dear House, on the present basis much of the diplomatic business is sheer humbug—rich men with ambitious women playing the game of social display—never for a day setting forth the aims and ideals of the American Republic. It will always be so till we have our own Embassies and an established position in consequence. Without a home or a house or a fixed background, every man has to establish his own position for himself; and unless he be unusual, this throws him clean out of the way of giving emphasis to the right things. . . .

As for our position, I think I don't fool myself. The job at the Foreign Office is easy because there is no real trouble between us, and because Sir Edward Grey is pretty nearly an ideal man to get on with. I think he likes me, too, because, of course, I'm straightforward and frank with him, and he likes the things we stand for. Outside this official part of the job, of course, we're commonplace—a successful commonplace, I hope. But that's all. We don't know how to try to be anything but what we naturally are. I dare say we are laughed at here and there about this and that. Sometimes I hear criticisms, now and then more or less serious ones. Much of it comes of our greenness; some of it from the very nature of the situation. Those who expect to find us brilliant are, of course, disappointed. Nor are we *smart*, and the smart set (both American and English) find us uninteresting. But we drive ahead and keep a philosophical temper and simply do the best we can, and, you may be sure, a good deal of it. It *is* laborious. For instance, I've made two trips lately to speak before important bodies, one at Leeds, the other at Newcastle, at both of which, in different ways, I have tried to explain the President's principle in dealing with Central American turbulent states—and, incidentally, the American ideals of Government. The audiences see it, approve it, applaud it. The newspaper editorial writers never quite go the length—it involves a denial of the divine right of the British Empire; at least they fear so. The fewest possible Englishmen really understand our governmental aims and ideals. I have delivered unnumbered and innumerable little speeches, directly or indirectly, about them; and they seem to like them. But it would take an army of oratorical ambassadors a life-time to get the idea into the heads of them all. In some ways they are incredibly far back in mediævalism—incredibly.

If I have to leave in the fall or in December, it will be said and thought that I've failed, unless there be some reason that can be made public. I should be perfectly willing to tell the reason—the failure of the Government to make it financially possible. I've nothing to conceal—only definite amounts. I'd never say what it has cost—only that it costs more than I or anybody but a rich man can afford. If then, or in the meantime, the President should wish me to serve elsewhere, *that* would, of course, be a sufficient reason for my going.

Now another matter, with which I shall not bother the President—he has enough to bear on that score. It was announced in one of the

London papers the other day that Mr. Bryan would deliver a lecture here, and probably in each of the principal European capitals, on Peace. Now, God restrain me from saying, much more from doing, anything rash. But if I've got to go home at all, I'd rather go before he comes. It'll take years for the American Ambassadors to recover what they'll lose if he carries out this plan. They now laugh at him here. Only the President's great personality saves the situation in foreign relations. Of course the public here doesn't know how utterly unorganized the State Department is—how we can't get answers to important questions, and how they publish most secret despatches or allow them to leak out. But "bad breaks" like this occur. Mr. Stewart, of the 100-Years'-Peace-Committee,[1] came here a week ago, with a letter from Bryan to the Prime Minister! Stewart told me that this 100-year business gave a chance to bind the nations together that ought not to be missed. Hence Bryan had asked him to take up the relations of the countries with the Prime Minister! Bryan sent a telegram to Stewart to be read at a big 100-year meeting here. As for the personal indignity to me—I overlook that. I don't think he means it. But if he doesn't mean it, what does he mean? That's what the Prime Minister asks himself. Fortunately Mr. Asquith and I get along mighty well. He met Bryan once, and he told me with a smile that he regarded him as "a peculiar product of your country." But the Secretary is always doing things like this. He dashes off letters of introduction to people asking me to present them to Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, etc.

In the United States we know Mr. Bryan. We know his good points, his good services, his good intentions. We not only tolerate him; we like him. But when he comes here as "the American Prime Minister"[2]—good-by, John! All that we've tried to do to gain respect for our Government (as they respect our great nation) will disappear in one day. Of course they'll feel obliged to give him big official dinners, etc. And——

Now you'd just as well abandon your trip if he comes; and (I confess) I'd rather be gone. No member of another government ever came here and lectured. T. R. did it as a private citizen, and even then split the heavens asunder.[1] Most Englishmen will regard it as a piece of effrontery. Of course, I'm not in the least concerned about mere matters of taste. It's only the bigger effects that I have in mind in *queering* our Government in their eyes. He must be kept at home on the Mexican problem, or some other.

Yours faithfully,
WALTER H. PAGE.

P. S. But, by George, it's a fine game! This Government and ours are standing together all right, especially since the President has taken hold of our foreign relations himself. With such a man at the helm at home, we can do whatever we wish to do with the English, as I've often told you. (But it raises doubts every time the shoe-string necktie, broad-brimmed black hat, oratorical, old-time, River Platte kind of note is heard.) We've come a long way in a year—a very joyful long way, full of progress and real understanding; there's no doubt about that. A year ago they knew very well the failure that had saddled them with the tolls trouble and the failure of arbitration, and an unknown President had just come in. Presently an unknown Ambassador arrived. Mexico got worse; would we not recognize Huerta? They send Carden. We had nothing to say about the tolls—simply asked for time. They were very friendly; but our slang phrase fits the situation —"nothin' doin'." They declined San Francisco.[2] Then presently they began to see some plan in Mexico; they began to see our attitude on the tolls; they began to understand our attitude toward concessions and governments run for profit; they began dimly to see that Carden was a misfit; Cowdray got out of Colombia and ate (for the time at least) out of my Mexican hand; the tariff bill passed; the currency bill; the President loomed up; even the Ambassador, they said, really believed what he preached; he wasn't merely making pretty, friendly speeches. —Now, when we get this tolls job done, we've got 'em where we can do any proper and reasonable thing we want. It's been a great three

[1]The Committee to celebrate the centennial of the signing of the Treaty of Ghent which ended the war of 1812. The plan to make this an elaborate commemoration of a 100 years' peace between the English-speaking peoples was upset by the outbreak of the World War.

[2]This was the designation Mr. Bryan's admirers sometimes gave him.

[1]The reference is to President Roosevelt's speech at the Guildhall in June, 1910.

[2]This refers to the declination of the British Government to be represented at the San Francisco world exhibition. held in 1915.

quarters of a year—immense, in fact. No man has been in the White House who is so regarded since Lincoln; in fact, they didn't regard Lincoln while he lived.

Meantime, I've got to be more or less at home. The Prime Minister dines with me, the Foreign Secretary, the Archbishop, the Colonial Secretary—all the rest of 'em; the King talks very freely; Mr. Asquith tells me some of his troubles; Sir Edward is become a good personal friend; Lord Bryce warms up; the Lord Chancellor is chummy; and so it goes.

So you may be sure we are all in high feather after all; and the President's (I fear exaggerated) appreciation of what I've done is very gratifying indeed. I've got only one emotion about it all—gratitude; and gratitude begets eagerness to go on. Of course I can do future jobs better than I have done any past ones.

There are two shadows in the background—not disturbing, but shadows none the less:

1. The constant reminder that the American Ambassador's homeless position (to this Government and to this whole people) shows that the American Government and the American people know nothing about foreign relations and care nothing—regard them as not worth buying a house for. This leaves a doubt about any continuity of any American policy. It even suggests a sort of fear that we don't really care.

The other is (2) the dispiriting experience of writing and telegraphing about important things and never hearing a word concerning many of them, and the consequent fear of some dead bad break in the State Department. The clubs are full of stories of the silly and incredible things that are *said* to happen there.

After all, these are old troubles. They are not new—neither of them. And we are the happiest group you ever saw.

W. H. P.

Page's letters of this period contain many references to his inability to maintain touch with the State Department. His letters remained unacknowleged, his telegrams unanswered; and he was himself left completely in the dark as to the plans and opinions at Washington.

February 28, 1914.

DEAR HOUSE:

. . . . *Couldn't the business with Great Britain be put into Moore's*[1] *hands?* It is surely important enough at times to warrant separate attention—or (I might say) attention. You know, after eight or nine months of this sort of thing, the feeling grows on us all here that perhaps many of our telegrams and letters may not be read by anybody at all. You begin to feel that they may not be deciphered nor even opened. Then comes the feeling (for a moment), why send any more? Why do anything but answer such questions as come now and then? Corresponding with Nobody—can you imagine how that feels?—What the devil *do* you suppose does become of the letters and telegrams that I send, from which and about which I never hear a word? As a mere matter of curiosity I should like to know who receives them and what he does with them!

I've a great mind some day to send a despatch saying that an earthquake has swallowed up the Thames, and that a suffragette has kissed the King, and that the statue of Cromwell has made an assault on the House of Lords—just to see if anybody deciphers it.

After the Civil War an old fellow in Virginia was tired of the world. He'd have no more to do with it. He cut a slit in a box in his house and nailed up the box. Whenever a letter came for him, he'd read the postmark and say "Baltimore—Baltimore—there isn't anybody in Baltimore that I care to hear from." Then he'd drop the letter unopened through the slit into the box. "Philadelphia? I have no friend in Philadelphia"—into the box, unopened. When he died, the big box was nearly full of unopened letters. When I get to Washington again, I'm going to look for a big box that must now be nearly full of my unopened letters and telegrams.

W. H. P.

The real reason why the Ambassador wished to remain in London was to assist in undoing a great wrong which the United States had done itself and the world. Page was attempting to perform his part in introducing new standards into diplomacy. His discussions of Mexico had taken the form of that "idealism" which he was apparently having some difficulty in persuading British statesmen and the British public to accept. He was doing his best to help bring about that day when, in Gladstone's famous words, "the idea of public right would be the governing idea" of international relations. But while the American Ambassador was preaching this new conception, the position

[1] John Bassett Moore, at that time the very able counselor of the State Department.

of his own country on one important matter was a constant impediment to his efforts. Page was continually confronted by the fact that the United States, high-minded as its foreign policy might pretend to be, was far from "idealistic" in the observance of the treaty which it had made with Great Britain concerning the Panama Canal. There was a certain embarrassment involved in preaching unselfishness in Mexico and Central America at a time when the United States was practising selfishness and dishonesty in Panama. For, in the opinion of the Ambassador and that of most other dispassionate students of the Panama treaty, the American policy on Panama tolls amounted to nothing less.

To one unskilled in legal technicalities, the Panama controversy involved no great difficulty. Since 1850 the United States and Great Britain had had a written understanding on the construction of the Panama Canal. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty adopted that year provided that the two countries should share equally in the construction and control of the proposed waterway across the Isthmus. This idea of joint control had always rankled in the United States, and in 1901 the American Government persuaded Great Britain to abrogate the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and agree to another—the Hay-Pauncefote—which transferred the rights of ownership and construction exclusively to this country. In consenting to this important change, Great Britain had made only one stipulation. "The Canal," so read Article III of the Convention of 1901, "shall be free and open to the vessels of commerce and war of all nations observing these rules, on terms of entire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination against any such nation, or its citizens or subjects, in respect of the conditions or charges of traffic, or otherwise." It would seem as though the English language could utter no thought more clearly than this. The agreement said, not inferentially, but in so many words, that the "charges" levied on the ships of "all nations" which used the Canal should be the same. The history of British-American negotiations on the subject of the Canal had always emphasized this same point. All American witnesses to drawing the treaty have testified that this was the American understanding. The correspondence of John Hay, who was Secretary of State at the time, makes it clear that this was the agreement. Mr. Elihu Root, who, as Secretary of War, sat next to John Hay in the Cabinet which authorized the treaty, has taken the same stand. The man who conducted the preliminary negotiations with Lord Salisbury, Mr. Henry White, has emphasized the same point. Mr. Joseph H. Choate, who, as American Ambassador to Great Britain in 1901, had charge of the negotiations, has testified that the British and American governments "meant what they said and said what they meant."

In the face of this solemn understanding, the American Congress, in 1912, passed the Panama Canal Act, which provided that "no tolls shall be levied upon vessels engaged in the coastwise trade of the United States." A technical argument, based upon the theory that "all nations" did not include the United States, and that, inasmuch as this country had obtained sovereign rights upon the Isthmus, the situation had changed, persuaded President Taft to sign this bill. Perhaps this line of reasoning satisfied the legal consciences of President Taft and Mr. Knox, his Secretary of State, but it really cut little figure in the acrimonious discussion that ensued. Of course, there was only one question involved; that was as to whether the exemption violated the treaty. This is precisely the one point that nearly all the controversialists avoided. The statement that the United States had built the Canal with its own money and its own genius, that it had achieved a great success where other nations had achieved a great failure, and that it had the right of passing its own ships through its own highway without assessing tolls—this was apparently argument enough. When Great Britain protested the exemption as a violation of the treaty, there were not lacking plenty of elements in American politics and journalism to denounce her as committing an act of high-handed impertinence, as having intruded herself in matters which were not properly her concern, and as having attempted to rob the American public of the fruits of its own enterprise. That animosity to Great Britain, which is always present in certain parts of the hyphenated population, burst into full flame.

Clear as were the legal aspects of the dispute, the position of the Wilson Administration was a difficult one. The Irish-American elements, which have specialized in making trouble between the United States and Great Britain, represented a strength to the Democratic Party in most large cities. The great mass of Demo-

cratic Senators and Congressmen had voted for the exemption bill. The Democratic platform of 1912 had endorsed this same legislation. This declaration was the handiwork of Senator O'Gorman, of New York State, who had long been a leader of the anti-British crusade in American politics. More awkward still, President Wilson, in the course of his Presidential campaign, had himself spoken approvingly of free tolls for American ships. The probability is that, when the President made this unfortunate reference to this clause in the Democratic programme, he had given the matter little personal investigation; it must be held to his credit that, when the facts were clearly presented to him, his mind quickly grasped the real point at issue—that it was not a matter of commercial advantage or disadvantage, but one simply of national honor, of whether the United States proposed to keep its word or to break it.

Page's contempt for the hair-drawn technicalities of lawyers was profound, and the tortuous effort to make the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty mean something quite different from what it said, inevitably moved him to righteous wrath. Before sailing for England he spent several days in the State Department studying the several questions which were then at issue between his country and Great Britain. A memorandum contains his impressions of the free tolls contention:

"A little later I went to Washington again to acquaint myself with the business between the United States and Great Britain. About that time the Senate confirmed my appointment, and I spent a number of days reading the recent correspondence between the two governments. The two documents that stand out in my memory are the wretched lawyer's note of Knox about the Panama tolls (I never read a less sincere, less convincing, more purely artificial argument) and Bryce's brief reply, which did have the ring of sincerity in it.' The diplomatic correspondence in general seemed to me very dull stuff, and, after wading through it all day, on several nights as I went to bed the thought came to me whether this sort of activity were really worth a man's while."

Anything which affected British shipping adversely touched Great Britain in a delicate spot; and Page had not been long in London before he perceived the acute nature of the Panama situation. In July, 1913, Col. Edward M. House reached the British capital. A letter of Page's to Sir Edward Grey gives such a succinct description of this new and influential force in American public life that it is worth quoting:

Mr. Page to Sir Edward Grey
Coburg Hotel, London.
[no date.]

DEAR SIR EDWARD:

There is an American gentleman in London, the like of whom I do not know. Mr. Edward M. House is his name. He is "the silent partner" of President Wilson—that is to say, he is the most trusted political adviser and the nearest friend of the President. He is a private citizen, a man without personal political ambition, a modest, quiet, even shy fellow. He helps to make Cabinets, to shape policies, to select judges and ambassadors and suchlike merely for the pleasure of seeing that these tasks are well done.

He is suffering from over-indulgence in advising, and he has come here to rest. I cannot get him far outside his hotel, for he cares to see few people. But he is very eager to meet you.

I wonder if you would do me the honor to take luncheon at the Coburg Hotel with me, to meet him either on July 1, or 3, or 5—if you happen to be free? I shall have only you and Mr. House.

Very sincerely yours,
WALTER H. PAGE.

The chief reason why Colonel House wished to meet the British Foreign Secretary was to bring him a message from President Wilson on the subject of the Panama tolls. The three men—Sir Edward, Colonel House, and Mr. Page—met at the suggested luncheon on July 3rd. Colonel House informed the Foreign Secretary that President Wilson was now convinced that the Panama Act violated the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty and that he intended to use all his influence to secure its repeal. The matter, the American urged, was a difficult one, since it would be necessary to persuade Congress to pass a law acknowledging its mistake. The best way in which Great Britain could aid in the process was by taking no public action. If the British should keep protesting or discussing the subject acrimoniously in the press and Parlia-

ment, such a course would merely reënforce the elements that would certainly oppose the President. Any protests would give them the opportunity to set up the cry of "British dictation," and a change in the Washington policy would subject it to the criticism of having yielded to British pressure. The inevitable effect would be to defeat the whole proceeding. Colonel House therefore suggested that President Wilson be left to handle the matter in his own way and in his own time, and he assured the British statesman that the result would be satisfactory to both countries. Sir Edward Grey at once saw that Colonel House's statement of the matter was simply common-sense, and expressed his willingness to leave the Panama matter in the President's hands.

Thus, from July 3, 1913, there was a complete understanding between the British Government and the Washington Administration on the question of the tolls. Yet neither the British nor the American public knew that President Wilson had pledged himself to a policy of repeal. All during the summer and fall of 1913 this matter was as generally discussed in England as was Mexico. Everywhere the Ambassador went—country houses, London dinner tables, the colleges and the clubs—he was constantly confronted with what was universally regarded as America's great breach of faith. How deeply he felt in the matter his letters show.

Mr. Page to Col. Edward M. House

August 25, 1913.

DEAR HOUSE:

. . . The English Government and the English people without regard to party—I hear it and feel it everywhere—are of one mind about this: they think we have acted dishonorably. They really think so—it isn't any mere political or diplomatic pretense. We made a bargain, they say, and we have repudiated it. If it were a mere bluff or game or party contention—that would be one thing. We could "bull" it through or live it down. But they look upon it as we look upon the repudiation of a debt by a state. Whatever the arguments by which the state may excuse itself, we never feel the same toward it—never quite so safe about it. They say, "You are a wonderful nation and a wonderful people. We like you. But your Government is not a government of honor. Your honorable men do not seem to get control." You can't measure the damage that this does us. Whatever the United States may propose till this is fixed and forgotten will be regarded with a certain hesitancy. They will not fully trust the honor of our Government. They say, too, "See, you've preached arbitration and you propose peace agreements, and yet you will not arbitrate this: you know you are wrong, and this attitude proves it." Whatever Mr. Hay might or could have done, he made a bargain. The Senate ratified it. We accepted it. Whether it were a good bargain or a bad one, we ought to keep it. The English feeling was shown just the other week when Senator Root received an honorary degree at Oxford. The thing that gave him fame here was his speech on this treaty.[1] There is no end of ways in which they show their feeling and conviction.

Now, if in the next regular session the President takes a firm stand against the ship subsidy that this discrimination gives, couldn't Congress be carried to repeal this discrimination? For this economic objection also exists.

No Ambassador can do any very large constructive piece of work so long as this suspicion of the honor of our Government exists. Sir Edward Grey will take it up in October or November. If I could say then that the President will exert all his influence for this repeal—that would go far. If, when he takes it up, I can say nothing, it will be practically useless for me to take up any other large plan. This is the most important thing for us on the diplomatic horizon.

Mr. Page to the President

Doornoch, Scotland,
September 10, 1913.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I am spending ten or more of the dog days visiting the Englishman and the Scotchman in their proper setting—their country homes—where they show themselves the best of hosts and reveal their real opinions. There are, for example, in the house where I happen to be to-day, the principals of three of the Scotch universities, and a Member of Parliament, and an influential editor.

They have, of course—I mean all the educated folk I meet—the most intelligent in-

[1] Mr. Root's masterly speech on Panama tolls was made in the United States Senate, January 21, 1913.

terest in American affairs, and they have an unbounded admiration for the American people —their energy, their resourcefulness, their wealth, their economic powers and social independence. I think that no people ever really admired and, in a sense, envied another people more. They know we hold the keys of the future.

But they make a sharp distinction between our people and our Government. They are sincere, God-fearing people who speak their convictions. They cite Tammany, the Thaw case, Sulzer, the Congressional lobby, and sincerely regret that a democracy does not seem to be able to justify itself. I am constantly amazed and sometimes dumbfounded at the profound effect that the yellow press (including the American correspondents of the English papers) has had upon the British mind. Here is a most serious journalistic problem, upon which I have already begun to work seriously with some of the editors of the better London papers. But it is more than a journalistic problem. It becomes political. To eradicate this impression will take years of well-planned work. I am going to make this the subject of one of the dozen addresses that I must deliver during the next six months —"The United States as an Example of Honest and Honorable Government."

And everywhere—in circles the most friendly to us, and the best informed—I receive commiseration because of the dishonorable attitude of our Government about the Panama Canal tolls. This, I confess, is hard to meet. We made a bargain—a solemn compact—and we have broken it. Whether it were a good bargain or a bad one, a silly one or a wise one; that's far from the point. Isn't it? I confess that this bothers me. . . .

And this Canal tolls matter stands in the way of everything. It is in their minds all the time—the minds of all parties and all sections of opinion. They have no respect for Mr. Taft, for they remember that he might have vetoed the bill; and they ask, whenever they dare, what you will do about it. They hold our Government in shame so long as this thing stands.

As for the folly of having made such a treaty —that's now passed. As for our unwillingness to arbitrate it—that's taken as a confession of guilt. . . .

We can command these people, this Government, this tight island, and its world-wide empire; they honor us, they envy us, they fear us; they see the time near at hand when we shall command the capital and the commerce of the world if we unfetter our mighty people; they wish to keep very close to us. But they are suspicious of our Government because, they contend, it has violated its faith. Is it so or is it not?

Life meantime is brimful of interest; and, despite this reflex result of the English long-blunder with Ireland (how our sins come home to roost), the Great Republic casts its beams across the whole world and I was never so proud to be an American democrat, as I see it light this hemisphere in a thousand ways.

All health and mastery to you!

WALTER H. PAGE.

The story of Sir William Tyrrell's[1] visit to the White House in November, 1913, has already been told. On this occasion, it will be recalled, an agreement was reached not only on Mexico, but also President Wilson repeated the assurances already given by Colonel House on the repeal of the tolls legislation. Now that Great Britain had accepted the President's leadership in Mexico, the time was approaching when President Wilson might be expected to take his promised stand on Panama tolls. Yet it must be repeated that there had been no definite diplomatic bargain. But Page was exerting all his efforts to establish the best relations between the two countries on the basis of fair dealing and mutual respect. Great Britain had shown her good faith in the Mexican matter; now the turn of the United States had come.

Mr. Page to the President

London, 6 Grosvenor Square,
January 6, 1914.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

We've traveled a long way since this Mexican trouble began—a long way with His Majesty's Government. When your policy was first flung at 'em, they showed at best a friendly incredulity: what! set up a moral standard for government in Mexico? Everybody's mind was fixed merely on the restoring of

[1] Sir William Tyrrell was, in 1913, private secretary to Sir Edward Grey and at present is private secretary to Lord Curzon, the British Foreign Secretary. The reference in the text is to the visit Sir William made to Washington in November, 1913, described in a previous—and so far unpublished—chapter in the biography.

order—the safety of investments. They thought of course our Army would go down in a few weeks. I recall that Sir Edward Grey asked me one day if you would not consult the European governments about the successor to Huerta, speaking of it as a problem that would come up next week. And there was also much unofficial talk about joint intervention.

Well, they've followed a long way. They apologized for Carden[1] (that's what the Prime Minister's speech was); they ordered him to be more prudent. Then the real meaning of concessions began to get into their heads. They took up the dangers that lurked in the Government's contract with Cowdray for oil; and they pulled Cowdray out of Colombia and Nicaragua—granting the application of the Monroe Doctrine to concessions that might imperil a country's autonomy. Then Sir Edward asked me if you would not consult him about such concessions—a long way had been traveled since his other question! Lord Haldane made the Thanksgiving speech that I suggested to him. And now they have transferred Carden. They've done all we asked and more; and, more wonderful yet, they've come to understand what we are driving at.

As this poor world goes, all this seems to me rather handsomely done. At any rate, it's square and it's friendly.

Now in diplomacy, as in other contests, there must be give and take; it's our turn.

1. If you see your way clear, it would help the Liberal Government (which needs help) and would be much appreciated, if before February 10th, when Parliament meets, you could say a public word friendly to our keeping the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty—on the tolls. You only, of course, can judge whether you would be justified in doing so. I presume only to assure you of the most excellent effect it would have here. If you will pardon me for taking a personal view of it, too, I will say that such an expression would cap the climax of the enormously heightened esteem and great respect in which recent events and achievements have caused you to be held here. It would put the English of all parties in the happiest possible mood toward you for whatever subsequent dealings may await us. It was as friendly a man as Kipling who said to me the night I spent with him: "You know your great Government, which does many great things greatly, does *not* lie awake o' nights to keep its promises."

It's our turn next, whenever you see your way clear.

Most heartily yours,
WALTER H. PAGE.

To the President.

Col. Edward M. House to Mr. Page

145 East 35th Street,
New York City.

DEAR PAGE:

I was with the President for twenty-four hours and we went over everything thoroughly.

He decided to call the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations to the White House on Monday and tell them of his intentions regarding Panama tolls. We discussed whether it would be better to see some of them individually, or to take them collectively. It was agreed that the latter course was better. It was decided, however, to have Senator Jones poll the Senate in order to find just how it stood before getting the Committee together.

The reason for this quick action was in response to your letter urging that something be done before the 10th of February. . . .

Faithfully yours,
E. M. HOUSE.

January 24, 1914.

On March 5th the President made good his promise by going before Congress and asking the two Houses to repeal that clause in the Panama legislation which granted preferential treatment to American coastwise shipping. The President's address was very brief and did not discuss the matter in the slightest detail. Mr. Wilson made the question one simply of national honor. The exemption, he said, clearly violated the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty and there was nothing left to do but to set the matter right. The part of the President's address which aroused the greatest interest was the conclusion:

"I ask this of you in support of the foreign policy of the Administration. I shall not know how to deal with other matters of even greater delicacy and nearer consequence, if you do not grant it to me in ungrudging measure."

[1]British Minister to Mexico in 1913-14, whose intense anti-Americanism at one time threatened the good relations between the United States and Great Britain. Carden was "transferred" from Mexico to Brazil—a friendly act of the British Foreign office which eased the tension.

The impression which this speech made upon the great statesman who then presided over the British Foreign office is evident from the following letter which he wrote to the British Ambassador in Washington:

Sir Edward Grey to Sir C. Spring-Rice
Foreign Office,
March 13, 1914.

SIR:

In the course of a conversation with the American Ambassador to-day, I took the opportunity of saying how much I had been struck by President Wilson's Message to Congress about the Panama Canal tolls. When I read it, it struck me that, whether it succeeded or failed in accomplishing the President's object, it was something to the good of public life, for it helped to lift public life to a higher plane and to strengthen its morale.

I am, &c.,
E. GREY.

Two days after his appearance before Congress the President wrote to his Ambassador:

The President to Mr. Page
The White House, Washington.
March 7, 1914.

MY DEAR PAGE:

I have your letters of the twenty-second and twenty-fourth of February and I thank you for them most warmly. Happily, things are clearing up a little in the matters which have embarrassed our relations with Great Britain, and I hope that the temper of public opinion is in fact changing there, as it seems to us from this distance to be changing.

Your letters are a lamp to my feet. I feel as I read that their analysis is searching and true.

Things over here go on a tolerably even keel. The prospect at this moment for the repeal of the tolls exemption is very good indeed. I am beginning to feel a considerable degree of confidence that the repeal will go through, and the Press of the country is certainly standing by me in great shape.

My thoughts turn to you very often with gratitude and affectionate regard. If there is ever at any time anything specific you want to learn, pray do not hesitate to ask it of me directly, if you think best.

Carden was here the other day and I spent an hour with him, but I got not even a glimpse of his mind. I showed him all of mine that he cared to see.

With warmest regards from us all,
Faithfully yours,
WOODROW WILSON.

The debate which now took place in Congress proved to be one of the stormiest in the history of that body. The proceeding did not prove to be the easy victory which the Administration had evidently expected. The struggle was protracted for three months; and it signalized Mr. Wilson's first serious conflict with the Senate—that same Senate which was destined to play such a vexatious and destructive rôle in his career. At this time, however, Mr. Wilson had reached the zenith of his control over the law-making bodies. It was early in his Presidential term, and in these early days Senators are likely to be careful about quarreling with the White House—especially the Senators who are members of the President's political party. In this struggle, moreover, Mr. Wilson had the intelligence and the character of the Senate largely on his side, though, strangely enough, his strongest supporters were Republicans and his bitterest opponents were Democrats. Senator Root, Senator Burton, Senator Lodge, Senator Kenyon, Senator McCumber, all Republicans, day after day and week after week upheld the national honor; while Senators O'Gorman, Chamberlain, Vardaman, and Reed, all members of the President's party, just as persistently led the fight for the baser cause. The debate inspired an outburst of Anglophobia which was most distressing to the best friends of the United States and Great Britain. The American press, as a whole, honored itself by championing the President, but certain newspapers made the debate an occasion for unrestrained abuse of Great Britain, and of any one who believed that the United States should treat that nation honestly. The Hearst organs, in cartoon and editorial page, shrieked against the "ancient enemy." All the well-known episodes and characters in American history—Lexington, Bunker Hill, John Paul Jones, Washington, and Franklin—were paraded as arguments against the repeal of an illegal discrimination. Petitions from the Ancient Order of Hibernians and other Irish societies were showered upon Congress—in almost unending procession they clogged the pages of the *Congressional Record;*

public meetings were held in New York and elsewhere denouncing an administration that disgraced the country by "truckling" to Great Britain. The President was accused of seeking an Anglo-American Alliance and of sacrificing American shipping to the glory of British trade; while the history of our diplomatic relations was surveyed in detail for the purpose of proving that Great Britain had broken every treaty she had ever made. In the midst of this deafening hubbub the quiet voice of Senator McCumber—"we are too big in national power to be too little in national integrity"—and that of Senator Root, demolishing one after another the pettifogging arguments of the exemptionists, demonstrated that, after all, the spirit and the eloquence that had given the Senate its great fame were still influential forces in that body.

In all this excitement, Page himself came in for his share of hard knocks. Irish meetings "resolved" against the Ambassador as a statesman who "looks on English claims as superior to American rights," and demanded that President Wilson recall him. It has been the fate of practically every American ambassador to Great Britain to be accused of Anglomania. Lowell, John Hay, and Joseph H. Choate fell under the ban of those elements in American life who seem to think that the main duty of an American diplomat in Great Britain is to insult the country of which he has become the guest. In 1895 the House of Representatives solemnly passed a resolution censuring Ambassador Thomas F. Bayard for a few sentiments friendly to Great Britain which he had uttered at a public banquet. That Page was no undiscriminating idolater of Great Britain these letters have abundantly revealed. That he had the profoundest respect for the British character and British institutions has been made just as clear. With Page this was no sudden enthusiasm; it was the result of the life-time which he had given to studying English literature, English history, and the lives of English public men. The conviction that British conceptions of liberty and government and British ideals of life represented the fine flower of human progress was one which he felt deeply. The fact that these fundamentals had had the opportunity of even freer development in America he regarded as most fortunate both for the United States and for the world. He had never concealed his belief that the destinies of mankind depended more upon the friendly coöperation of the United States and Great Britain than upon any other single influence. He had preached this in public addresses, and in his writings for twenty-five years preceding his mission to Great Britain. But the mere fact that he should hold such convictions and presume to express them as American Ambassador apparently outraged those same elements in this country who railed against Great Britain in this Panama Tolls debate.

On August 16, 1913, the City of Southampton, England, dedicated a monument in honor of the *Mayflower* Pilgrims—Southampton having been their original point of departure for Massachusetts. Quite appropriately the city invited the American Ambassador to deliver an address on this occasion; and quite appropriately the Ambassador acknowledged the debt which Americans of to-day owed to the England which had sent these adventurers to lay the foundations of new communities on foreign soil. Yet certain historic truths embodied in this very beautiful and eloquent address aroused considerable anger in certain parts of the United States. "Blood," said the Ambassador, "carries with it that particular trick of thought, which makes us all English in the last resort. . . . And Puritan and Pilgrim and Cavalier, different yet, are yet one in that they are English still. And thus, despite the fusion of races and of the great contributions of other nations to her 100 millions of people and to her incalculable wealth, the United States is yet English-led and English-ruled." This was merely a way of phrasing a great historic truth—that overwhelmingly the largest element in the American population is British in origin[1]; that such vital things as its speech and its literature are English; and that our political institutions, our liberty, our law, our conceptions of morality and of life are similarly derived from the British Isles. Page applied the word "English" to Americans in the same sense in which that word is used by John Richard Green, when he traces the history of the English race from a German forest to the Mississippi Valley and the wilds

[1] This is the fact that is too frequently lost sight of in current discussions of the melting pot. In the *Atlantic Monthly* for August, 1920, Mr. William S. Rossiter, for many years chief clerk of the United States Census and a statistician of high standing, shows that, of the 95,000,000 white people of the United States, 55,000,000 trace their origin to England, Scotland, and Wales.

of Australia. But the anti-British elements on this side of the water, taking "English-led and English-ruled" out of its context misinterpreted the phrase as meaning that the American Ambassador had approvingly called attention to the fact that the United States was at present under the political control of Great Britain! Senator Chamberlain of Oregon presented a petition from the *Staatsverband Deutschsprechender Vereine von Oregon,* demanding the Ambassador's removal, while the Irish-American press and politicians became extremely vocal.

Animated as was this outburst, it was mild compared with the excitement caused by a speech which Page made while the Panama debate was raging in Congress. At a dinner of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, in early March, the Ambassador made a few impromptu remarks. The occasion was one of good fellowship and good humor, and Page, under the inspiration of the occasion, indulged in a few half-serious, half-jocular references to the Panama Canal and British-American good-feeling, which, when inaccurately reported, caused a great disturbance in the England-baiting press. "I would not say that we constructed the Panama Canal even for you," he said, "for I am speaking with great frankness and not with diplomatic indirection. We built it for reasons of our own. But I will say that it adds to the pleasure of that great work that you will profit by it. You will profit most by it, for you have the greatest carrying trade." A few paragraphs on the Monroe Doctrine which practically repeated President Wilson's Mobile speech on that subject, but in which Mr. Page used the expression, "we prefer that European Powers shall acquire no more territory on this continent," alarmed those precisians in language, who pretended to believe that the Ambassador had used the word "prefer" in its literal sense, and interpreted the sentence to mean that, while the United States would "prefer" that Europe should not overrun North and South America, it would really raise no serious objection if it did so.

EDWARD M. HOUSE

The "silent partner" of President Wilson, and the man to whom Ambassador Page wrote many of his most illuminating letters. In early July, 1913, Colonel House, Sir Edward Grey, and Mr. Page met at luncheon in London. Colonel House brought the British statesman assurances from President Wilson that the American error in Panama legislation would be undone

Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, who by this time had apparently become the Senatorial leader of the anti-Page propaganda, introduced a resolution demanding that the Ambassador furnish the Senate a complete copy of this highly pro-British outgiving. The copy was furnished forthwith—and with that the tempest subsided.

Mr. Page to the President

American Embassy,
London,
March 18, 1914.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

About this infernal racket in the Senate over my poor speech, I have telegraphed you all there is to say. Of course, it was a harmless courtesy—no bowing low to the British or any such thing—as it was spoken and heard. Of course, too, nothing would have been said about it but for the controversy over the Canal tolls. That was my mistake—in being betrayed by the friendly dinner and the high compliments paid to us into mentioning a subject under controversy.

I am greatly distressed lest possibly it may embarrass you. I do hope not.

I think I have now learned *that* lesson pretty

JOHN HAY

Ambassador to Great Britain from 1897 to 1898 and Secretary of State in President Roosevelt's cabinet. The Canal Treaty which he negotiated with Lord Pauncefote, in 1901, provided that "the Canal shall be free and open to the vessels of commerce and war of all nations observing these rules, on terms of entire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination against any such nation, or its citizens or subjects, in respect of the conditions or charges of traffic, or otherwise." The Panama Canal Act of 1912, exempting American coastwise ships from the payment of tolls, clearly violated this clause in the treaty

LORD PAUNCEFOTE

British Ambassador to the United States from 1893 to 1902. He negotiated with John Hay, Secretary of State, the treaty which gave the United States the exclusive right to build and control the Panama Canal. This, known as the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, superseded the Clayton-Bulwer Convention of 1850, which had provided for joint American and British ownership and control of the Canal

thoroughly. These Anglophobiacs—Irish and Panama—hound me wherever I go. I think I told you of one of their correspondents, who one night got up and yawned at a public dinner as soon as I had spoken and said to his neighbors: "Well, I'll go, the Ambassador didn't say anything that I can get him into trouble about."

I shall, hereafter, write out my speeches and have them gone over carefully by my little Cabinet of Secretaries. Yet something (perhaps not much) will be lost. For these people are infinitely kind and friendly and courteous. They cannot be driven by anybody to do anything, but they can be led by us to do anything—by the use of spontaneous courtesy. It is by spontaneous courtesy that I have achieved whatever I have achieved, and it is for this that those like me who do like me. Of course, what some of the American newspapers have said is true—that I am too free and too untrained to be a great Ambassador. But the conventional type of Ambassador would not be worth his salt to represent the United States here now, when they are eager to work with us for the peace of the world, if they are convinced of our honor and right-mindedness and the genuineness of our friendship.

I talked this over with Sir Edward Grey the other day, and after telling me that I need fear no trouble at this end of the line, he told me how severely he is now criticised by a "certain element" for "bowing too low to the Americans." We then each bowed low to the other. The yellow press and Chamberlain

ELIHU ROOT
Secretary of State from 1905 to 1909. His speech in the Senate in January, 1913, denouncing the Panama legislation as a violation of treaty rights, was the ablest legal exposition of the cause for which Ambassador Page was contending. It was a powerful influence in persuading President Wilson that the law of 1912 was dishonorable and should be repealed

SENATOR JAMES A. O'GORMAN
Of New York, distinguished during his Senatorial term as an implacable enemy of Great Britain, and the leader of the fight against the Panama repeal. Soon after the failure of his efforts Senator O'Gorman's term expired, and he retired to private life

would give a year's growth for a photograph of us in that posture!

I am infinitely obliged to you for your kind understanding and your toleration of my errors.

Yours always heartily,
WALTER H. PAGE.

To the President.

P. S. The serious part of the speech—made to convince the financial people, who are restive about Mexico, that we do not mean to forbid legitimate investments in Central America—has had a good effect here. I have received the thanks of many important men.

W. H. P.

The President to Mr. Page
The White House, Washington.
March 25, 1914.

MY DEAR PAGE:

Thank you for your little note of March thirteenth*. You may be sure that none of us who knew you or read the speech felt anything but admiration for it. It is very astonishing to me how some Democrats in the Senate themselves bring these artificial difficulties on the Administration, and it distresses me not a little. Mr. Bryan read your speech yesterday to the Cabinet, who greatly enjoyed it. It was at once sent to the Senate and I hope will there be given out for publication in full.

I want you to feel constantly how I value the intelligent and effective work you are doing in London. I do not know what I should do without you.

The fight is on now about the tolls, but I feel perfectly confident of winning in the matter, though there is not a little opposition in Congress—more in the House, it strangely turns

*The Ambassador's letter is dated March 18th.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE

The London residence of the King of England. Mr. and Mrs. Page were attending a ball here when news came that Congress had repealed the Panama tolls exemption. Everybody, including the King, congratulated the American Ambassador on the event, as marking a step forward in international relations. "The United States has set a high standard for all nations to live up to," one of the guests said. "I don't believe that there is any other nation that would have done it"

out, where a majority of the Democrats originally voted against the exemption, than in the Senate, where a majority of the Democrats voted for it. The vicissitudes of politics are certainly incalculable.

With the warmest regard, in necessary haste,

Cordially and faithfully yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

HON. WALTER H. PAGE,
American Embassy,
London, England.

Mr. Page to the President

American Embassy, London,
March 28, 1914.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I have read in the newspapers here that, after you had read my poor, unfortunate speech, you remarked to callers that you regarded it as proper. I cannot withhold this word of affectionate thanks.

I do not agree with you, heartily as I thank you. The speech itself, in the surroundings and the atmosphere, was harmless and was perfectly understood. But I ought not to have been betrayed into forgetting that the subject was about to come up for fierce discussion in Congress. . . .

Of course, I know that the whole infernal thing is cooked up to beat you, if possible. But that is the greater reason why you must win. I am willing to be sacrificed, if that will help—for forgetting the impending row or for any reason you will.

I suppose we've got to go through such a struggle to pull our Government and our people up to an understanding of our own place in the world—a place so high and big and so powerful that all the future belongs to us. From an economic point of view, we *are* the world; and from a political point of view also. How any man who sees this can have any feeling but pity for the Old World, passes understanding. Our rôle is to treat it most courteously and to make it respect our character—nothing more. Time will do the rest.

I congratulate you most heartily on the character of most of your opposition—the wild

Irish (they must be sat upon some time, why not now?) the Clark* crowd (characteristically making a stand on a position of dishonor), the Hearst press, and demagogues generally. I have confidence in the people.

This stand is necessary to set us right before the world, to enable us to build up an influential foreign policy, to make us respected and feared, and to make the Democratic Party the party of honor, and to give it the best reason to live and to win.

May I make a suggestion?

The curiously tenacious hold that Anglophobia has on a certain class of our people—might it not be worth your while to make, at some convenient time and in some natural way, a direct attack on it—in a letter to some one, which could be published or in some address, or possibly in a statement to a Senate committee, which could be given to the press? Say how big and strong and sure-of-the-future we are; so big that we envy nobody, and that those who have Anglophobia or any Europephobia are the only persons who "truckle" to any foreign folk or power; that in this tolls-fight all the Continental governments are a unit; that we respect them all, fear none, have no favors, except proper favors among friendly nations, to ask of anybody; and that the idea of a "trade" with England for holding off in Mexico is (if you will excuse my French) a common gutter lie.

This may or may not be wise; but you will forgive me for venturing to suggest it. It is *we* who are the proud and erect and patriotic Americans, fearing nobody; but the other fellows are fooling some of the people in making them think that *they* are.

Yours most gratefully,
WALTER H. PAGE.

To the President.

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JOSEPH H. CHOATE

American Ambassador to Great Britain from 1899 to 1905. It was in his ambassadorship that the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty was negotiated. In the controversy of 1913-14, Mr. Choate testified to the Senatorial Committee on Foreign Relations that this treaty "meant what it said and said what it meant." He regarded the Panama Act of 1912 as a stain on the nation's honor

The President to Mr. Page

The White House, Washington,
April 2, 1914.

MY DEAR PAGE:

Please do not distress yourself about that

*Mr. Champ Clark, Speaker of the House of Representatives, was one of the most blatant opponents of Panama repeal.

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VISCOUNT GREY OF FALLODON

Who, as Sir Edward Grey, was British Foreign Secretary in 1913-14, at the time of the Panama discussion. A statesman of enlightened views, he has sought to make a reality of Gladstone's aspiration that the day might come when "the idea of public right would be the governing idea" of international relations

SIR WILLIAM TYRRELL

Private secretary to Sir Edward Grey while the latter was Foreign Secretary of Great Britian. Sir William had an important meeting in the White House with President Wilson in November, 1913. At this time the President informed Sir William that he intended to work for the Panama repeal

speech. I think with you that it was a mistake to touch upon that matter while it was right hot, because any touch would be sure to burn the finger; but as for the speech itself, I would be willing to subscribe to every bit of it myself, and there can be no rational objection to it. We shall try to cool the excited persons on this side of the water and I think nothing further will come of it. In the meantime, pray realize how thoroughly and entirely you are enjoying my confidence and admiration.

Your letter about Cowdray and Murray was very illuminating and will be very serviceable to me. I have come to see that the real knowledge of the relations between countries in matters of public policy is to be gained at country houses and dinner tables, and not in diplomatic correspondence; in brief, that when we know the men and the currents of opinion, we know more than foreign ministers can tell us; and your letters give me in a thoroughly dignified way, just the sidelights that are necessary to illuminate the picture. I am heartily obliged to you.

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PHILANDER C. KNOX

Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Taft, and now Senator from Pennsylvania. He made a technical argument in favor of tolls exemption for American coastwise ships. "I never read a less sincere, less convincing, more purely artificial argument," was Ambassador Page's comment on this document

All unite with me in the warmest regards as always.

In haste,

Faithfully yours,
WOODROW WILSON.

HON. WALTER H. PAGE,
American Embassy,
London, England.

A note of a conversation with Sir Edward Grey touches the same point: "April 1, 1914. Sir Edward Grey recalled to me to-day that he had waited for the President to take up the Canal tolls controversy at his convenience. 'When he took it up at his own time to suit his own plans, he took it up in the most admirable way possible.' This whole story is too good to be lost. If the repeal of the tolls clause passes the Senate, I propose to make a speech in the House of Commons on 'The Proper Way for Great Governments to Deal with One Another,' and use this experience.

"Sir Edward also spoke of being somewhat 'depressed' by the fierce opposition to the President on the tolls question—the extent of Anglophobia in the United States.

"Here is a place for a campaign of education—Chautauqua and whatnot.

"The amount of Anglophobia *is* great. But I doubt if it be as great as it seems; for it is organized and is very vociferous. If you collected together or thoroughly organized all the people in the United States who have birthmarks on their faces, you'd be 'depressed' by the number of them."

Nothing could have more eloquently proved the truth of this last remark than the history of this Panama bill itself. After all the politicians in the House and Senate had filled pages of the *Congressional Record* with denunciations of Great Britain—most of it intended for the entertainment of Irish-Americans and German-Americans in the constituencies—the two Houses proceeded to the really serious business of voting. The House quickly passed the bill by 216 to 71, and the Senate by 50 to 35. Apparently the amount of Anglophobia was not portentous, when it came to putting this emotion to the test of counting heads. The bill went at once to the President, was signed—and the dishonor was atoned for.

Mr. and Mrs. Page were attending a ball in Buckingham Palace when the great news

reached London. The gathering represented all that was most distinguished in the official and diplomatic life of the British capital. The word was rapidly passed from guest to guest, and the American Ambassador and his wife soon found themselves the centre of a company which could hardly restrain itself in expressing its admiration for the United States. Never in the history of the country had American prestige stood so high as that night. The King and the Prime Minister were especially affected by this display of fair-dealing in Washington. The slight commercial advantage which Great Britain had obtained was not the thought which was uppermost in everybody's mind. The thing which really moved these assembled statesmen and diplomats was the fact that something new had appeared in the history of legislative chambers. A great nation had committed an outrageous wrong—that was something that had happened many times before in all countries. But the unprecedented thing was that this same nation had exposed its fault boldly to the world—had lifted up its hands and said, "We have sinned!", and then had publicly undone its error. Proud as Page had always been of his country, that moment was perhaps the most triumphant in his life. The action of Congress emphasized all that he had been saying of the ideals of the United States, and gave point to his arguments that justice and honor and right, and not temporary selfish interest, should control the foreign policy of any nation which really claimed to be enlightened. The general feeling of Great Britain was perhaps best expressed by the remark made to Mrs. Page, on this occasion, by Lady D——:

"The United States has set a high standard for all nations to live up to. I don't believe that there is any other nation that would have done it."

One significant feature of this great episode was the act of Congress in accepting the President's statement that the repeal of the Panama discrimination was a necessary preliminary to the success of the American foreign policy. Mr. Wilson's declaration, that, unless this legislation should be repealed, he would not "know how to deal with other matters of even greater delicacy and nearer consequence" had puzzled Congress and the country. The debates show the keenest curiosity as to what the President had in mind. The newspapers turned the matter over and over, without obtaining any clew to the mystery. Some thought that the President had planned to intervene in Mexico, and that the tolls legislation was the consideration demanded by Great Britain for a free hand in this matter. But this correspondence has already demolished that theory. Others thought that Japan was in some way involved—but that explanation also failed to satisfy.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY

Who, as Foreign Secretary, initiated the negotiations for the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty which were concluded by Lord Lansdowne in 1901. This was in accordance with the policy of cultivating friendly relations with the United States which marked Lord Salisbury's administration in its later years

Congress accepted the President's statement trustfully and blindly, and passed the asked-for legislation. Up to the present moment this passage in the Presidential message has been unexplained. Page's papers, however, disclose what seems to be a satisfactory solution to the mystery, and they suggest that this question of "greater delicacy" was not unrelated to the colossal tragedy which was at that moment overhanging Europe and the world.

The October instalment of the Page letters will describe a visit to Berlin by Colonel House in June, 1914, to arrange an Anglo-American-German pact to prevent the impending European struggle

All in a Life-Time

CHAPTERS FROM AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

II, What I Learned from Sulzer and Tammany

By HENRY MORGENTHAU
Former American Ambassador at Constantinople
In Collaboration with FRENCH STROTHER

WILSON'S nomination in 1912 was equivalent to an election. The split in the Republican Party made this a foregone conclusion. They forgot the interests of the country in a bitter internal struggle for the control of their party machinery. Roosevelt, furiously ambitious to regain his power, was pitted against the old organization bosses, who were determined to retain possession of the party. Led by Penrose they were lost in an implacable rage against the "rebel" who had once unhorsed them in the party councils. To them the election of a President became a secondary matter. The supremely important issue was the control of their party machinery. Penrose and his fellow bosses felt that their future—their very existence as political leaders—was at stake. If Roosevelt made good his position, that the Independents ought to continue to control the mechanism of the party (as they had controlled it during his tenure of office), what did it profit Penrose and his kind to build up their state machines, only to be balked of the supreme prize of national ascendancy? They would, like Othello, find their occupation gone. With the fury of men blinded by hatred and ambition, they preferred to wreck the party's chances for the next four years if, by so doing, they could destroy the Roosevelt rebellion against their domination.

I really felt that my own connection with the campaign was at an end. With the Presidency thus secure by reason of the Republicans' internecine quarrel, we Democrats were in the position of a Plaint: who had simply to go through the formality of entering judgment by default and take possession of the government on behalf of the people.

I had never participated in the active work of a campaign, and it did not appeal to me to do so. The offer made me by McCombs to become chairman of the Finance Committee I had promptly declined, as I thought that if I had anything to do with the finances of the National Democratic Committee, I should be treasurer. So I prepared to spend the summer in the Adirondacks. But the day that I was to take my family to the mountains, I motored down to Sea Girt to bid Governor Wilson good-by. The Governor had not yet come down to breakfast, and, as I had to take an early train to make my connection for the mountains, I was about to leave when word came down from him requesting me to wait a few minutes longer, as he was anxious to see me. Shortly afterward he came down the steps, as sprightly and active as a man of thirty, full of energy and determination. When I told him I had come to say good-by to him, he was surprised and concerned.

"This is a great disappointment to me," said Governor Wilson. "I had hoped that you would accept the position of chairman of the Finance Committee. This is a new position which I have asked the National Committee to create especially for you, and I had relied upon your willingness to accept it and render me a great service."

I told the Governor that I was disinclined to be merely a money collector, and unless I was appointed treasurer, or a member of the Campaign Committee, I should not care to participate in the campaign. The Governor answered:

"Of course I expect you to be a member of the Campaign Committee, and I still hope that I can persuade you to accept the chairmanship of the Finance Committee. My idea is that in this campaign the chairman of the Finance Committee will have to perform the

GOVERNOR SULZER'S BIRTHDAY DINNER AT THE CAFÉ BOULEVARD IN NEW YORK CITY

Given by his friends of all parties shortly after his election as Governor of New York. It was at this dinner that Mr. Morgenthau made his "wish-bone" speech, and Sulzer renewed his pledge of fealty to the public interest. (Inset.) The exterior of the Café Boulevard

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THE DINNER GIVEN BY THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CLUB TO GOVERNOR WILSON

At the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York on April 13, 1912. At the speakers' table Governor Wilson, as he then was, appears just to the left and under the portrait of Thomas Jefferson. At the same table to the right from him among others are: Governor Dix of New York, William Jennings Bryan, Senator O'Gorman, and the late Mayor Gaynor of New York City. Just before the diners sat down to this banquet Governor Wilson introduced Mr. Morgenthau to the late Walter H. Page —the first of a series of meetings which later resulted in Mr. Morgenthau's appointment as chairman of the Finance Committee of the Democratic Campaign Committee

THE DINNER GIVEN BY THE NEW YORK PRESS CLUB SEPTEMBER 9, 1912
In honor of Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey. To the left of Governor Wilson is Ralph Pulitzer, the editor of the New York *World*, and to the right in order are: C. R. Macauley, the cartoonist, Josephus Daniels, Henry Morgenthau, and "Joe" Wilson, to whom the Governor referred during the campaign as "my kid brother"

functions of the president of a bank, directing the larger financial policies and protecting me against mistakes of accepting moneys from improper sources. The treasurer should correspond to the cashier. He should be the custodian of the funds and have charge of the clerical and bookkeeping details.

"I shall insist that no contributions whatever be even indirectly accepted from any corporation. I want especial attention paid to the small contributors. And I want great care exercised over the way the money is spent. These duties will call for an unusual degree of ingenuity and resourcefulness. I would not ask you to undertake this task if I didn't think you had the imagination to accomplish it; and I would not expect you to accept it if I did not think it would be interesting to a man of your experience and ability."

The Governor seemed so genuinely concerned and showed so clearly that he dreaded facing another financial canvass after the frequent worries he had endured from this source in his pre-nomination fight, that I could no longer resist. I accepted, and added:

"I shall take a few days to settle my family in the Adirondacks; then I shall return and get to work. And now, Governor, having accepted the responsibility, I want to assure you that you may dismiss all thoughts of finance from your mind from now until election."

The Governor took my hand and held it while he said:

"You do not realize what a load you have lifted from my shoulders. I can now devote myself entirely to campaigning and to my duties as Governor."

I considered the discussion closed and was about to leave, when the Governor detained me.

"One thing more," he said. "There are three rich men in the Democratic Party whose political affiliations are so unworthy that I shall depend on you personally to see that none of their money is used for my campaign!"

I gave him my assurance, and he gave me their names. This was the only occasion on

which I discussed finances with Mr. Wilson from that day to this. I made good my promise that he should have no cause to think again of finances. And when he went into the White House he went without obligations, expressed or implied, to any man for any money that had been contributed during the campaign.

The principal reason I was able to make good my promise to the Governor was that I instituted, for the first time in American political history, a budget system both for collecting the funds and expending them. I called to my assistance Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick, a budget expert; and in consultation with the members of the Democratic National Committee, we worked out an allotment of the amounts we expected from the various states. We then worked out the kinds of legitimate expenditures which we would encounter, weighed their relative values, and alloted to each its corresponding proportion of the money we expected to raise. With minor exceptions, we adhered to this budget throughout the campaign; and we had the great pleasure of paying every bill in full before the first of the following January, and of having $25,000 cash balance to the credit of the National Committee in bank.

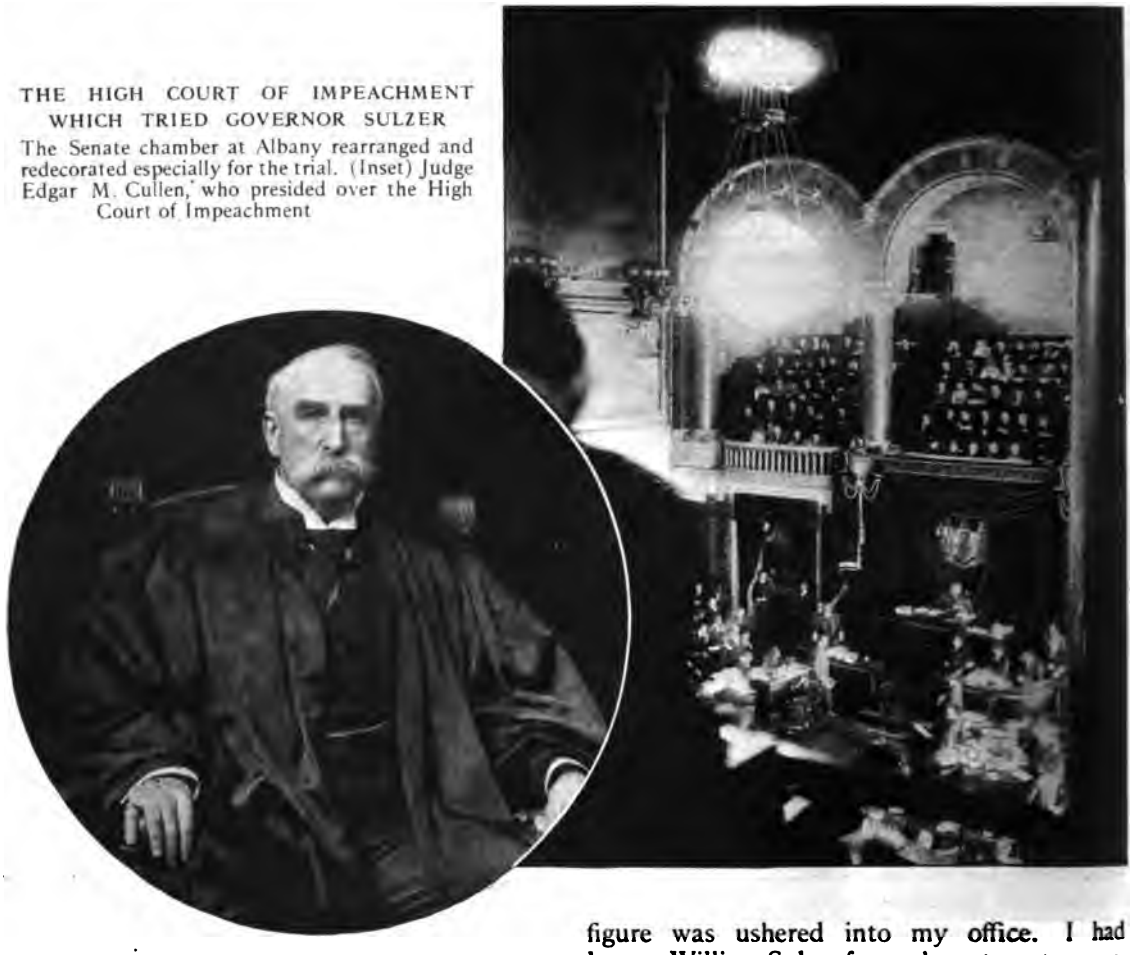
WILLIAM SULZER

"His greatest pride was his resemblance in face and figure to the immortal Henry Clay. . . . Sulzer had his high forehead, large mouth, and deep-set eyes. . . . He had grown a long forelock, and had trained it to fall over the forehead after the Clay style"

My financial work in the National Committee was novel to me only in the sense that it was managing the use of money in a new field. But my work with the Committee on its human and political sides was an entirely new experience, and a very fascinating one.

On the human side, I found the same play of personal ambitions—of jealousy and other evil passions—aroused by the prospect of advantage in politics, that I had seen aroused by the prospect of material reward in business. But, on the whole, the human picture in politics was as pleasant as it was interesting. Our headquarters was to be sure, the scene of the ill-humored rivalries of McCombs and McAdoo and their adherents; but, on the other hand, it was the scene also of the touching fraternal devotion of "Joe" Wilson, whom the Governor affectionately called "my kid brother," who gladly did all the tasks that came to hand out of sheer regard for the Governor. The delightful friendships that I formed with Rolla Wells, Josephus Daniels, Joseph E. Davies, Senator O'Gorman, Hugh C. Wallace, Homer S. Cummings, and others, were a source of enduring pleasure. We all soon fell into the genial habit of calling one another by our first names—this is, indeed, a custom of the National Committee. McCombs, who felt somewhat my greater age, began calling me "Uncle Henry," a name which has since stuck to me in the familiar conversation of most of my close political friends.

As it ultimately turned out, the headquarters was a proving ground for coming Cabinet members, senators, and diplomats. Josephus Daniels had for the moment abandoned his paper in North Carolina and come to New York to take charge of the national publicity. McAdoo dropped his business temporarily to become vice-chairman of the National Committee, and forward the Wilson fortunes. Congressman Redfield, discarded by the local Democratic organization in Brooklyn, found an



THE HIGH COURT OF IMPEACHMENT WHICH TRIED GOVERNOR SULZER

The Senate chamber at Albany rearranged and redecorated especially for the trial. (Inset) Judge Edgar M. Cullen, who presided over the High Court of Impeachment

opportunity for usefulness which led to his later appointment as Secretary of Commerce. At the Chicago branch of National Headquarters, Albert S. Burleson of Texas was a field-marshal of our growing army. Colonel House did not take an active part in the direction of the campaign; he was then only in process of attracting Wilson's confidence in him as a man above the wish for personal advancement.

But on its political side I found my work a real revelation. Perhaps, indeed, the biggest single lesson I ever got in politics I got through the contact I then experienced with the person and the political fortunes of William Sulzer, who was Democratic candidate for Governor of New York. This experience added so much to my knowledge of the invisible government which stands behind government, and was besides so picturesque and dramatic, that I think it worth while recounting it at some length.

One morning as I sat at my desk at the headquarters in New York, an odd, though familiar, figure was ushered into my office. I had known William Sulzer for perhaps twenty years. His greatest pride was his resemblance in face and figure to the immortal Henry Clay. This physical resemblance was not fanciful. Sulzer had his high forehead, large mouth, and deep-set eyes—he bore, indeed, altogether a quite remarkable likeness to the Sage of Ashland. He had, too, the same long, slender, and loose-jointed figure. This resemblance, with which Nature had endowed him, Sulzer had cultivated with assiduous care. He had grown a long forelock, and had trained it to fall over the forehead after the Clay style. And he had cultivated a gift for ready speech into as near an approach to the eloquence of Clay as his limitations of mind permitted.

But as I looked up at him that morning in 1912, I saw Sulzer garbed in a strange departure from the elegance with which Clay, who was something of a dandy, was used to adorn his person. Sulzer was made up—it is fair to use this theatrical expression because Sulzer was evidently seeking a theatrical effect—made up

THE GOVERNOR'S OFFICE AT ALBANY
The scene of frequent conferences at which Mr. Morgenthau tried to keep Sulzer up to his promises to defy Tammany and consider only the interests of the people. (Inset.) Sulzer in a fighting mood

to portray the part of "a statesman of the people." His coat was of one pattern, and his vest of another. His baggy trousers were of a third. The grey sombrero which he always affected was rather dingy; his linen just a trifle soiled. Familiar as I was with Sulzer's political poses, through our acquaintance, I mentally remarked the skill of this morning's costume in dressing the part of "a friend of the people."

Sulzer's career had been of a sort possible only in America. A native of New Jersey, the son of a Presbyterian minister, a graduate of Columbia University, a man of good family, good mind, and good education, he had taken up his residence on the lower East Side of New York City, had joined the Tammany organization, and had struck out boldly for a great political career in those untoward surroundings. Despite his religious heritage, he had been greatly impressed, as a young man, with the prophecy of a clairvoyant who had told him he should be Speaker of the New York State Assembly, Governor of New York, and President of the United States.

Sulzer had, indeed, made considerable progress on this path of political advancement. Elected to the State Assembly as a young man in his early twenties, he quickly rose to prominence, and at thirty he was chosen Speaker—the youngest man, I believe, ever to hold that office. From the State Assembly he was sent by Tammany to Congress, and now, in 1912, had represented his district in Washington for seventeen years. He constantly "played up" to the Jewish element. The ingratiating manner which he carefully cultivated appealed to a people, proud, sensitive, and accustomed to a lack of consideration from officers of government. In Congress he was indefatigable in the interest of his constituents; and, on the whole, his attitude on public questions was satisfactory. From the public viewpoint Sulzer was one of the most respectable of the Tammany adherents. From the Tammany viewpoint he was "safe."

The nomination of Governor Wilson and the

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THE EXECUTIVE MANSION AT ALBANY

Governor Sulzer outraged the feelings of the Knickerbocker aristocracy by changing its name to "The People's House" and encouraging the visits of all classes of people at all hours

assurances of Democratic Party success in the national campaign, gave Sulzer his great opportunity. From the Tammany leaders came covert intimations to us members of the Democratic National Committee, that we would be permitted to suggest the Democratic candidate for Governor of New York. Fortunately we realized the implications of this offer and declined it. It meant, in substance, that Tammany, by permitting us to name the candidate for Governor, thereby became fully affiliated with the national campaign and would be in a position to demand, after election, special consideration in the distribution of Federal patronage. We made a reply which did not offend Tammany but which, on the other hand, left us entirely free of the Tammany entanglement. We said that we were not interested in taking a hand in the state situation; that we endorsed the then wide-spread public demand for an "open convention" to nominate the Governor. We suggested that Tammany refrain from dictating the nomination, so that the Independents of New York would support the national as well as the state Democratic ticket.

The Tammany leaders professed to accept this decision. The state convention, when held, had the air of an open convention. They cast about for a candidate, and settled on Sulzer. One of his principal qualifications, of a negative character indeed, was that he was not a Catholic. Tammany feared that the up-state Democrats were not yet ready to accept a Catholic candidate—and, indeed, I am under the impression that Alfred E. Smith (who came six years later) was the first man of that persuasion to be elected Governor. Sulzer's positive qualifications were numerous. Without inconveniencing Tammany, he had been able to make something of a reputation as a political progressive. He had professed a great attachment for social reforms, the kind which Roosevelt in Washington and Wilson in New Jersey had made popular. He had built up a reputation as a friend of the common man, and in New York he was still "strong with the East Side." Tammany manipulated the "open convention" at Syracuse, and Sulzer was nominated for Governor.

I had followed Sulzer's career with a good deal of interest. Though I did not approve of his capitalizing politically his friendship for a racial element, I felt, nevertheless, that he had been a useful public servant; and he had been successful with me, as he had been with many

other political Independents, in making me believe that he was sincerely interested in the cause of civic reform. Consequently, I greeted him cordially.

Sulzer began the conversation by thanking me for "what I had done in helping him and bringing about his nomination." This was a polite generality as, of course, I had had no hand in that enterprise, except that I had been a party to the "hands-off" policy of the National Committee, and also, that I had shared in the request of the Committee to McAdoo not to accept this nomination which some of his friends were trying, with some hope of success, to secure for him. We had felt that it was his duty to stay in the National campaign, as McCombs was still incapacitated by illness.

Sulzer then went on to express the wish that I would be of use to him after he was elected. He spoke in glowing terms of the reputation Governor Wilson had made by his reforms in New Jersey, and expressed an ambition to make a similar record as Governor of New York. He confided to me the clairvoyant's prophecy of his future and declared that he believed that the path to the Presidency lay in championing "the cause of the people."

A CHECK FOR SULZER

HE WANTED my coöperation, after he should be elected Governor, in formulating plans to make his administration a success. As everyone knows who is experienced either in business or politics, there are "subtleties of approach" that suggest a man's real meaning without his even remotely mentioning the true subject in conversation. Sulzer's remarks were of this nature. I saw plainly that he was directing my thoughts to a point where it would be possible for him without embarrassment to solicit a subscription to his campaign fund. I wanted to save the future Governor of New York from soliciting a subscription, and consequently, I forestalled his intention by voluntarily handing him my check for $1,000. His response to this action was in keeping with the amenities of the situation. He said: "I did not expect that from you. I don't want it, because you are doing so much for the National Committee." The check disappeared into a pocket in the dingy coat, and I did not see it again until almost one year later, when it was handed to me for identification when I appeared as a witness before the High Court of Impeachment at Albany, in the presence of the black-gowned judges of the Court of Appeals and the members of the State Senate, who soon thereafter found Governor Sulzer unworthy of his office and expelled him from it. I shall describe that dramatic scene a little later in this article.

In the meantime, the march of political events led us on to Election Day and victory. Woodrow Wilson was triumphantly elected President, with a Democratic Congress behind him. The political ambitions of some of his managers were gratified. McAdoo became Secretary of the Treasury; Daniels, Secretary of the Navy; Redfield, Secretary of Commerce; and Burleson Postmaster-General. What my friends a few months earlier had called a hopeless cause was now a dazzling success.

THE OFFER OF AN EMBASSY

IN APRIL, 1913, Senator O'Gorman telephoned me from Washington that he had been requested by the President to offer me the Ambassadorship to Turkey. I apparently astonished him when I told him please to thank the President for me, but that I would not accept. O'Gorman, whom I had known for many years, urged me to come to Washington to discuss the matter with him. He said that I had no right to refuse such a tender over the telephone. I complied with his request, and we discussed the matter one evening until well past midnight. O'Gorman used all his persuasive powers, and told me that it seemed strange that I, an entire newcomer in politics, without ever having rendered any other political service, should have the temerity to decline to be one of the President's ten personal representatives, in the capacity of Ambassador at one of the important Courts of Europe. He told me that the President was very much disappointed at my decision; and urged me to see him personally, and explain to him my reasons for declining. He said he knew the President was very anxious to avail himself of my services, and that he thought it ill advised for me to refuse to obey what amounted to a command from the head of the Government. I called on the President, and he said:

"I want you to take the Embassy at Constantinople. I am convinced that the two posts that demand the greatest intellectual equipment in our representatives are Turkey and China. Therefore, I am particularly concerned to have, in these two countries, men upon whom I can absolutely rely for sound judgment

and knowledge of human nature. This is the reason I am asking you to take the post at Constantinople."

"If that is the situation," I replied, "I should much prefer China, although it is only a ministership. And for this reason: the Jews of this country have become very sensitive (and I think properly so) over the impression which has been created by successive Jewish appointments to Turkey, that that is the only diplomatic post to which a Jew can aspire. All the Jews that I have consulted about your offer have advised and urged me to decline it. Oscar Straus has been criticized by some of his co-religionists for accepting a second and even a third appointment to Constantinople. I don't mind criticism, but I share the feeling of the other Jews, that it is unwise to confirm an impression that this is the only field for them in the diplomatic service."

Mr. Wilson's reply was aggressive in manner and almost angry in tone.

"I should have hoped," he said, "that you had a higher opinion of my open-mindedness and freedom from prejudice than this. I certainly draw no such distinctions, and I am sorry that you should have thought so. I think you will agree with me when I give you my further reasons for this choice. In the first place, Constantinople is the point at which the interest of the American Jews in the welfare of the Jews of Palestine is focussed, and it is almost indispensable that I have a Jew at that post. On the other hand, our interests in China are expressed largely in the form of missionary activities, and it seems quite necessary that our minister there should be a Christian, and preferably a man of the evangelical type; and I am sincerely anxious to have you accept Turkey."

Nevertheless, I remained firm in my refusal to accept the offer, and told the President I would have to find some non-political path in which to serve the people.

ACCEPTING THE POST OF TURKEY

As I left the President, he gave a me look which is hardly describable. He was sadly disappointed that he had not been able to dominate my decision. He showed a deep affection for me, and it was evident how much he regretted that his arguments had failed to please me. On the other hand, I felt sorry, and probably showed it in my face, that I appeared so ungrateful at not promptly complying with his request, and abiding by his judgment that Turkey was the best place in which I could serve the country.

Shortly thereafter, my wife, my daughter Ruth, and myself embarked for Europe, where we intended to spend the summer. While at Aix-les-Bains, I met Ambassador Myron T. Herrick, and I mentioned to him that I had refused the Ambassadorship to Turkey. He told me that I had made a grievous mistake, and probably from ignorance; that I did not comprehend what a splendid position that of Ambassador was; that not only myself, but my children and my children's children would be benefited by my having held such a position. He ended by urging me that if I still could obtain the post, I should take steps to secure it.

My friend, Dr. Stephen S. Wise (of the Free Synagogue of New York, of which I was president), was then in Paris. I wrote him about the matter, and asked him to come to Aix-les-Bains for a consultation. He replied that he had but three days left in Europe, but that if I would start to Dijon the following morning on a given train, he would also start from Paris, and we should both reach Dijon at noon. There he could meet me at the station, and we could have four hours together to discuss the matter before our return to our respective bases.

We met at Dijon as arranged, and to my astonishment I found Wise tremendously anxious to have me accept the position. He told me that he had just visited Palestine, and that amongst the other services that I could render in Turkey, would be a great service to the Jews in Palestine. He reminded me of the happy experience, in the same office, of Solomon Hirsch, of Portland, Ore., who had been president of his congregation in that city. I knew the facts of that experience as Mr. Hirsch was the uncle of Judge Samson Lachman, who had been my partner in the practice of the law for twenty years. Dr. Wise urged me with all the force of his eloquence to rescind my decision.

I told Dr. Wise that I would be back in America in September, and if the position had not yet been filled at that time, I would reconsider it. On the strength of this statement, Dr. Wise took it upon himself to telegraph the President that I would accept. Within three days I received a cable from the President, again tendering me the position, and I accepted it.

Meanwhile, on January 1, 1913, Sulzer had been inaugurated as Governor of New York.

A few weeks before this event, some of the leading social workers of New York City came to me and asked me to secure them an opportunity to have a conference with the President-elect. They wished to put before him the kind of legislation that would be required to carry out the social programme which they had been largely responsible for having included in the Democratic and Progressive platforms. I told them I did not see how the President could do much in this direction. Most of their plans called for state legislation, and I pointed out that it would be better and more effective for them to meet Governor Sulzer. I offered to give a dinner at my house in New York, at which Governor Sulzer would be the guest of honor, and I told them they might give me a list of the people whom they wished to have meet him. The list they gave me included the best-known social workers, such people as Homer Folks, Owen R. Lovejoy, Mary E. Dreier, Lillian D. Wald, John A. Kingsbury, and Edward T. Devine.

Sulzer accepted my invitation readily enough. One reason for his acceptance became apparent when I heard that the state printer at the moment was pressing him for the manuscript of his inaugural address, which he had not yet written, though it was already late in December. When the address was delivered some days later, it embodied in his own language many of the thoughts and proposals that were put forward that evening by the social workers.

After the dinner the party adjourned to the library, and there I seated Sulzer in a big carved oak chair, facing the others, who sat in a semicircle before him. Each of the guests in turn made a presentation to the Governor of the situation and needs in the field of social reform in which he or she was an expert. These were really splendid expositions of the improvements required in the health, child-labor, tenement-house, and other laws. When Sulzer made his reply to their addresses, I was astonished at the grasp he displayed of the principles involved in these reforms, and at the eagerness with which he embraced their advocacy. It really seemed as if he were going to go heart and soul into making a record of progressive legislation for his administration.

AN AUSPICIOUS BEGINNING

I WAS not less delighted when, after a conference a few days later with Messrs. Folks, Kingsbury, and Devine, concerning the most important of these reforms—the drastic revision of the health laws—the four of us went up as a delegation to see Sulzer, and secured his hearty support. The situation was, that the health laws of New York State were being administered by five or six hundred health boards in the various villages, and an investigation had shown that a very substantial percentage of the health commissioners in these places were undertakers. We proposed a centralized state health board, headed by a state health commissioner. Sulzer agreed to back the plan. He went farther and said to me: "What's more, you may name the Health Commissioner." We thereupon returned to New York, and my friends drew up a draft of new laws to govern the work of re-drafting the state in matters of public health. This codification was enacted by the legislature at Sulzer's insistence, and has since been adopted by more than thirty states. We agreed that Dr. Hermann M. Biggs was the ideal man for Commissioner, and I asked Sulzer to appoint him. He then hedged on his promise and selected another man, though Dr. Biggs was later appointed and made a national reputation in the office. Sulzer did, however, make good a part of his promise. He felt it necessary, for political reasons, to appoint two or three men of his own choice to the State Board of Health, but he allowed us to name the majority membership.

Sulzer's administration, thus, started auspiciously. He saw, what every other shrewd observer also saw: the dazzling opportunity which lay before any politician who stood out boldly for the people as against the bosses, and who could embody this independent position in practical measures of reform. The lesson of Roosevelt's career had just been confirmed by Wilson's. But the experiences I am now narrating ultimately convinced me that Sulzer did not have the courage which had carried these two men to eminence. He "played politics," and got no further than an unconvincing imitation of their methods. He continued to assure us Independents, on the one hand, that he was whole-heartedly converted, and that he had broken entirely with his past. But later we found out that he was at the same time assuring his friends in Tammany that "I am the same old Bill." He tried to imitate Roosevelt's success in another direction, in building up a personal "machine" in New York State by coquetting with the up-state Independent Democrats, to whom he allotted a

considerable share of the patronage which he controlled.

Ultimately, of course, both sides found him out for what he was. When they did, the Independents simply dropped him. Tammany, however, exacted a swift and terrible vengeance. If discipline were to be maintained within the wigwam, not even the appearance of open revolt could be tolerated, and Tammany proceeded to make a spectacular example of Sulzer.

A SHOCK FOR THE KNICKERBOCKERS

SULZER'S first appearance at Albany as Governor was not, however, a shock to Tammany alone. Albany is like Washington on a small scale. The Governor's mansion was, traditionally, not only the office of the chief executive of the state, it had been likewise the social centre around which revolved a sort of court of élite society. Heretofore every governor of New York had been a very presentable social figure, and they had all maintained at the executive mansion an atmosphere of social distinction. Sulzer rudely overturned this tradition. He wished in every possible way to dramatize his rôle of "friend of the people." Consequently, he always referred to the executive mansion as the "People's House," and ostentatiously invited all who would to come and call upon him in it. The staid Knickerbocker society of Albany was aghast at the sight of throngs of what they termed "the rabble," invading the hitherto exclusive chambers of the executive mansion. Great was their anger toward Governor Sulzer. They, too, cherished hopes for vengeance.

In the meantime, Sulzer was having other difficulties in maintaining his rôle of independence. One day he telephoned me to come up at once to his rooms at the Waldorf-Astoria. He had a matter of great importance to discuss, he said, and we could talk it over at luncheon. When I arrived, I found him in great excitement.

"The powers," he exclaimed, meaning Tammany, "are trying to force me to appoint a certain man chairman of the Public Service Commission, and I am refusing to do it because I don't think it a proper appointment. But they are getting very angry about it, and I don't know what to do."

I told him there was only one thing he could do and that was to continue to refuse to appoint him.

"But," complained Sulzer, "it means my political death if I don't name him."

"Well," I said, "then you are going to political death anyway. Because as surely as you yield to them, the public at large will become even bitterer enemies than Tammany. On the other hand, if you at last prove to the public that you have the nerve to stand out against the organization, they will come to the rescue and stand firmly behind you."

AN ENCOUNTER WITH TAMMANY

AS WE talked, a Tammany leader was announced. Sulzer had him ushered into his bedroom, while we continued our talk in the parlor. Evidently the Tammany leader was waiting for his final decision, for at length Sulzer said:

"Very well, I will go in there."

He went into the bedroom and was gone for more than an hour. I had to wait so long that I grew impatient and, ringing for a waiter, ordered my luncheon. As I ate, I could hear the voices through the closed door, and though I could not distinguish the conversation, it was violent, for occasionally I could hear an explosion of vocal fireworks in the bedroom. When at length Sulzer came out, his manner was one of excited bravado. Throwing back the tails of his Prince Albert coat and assuming the Henry Clay pose, he exclaimed, "Well, I have done it! I have actually defied them!"

And he added:

"I did it on your account and by your advice. And now you have got to do me a favor."

When I asked what this meant, he replied: "It may come to this! Murphy may press me so hard to name somebody else whom I ought not to nominate that I may have to appoint you yourself as chairman of the Commission. Even Murphy would not dare to prevent the confirmation of the appointment of the chairman of the Finance Committee of the Democratic National Committee. Will you accept the position if that situation arises?"

This was a critical test of my willingness to serve the cause of good government, as I had every reason to suspect that President Wilson would soon offer me a position of a much greater distinction in the national Government. But I was so wrapped up in the hope of achieving political regeneration in New York, as we had just achieved it in the nation, that I did not hesitate:

"If I can keep you from having to obey

orders from Murphy in making your appointments, I will even do that," I replied.

Sulzer thanked me warmly and then added: "Now you must do me one other favor."

"What is that?" I inquired.

"You have got to make a speech at my birthday dinner down at the Café Boulevard to-morrow night. I want you to show that you are back of me."

"Governor," I replied, "I will make that speech; but let me tell you now, bluntly, what I am going to say. I shall say there what I have told you to-day, that I shall continue to back you only so long as you adhere to your promises to us to be independent."

"I don't care what you say," said Sulzer, "if only you will come down and prove that you are behind me."

THE DINNER AT THE CAFÉ BOULEVARD

THIS dinner was quite a dramatic occasion. The old Café Boulevard was the Delmonico's of the East Side, and it had been the scene of many a Tammany festivity. Sulzer here was among his own people, and this gave him the feeling of confidence which came from having his friends around him. The dinner was in celebration of his fiftieth birthday. People well known in many walks of life crowded the tables. Sulzer was personally still popular, and the feeling of the occasion was one of cordial good wishes. Not only were his life-long friends of the East Side among those present, but such other Democratic friends as Senator Stone of Missouri, Frank I. Cobb of the New York *World*, John D. Crimmins, and myself; and even representative Republicans, such as District Attorney (later Governor) Whitman, Judge Otto Rosalsky, Louis Marshall, and Samuel S. Koenig, were among the diners.

I resolved to take no chances of spoiling my speech, which I had prepared rapidly but with great care the day before. So when I arose, I read it. This address made a local sensation at the moment. It was called by the papers "the wish-bone speech." As it was very brief and as it had some effect on the political situation at that time, I think it worth quoting.

"Governor," I said, "you have wished, and have been training all your life to be a leader of the people; you have wished it so long that now it has become true, and we want to see your wish-bone converted into backbone, for you will need much of it.

"You are now at the head of a mighty host that is marching onward in the fight for good government. Picture to yourself the thousands behind you in a solid phalanx, crowding you on so that you cannot turn back. If you fail them as a leader the march will still proceed, and someone else will be chosen.

"The combat is to be fought to a finish. The people have discovered how near they were to losing their Democracy, how both great parties were in danger of falling into the control of designing self-seekers who were determined to secure control of the Government for their own selfish ends. At Baltimore it was determined that they could not control the national Government. It was you who, as presiding officer of the Convention, gave Mr. Bryan the opportunity to throw the victory to Mr. Wilson.

"At Syracuse, you were nominated in an open convention to lead the Democrats of this state. We look to you to be the Governor of the Empire State, and not to be the agent of undisclosed principals who hide themselves from the public view. They can no longer govern this country, state or city; and no office-holder needs to be responsible to, or afraid of them.

"There is but one master who will last forever and to whom all ought to bow, and that is enlightened public opinion. If you enlist under its banner, you can proceed unmolested by petty tyranny, and the harder you fight, the greater will be the army that will enlist in your cause and under your leadership. You are to be envied the opportunity you have to advance the cause of good government. It is not an easy task; your opponents are numerous and trained in the art of spiking their opponents' guns; but you must stand up, plant yourself, saying: 'Come one, come all. This rock shall fly from its firm base as soon as I.'"

SULZER'S VOW OF LOYALTY

THIS address, with its unexpected note of blunt warning, set the key of the evening. The other speakers discarded their prepared addresses and spoke in a similar vein. Sulzer realized that he had to meet this challenge, and in his reply he pledged himself anew to the cause of the people.

"Long ago," he said, "I made a vow to the people that in the performance of my duty no influence would control me but the dictates of my conscience and my determination to do the right—as I see the right—day in and day out, regardless of political future or personal

consequences. Have no fear—I will stick at that."

These were brave words. But Sulzer proved unequal to their promise. All he did was to go far enough in the surface appearance of independence to rouse the Tiger of Tammany to a fury of vengeance.

Tammany soon found an occasion to carry out this intention, and they removed Sulzer from his office. This act of private vengeance cost Tammany four years of control of the city government of New York, for Hennessy's disclosures made the public eager to administer a rebuke to Tammany, and this rebuke took the form of electing Mitchel as Mayor.

The Tiger's opportunity to impeach Sulzer came about in this way: When Sulzer filed his sworn statement of campaign expenses, Tammany scented some gross discrepancies and did some shrewd detective work. The result was that they discovered that he had not included in his list of contributions the $2,500 he had received from Jacob H. Schiff, nor the checks of several others, including my own, which amounted in all to many thousands of dollars. By careful investigation they had established the fact that he had not applied these moneys to his campaign expenses, but had deposited them to his personal account and used the money as margin with a Wall Street broker for stock-market speculation. Thereupon, Tammany leaders in the State Legislature arose in the Assembly Chamber and impeached William Sulzer of high crimes and misdemeanors. They charged him, among other things, with filing a false statement of campaign expenses, with perjury, and with the suppression of testimony; and demanded his dismissal from office. The Assembly sustained a motion for his impeachment. When I returned from Europe in September, 1913, I found that his trial was in progress, and I was summoned as a witness to testify before the High Court of Impeachment.

A BURLESQUE HASTINGS TRIAL

IT WOULD take the pens of a Macaulay and a Swift to do justice to this modern burlesque of the trial of Warren Hastings. I use the term "burlesque" in no sense of disrespect toward the Court and its setting. The dignity of the proceedings was almost awe-inspiring. But the defendant lent no such exalted interest to the event as did the romantic figure of Warren Hastings. The offenses of Hastings had, at least, the dramatic merits of their magnitude. Burke's indictment of him was a recital of crimes worthy of the treatment of a Greek tragic poet. Hastings's accusers were distressed queens, pillaged treasurers, and suffering peoples. Burke's plea for a verdict was an appeal to the conscience of mankind.

By this comparison the Sulzer impeachment was a travesty, the defendant a petty misdemeanant, and the purpose of the trial a spiteful vengeance on a rebellious henchman. The setting of the Court, however, gave the event a fictitious dignity. The Senate Chamber at Albany had been altered for the occasion by the state architect. A lofty seat had been provided for the presiding judge of the High Court of Impeachment, Judge Edgar M. Cullen, who, as chief judge of the Court of Appeals, presided *ex-officio*. Below him was a long seat for the associate judges. Ascending tiers of seats were provided for the forty-four members of the State Senate who, with the judges of the Court of Appeals, constituted the High Court of Impeachment. Behind Judge Cullen's chair the entire wall of the room was hung with a dark red velvet curtain in the centre of which was emblazoned the coat of arms of New York in gold embroidery, flanked on either side by national emblems. At one side of the Court room, places were provided for the "Fourth Estate," the gentlemen of the press, to whom Burke had made so eloquent an appeal on the greater historical occasion. The public balcony, which at the Hastings trial had been crowded with the Sarah Siddonses and the *haut ton* of London, was, here at Albany, crowded with the vengeful Knickerbocker aristocracy, who had come to gloat in triumph over the final discomfiture of the demagogic desecrator of the executive mansion. The Edmund Burke of the Sulzer impeachment was Edgar Brackett, later of the New York Senate. Alton B. Parker was chief of counsel of the managers for the Assembly which had presented the indictment, but Brackett was the man who made the oratorical impeachment. Sulzer stood upon the prerogative of early precedents and refused to make a personal appearance before the Court. In compliance with a judicial ruling he abstained from functioning as Governor while the trial was in progress and, instead of facing his accusers, spent his time in a frantic but futile effort to make political combinations that would save him.

Witness after witness testified to Sulzer's solicitation of contributions for which he

had made no accounting. My testimony was only confirmatory of a mass of evidence elicited from men of eminence like Jacob H. Schiff and many others. I appeared before the Court on September 24, 1913. Replying to questions from the prosecutor, I repeated the conversation I had had with Sulzer when I gave him my check for $1,000. I had no animus against Sulzer. I had been disillusioned, but I had no wish to do him any injury. Consequently, I limited my testimony on this occasion to answering the questions of the attorneys as they were put to me. I did not volunteer additional information.

I had, however, additional information of a sensational character. How the managers of the prosecution discovered that I had it I have never been able to learn, but discover it they did. The result was that two days later, I was recalled to the witness stand and was asked for this information. Under the direct questioning of the counsel I had no alternative but to answer. This new testimony was as follows:

Q. Mr. Morgenthau, have you been abroad during the summer?

A. Yes, I have been in Europe, and returned on September 2nd.

Q. Since your return have you had any personal interview with this respondent, Governor Sulzer?

A. I have not.

Q. Have you had any communication with him?

A. Yes, I have received a letter, and possibly a telegram.

Q. Have you had any communication with him by telephone?

A. I had a long-distance telephone message which was either on September 2nd, or September 3rd.

Q. Immediately after your arrival in this country?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, did Governor Sulzer call you on the telephone, or did you call him?

A. Governor Sulzer called me on the telephone.

Q. Where were you at the time?

A. I was at my daughter's house in Port Chester.

Q. Did you have a telephone conversation with him at that time?

A. I did.

Q. Tell us what it was.

A. He passed the usual complimentary talk about my return, and he asked me whether I would come to see him at once in Albany. I told him I would not, that I had to go to Washington, probably to spend a week there; and that I did not think, now that I had accepted a national position, I would care to come up to see him under the existing circumstances. So he said to me: "If you are going to testify, I hope you will be easy with me," and I answered him that I would testify to the facts.

Q. Have you related all the conversation with him?

A. I think so—all of any importance.

Q. Well, let me see if I cannot refresh your recollection. Was not there something said by him to you upon the subject of how your check to him should be treated in your testimony?

A. I don't think he mentioned the check.

Q. Have you stated all of your conversation?

A. I think he said something about that I should treat that affair between us as personal.

Q. He said that you should treat that affair as personal. Then what did you say?

A. That I could not.

Q. That you could not, and that followed the part of your conversation in which he asked you to be easy in your testimony?

A. Of course. You have taken me by surprise. I do not remember the exact words, but that was the substance of it. Which was mentioned first or last I do not remember.

The verdict of the court was "Guilty." Sulzer was shorn of his high office. His proud hopes, fostered by the soothsayer's prophecy, were sadly broken. Knickerbocker society had its revenge; the "People's House" became again the executive mansion. And Tammany had its vengeance; it had crushed its rebel henchman and given all other potential malcontents a spectacular object lesson.

Next month Mr. Morgenthau will describe some of his hitherto unpublished experiences as American Ambassador at Constantinople

WHERE OUR TAXES GO, AND WHY

How Every War Has Cost More Than All Government Expenses Prior to Its Outbreak. The Responsibility of the People

By DAVID F. HOUSTON

Secretary of Agriculture 1913-20, Secretary of the Treasury 1920-21

The following article is entirely non-partisan. The principles of sound government finance are the same under both parties, as is shown by the significant and encouraging fact that Secretary Mellon has adopted exactly the same policies in regard to the soldiers' bonus and the refunding of the foreign debt, and substantially the same taxation programme, as did Mr. Houston, and has further testified to the non-partisanship of the administration of the Treasury by continuing in office most of the important members of the staff from the previous Administration.—THE EDITORS.

THE pre-war level of expenditures will never again be reached by the United States Treasury. The Government was on a billion dollar basis in 1916. The Government spent about nineteen billions in 1919. The question now is whether "normalcy" will mean four billion dollars a year or a little more than two billion dollars.

By 1913 the American people had hardly recovered from the shock at the realization that the nation was a billion dollar concern. With a billion seeming large to them, they could not have sensed what was involved in the President's war-message statement that the nation would pledge all its resources. Our past was paltry in comparison with what we were soon to be called upon to do. Things moved so rapidly and massively, that the public did not have time to comprehend them. It was startling even to those who were conscious and observant. The War Congress did two amazing things. It passed the Draft Act almost without debate and authorized an expenditure of more than twenty-one billion dollars. The items themselves were astounding in their magnitude: for ships, an authorization of a billion nine hundred million, nearly double our former Federal budget; for aviation, 640 million; for torpedo-boat destroyers, 350 million; for army subsistence and regular quartermaster's supplies, 860 million; for clothing and camp and garrison equipment, 581 million; for transportation, 597 million; for medicine, 100 million; for mobile artillery, 158 million; for ordnance stores and supplies, 717 million; for heavy guns, 850 million; and for ammunition for the same, one billion eight hundred and seven million. No wonder Hindenburg remarked that the Americans knew how to make war. He knew, as the Americans realized, that the struggle was one of resources. No wonder that Mr. Balfour, when he arrived here a few weeks after our entry into the war, was incredulous. I was sitting near him one evening at dinner. Suddenly he turned to me and said, "Am I dreaming?" I replied, "What is troubling you?" He answered, "Am I dreaming, or is it true that you have already passed a draft act and registered more than nine million men, and that Congress has authorized the expenditure of more than

twenty-one billions of dollars." I replied that unless I, too, were dreaming, it was correct. He immediately answered, "Of course, I must accept what you say, but I do not believe it."

The twenty-one-billion-dollar authorization was only a beginning. Congress continued to make lavish appropriations. It evidenced its determination to make good the President's pledge. Accordingly, in 1917, there were expended approximately $2,100,000,000; in 1918, $13,750,000,000; in 1919, nearly $19,000,000,000; and in 1920, a little more than $6,000,000,000—or the huge sum of forty-one billion dollars in four years. This was fourteen billion more than the nation had expended in all the 127 preceding years of its existence.

AS COMPARED WITH OTHER WARS

THIS is an amazing performance; but doubtless, it is scarcely more remarkable or more astounding to us, than that in the periods of the wars of 1812 and 1861 must have appeared to thoughtful people of those times. I do not know whether any one in 1816 made the calculation or not, but if he did he pointed out that while the nation, in the twenty-two years of its existence before the outbreak of the war, had spent only $174,000,000, it disbursed in the five years from 1812 to 1816, $151,000,000. And the Civil War statistician might have noted that, while in the seventy-two years preceding the outbreak of the war, the nation had spent approximately $1,000,750,000, it spent in the five years from 1862 to 1866 about $4,200,000,000, or more than twice as much as it had disbursed in its entire pre-war existence. It is probable that the ratio of expenditure in the latter period was approximately the same as that during the last war. The chief difference between the financial experience in this war and that of its predecessors is that in the War of 1812 and in the Civil War almost the first financial move was the suspension of specie payment and a plunge into the financial abyss, while the war, from which we have just emerged, was financed upon a sound basis. For the first time in its history, the nation during the late war pursued an intelligent and heroic fiscal policy, and for the first time, indeed, it had banking and financial machinery and practices which were adequate to meet the strain.

We emerged from the recent struggle with a debt which reached its peak, $26,600,000,000, on August 31, 1919, and which on June 30, 1921, stood at $23,977,000,000, with expenditures for 1921 $5,116,000,000; for 1922 estimated at more than four billion and with the prospect of a level for several years of not far from four billion. What the appropriations for 1922 will be, it is impossible now to indicate. The outlook for even larger expenditures is threatening. If the Soldiers' Bonus Bill should become law, which according to the Treasury will actually involve an expenditure of $2,300,000,000, and if many proposed raids on the Treasury succeed, we shall have budgets in the future greatly in excess of the estimates for 1922. This, of course, will mean additional taxes or new credit issues, with probable resulting inflation, banking embarrassments, and rising cost of living, to the detriment not only of the nation but also of the soldiers themselves.

WHO IS TO BLAME?

UNDOUBTEDLY, there will be further successful assaults on the Treasury unless the whole people wake up, take notice, and resist them. There is one thing which seems to be difficult to get into the heads of people. It is this. The American people are responsible for the expanding activities of the Federal Government and for mounting expenditures. They and they alone, broadly speaking, are responsible. They are responsible both affirmatively and negatively, by aggression and by neglect. There is a general blatant view to the contrary. It is the accepted opinion that agencies in Washington, Congressmen or Executive Departments or both, are to blame. This is sheer nonsense. Congress reflects what appears to be the wishes of the people, and in no small measure is resistent to pressure brought to bear upon it. Heads of departments, as a rule, are constantly in the position of opposing requests for assistance in securing funds, coming from groups of interested outsiders. I know that in two departments, I spent much more time in opposing demands for money than I spent in attempting to secure money for the services. There are not enough people in Washington to commit the American people to the enormous and rapid increase in governmental activities, and to consequent large expenditures. The actual outcome is partly the result of the growth of the nation in population and industry, with increasing economic complexities. We gain a nation of about twenty-five million people every twenty years; but the expansion in spending is greater than it should otherwise be,

because of the prodigious energy of interested groups. Very many of the most vigorous critics of government extravagance are themselves members of groups and associations, or are interested in movements to extend the functions of the Federal Government and to increase its cost. This man or group demands a new Department of Public Health or Welfare; that one, a Department of Education; another, a Department of Aviation; another, of Public Works. This group fights fiercely for the soldiers' bonus; that one, for additional aid for highways; that one, for an appropriation for maternity work; and another, for special aid to this or that class in society, particularly for the farmers. One association advocates a special appropriation for engineering research in the agricultural colleges, similar to those granted for agriculture; another one agitates for agricultural-settlement appropriations or for larger military preparedness. Very few emergency situations of consequence arise in any part of the Union which do not result in offensives against the Treasury. Plant and animal disease outbreaks, floods, droughts, earthquakes, and sudden drastic economic changes, all lead to hurry-up calls for action from the Federal Government, and the appearance in Washington of groups of lobbyists. Let a bug, which is supposed to be destructive, appear in some state, and in a short time, state commissioners of agriculture, accompanied by interested citizens and senators and representatives are likely to put in their appearance, demanding Federal funds; and not infrequently they get them, even though the head of the department concerned makes an adverse report. Some time ago the corn borer made its début in Massachusetts. The Department of Agriculture was promptly advised. Its experts began a survey; they reported that the pest was likely to spread, but as I recall it, that it was doubtful whether it would be particularly destructive, and that, in any event, it could not be exterminated without such wholesale destruction of vegetation of all sorts as to make the undertaking impractical. They suggested that it might be worth while to secure funds with which to do some experimental work. In the meantime, the state commissioners got active. A general meeting was called, and the commissioners were about to go on record demanding a Federal appropriation of many millions of dollars, when the Federal experts interposed with the result that the demands were greatly modified. The pressure for relief from various classes of farmers who are in trouble on account of reduced farm prices, and for flood sufferers, is too fresh in the public mind to need more than passing mention. During the war the President made available from his special fund, five millions of dollars, to be loaned to farmers in certain states of the West where drought conditions had prevailed for three successive years. Many farmers there were in a critical situation and it was desirable, for obvious reasons, that they be aided to save themselves and their homes. The relief was accorded as a war measure and was a substitute for proposals in Congress involving appropriations of from twenty-five to fifty millions of dollars. Last spring, more than two years after the Armistice, pressure was exerted to secure a special fund from Congress. It was successful and two millions of dollars were made available for loans to farmers in the Northwest.

GOVERNMENT IN BUSINESS

PARTLY as a result of the war the railroads of the country found themselves in a difficult financial situation. As a measure of relief the Congress in 1920 passed the Transportation Act. As a result of this, and of the payment of claims of the railroads against the Director-General, it is now estimated that the Treasury will have to pay to the roads in the fiscal year 1921 more than 800 millions of dollars, and will pay, in 1922, about 540 millions, if no further action is taken; but, as a matter of fact, the outlook for additional payments is promising. The roads claim, it is stated, that the Director-General owes them more than a billion dollars, while they owe the Director-General a possible seven hundred million. It is now proposed that the Government immediately let the roads have in cash five hundred millions of dollars, while they give the Government bonds for their indebtedness. Much pressure is being exerted on the Government by the roads and many of the banks to effect this. It would be an excellent operation for the roads, but it is difficult to see where the Government and the tax-payers benefit. This would simply be a loan to the roads of all or a greater part of the amount they owe the Government, and the operation would take place before the accounting is completed or claims are adjusted. The Government would

continue in the banking business, and the roads would benefit through the use of Government credit, instead of going out into the market for their funds. Such an operation may be necessary in the circumstances, but it is full of menace. There ought to be a limit to the use of the Government's credit for special interests, whether they be the roads, the farmers, or any other agency or class in the nation. Many other interests or classes are embarrassed. Why not finance them all? Why discriminate? This method of putting the Government into business is the easy road to financial ruin and to the substitution of group government for democracy. If it is persisted in, it will mean Government in business with a vengeance. If a business cannot operate without utilizing the Government, the people will soon demand that the Government run the business. They will not need many more lessons. It is astounding that the people who have been crying loudest against governmental interference, and who most dread government ownership, should be the very ones to urge courses which inevitably lead to either or both.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PUBLIC

THE people, even state officials, have come to look to the Federal Government for funds; in part, because of the difficulty of securing state support; at times, because the state legislature may not be in session and may not meet for several years; and in part, because it is normally more difficult to get money from nearby and financially hard-pressed local bodies. I am not now trying to pass judgment on the merit of such appeals, I am merely concerned with the processes by which the people themselves stand back of movements which cause increased Federal expenditures. Doubtless, this will continue. Groups will persist in their activities. The public, generally, will exhaust itself with criticism and with complaints of high taxes. The remedy lies with the public. The first thing for it to realize and accept is that it is responsible; that it can have what it wants. If it persists in its attitude of indifference while groups continue to be aggressive, it will continue to be victimitized. The people can, if they wish, keep the groups under control. They can make it plain that the groups are not the American people, and that they usually make a noise out of all proportion to their numbers.

Let us see now what the prospects are in the matter of expenditure. Let us take the leading items of actual disbursements for 1914 and the estimates for the fiscal year just closed and the ensuing fiscal year. In the absence of any knowledge of what Congress will actually do, we must take the estimates of the Treasury, based on requests of the departments, approved by the President. These are represented in the tables on the following page.

ESTIMATES OF GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES

IT is obvious from an inspection of Section 1, that except for three items, those for the Treasury, Interior, and Agriculture, the ordinary civil expenditures are not likely to decline greatly. As the burden of tax collection is lessened, the Treasury appropriations may and doubtless will fall. If the Public Health Service and the Prohibition Enforcement Division are removed from the Treasury, as they should be, the decrease will be marked, but the amount needed for these services will appear elsewhere. Much of the increase for the Interior Department and the greater part of that for Agriculture will stand; that for the latter because of the great expansion of the activities of the Department of Agriculture since 1913, involved in the creation of the Bureau of Markets and the enactment of such laws as the Coöperative Agricultural Extension, the Grain Grades, the Cotton Futures, and the Federal Aid Road Acts. Other Government agencies that have been created since 1913, such as the Tariff and the Trade commissions, and their expenditures, are not likely to decline. It will be surprising if the disbursements for the legislative and executive departments ever again fall much below three hundred millions. The nation is growing. Reductions, if any, will probably be temporary and will not materially affect taxes. Much of this civil disbursement cannot be reduced either materially or wisely. And yet much of the recent discussion has apparently been aimed toward making much, if not most of the saving in this civil disbursement. The reorganization of regular executive departments has been much heralded as a principal means of lowering the cost of government. Any reorganization of executive departments, so much talked about and in such futile fashion by laymen and those newly arrived in Washington, will effect a relatively small saving. The truth of the matter is that the ten regular executive departments

GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES ESTIMATED BY THE TREASURY

SECTION I

REGULAR CIVIL INCLUDING

Executive Departments and Establishments

	(Disbursements) 1914	(Estimates) 1921	1922
Legislative	$ 13,468,000	$ 18,862,000	$ 18,494,000
Executive	564,000	2,111,000	2,763,000
State Department	5,253,000	10,208,000	12,665,000
Treasury Proper	48,862,000	145,588,000	223,600,000
Public Buildings	11,277,000	16,300,000	18,971,000
War Dept. Civil	2,237,000	5,788,000	6,968,000
Dept. of Justice	10,188,000	16,000,000	18,000,000
Post-Office	2,236,000	2,097,000	2,327,000
Navy Dept. Civil	860,000	2,500,000	2,860,000
Interior	22,600,000	41,000,000	65,000,000
Agriculture	22,208,000	80,000,000	100,000,000
Commerce	10,958,000	24,399,000	25,170,000
Labor	3,768,000	5,075,000	10,462,000
Independent Offices	3,232,000	7,555,000	8,712,000
District of Columbia	12,756,000	21,659,000	20,909,000
State War and Navy Buildings		2,031,000	2,133,000
	$170,569,000	$401,173,000	$539,334,000

SECTION II

New—Mainly Result of War

	1921	1922
War Risk, less Premiums	$197,763,000	$207,184,000
Postal Deficiency	36,895,000	68,500,000
Shipping Board	63,130,000	140,672,000
Federal Control Transportation	1,078,505,000	
Federal Board Vocational Education	94,614,000	83,345,000
Expenses Loans	12,399,000	7,250,000
Increased Compensation	35,000,000	
Purchase Obligations for Governments	132,703,000	
Purchase Farm Loan Bonds	15,000,000	
Investments of Gov. Life Insurance Fund	16,948,000	20,909,000
Others	8,163,000	7,038,000
	$1,691,120,000	$534,916,000

SECTION III

	1914	1921	1922
Army	$173,500,000	$817,742,000	$925,000,000
Navy	141,800,000	648,722,000	655,896,000
Indians	20,200,000	32,000,000	36,000,000
Pensions	173,400,000	272,000,000	265,000,000
Interest on Debt	22,900,000	975,000,000	922,650,000
Total Ordinary	$700,500,000	$4,851,298,000	$3,897,227,000

are not very badly organized. Most services are where they are for good reasons. Some, of course, are not. Some should be shifted. Three for instance, the War Risk Bureau, Public Health, and Public Buildings, should be taken out of the Treasury. Public Parks should be put into the Department of Agriculture with the public forests, and this Department should be charged with the regulation of grazing on the public domain and with agricultural phases of the Government's work for Indians and on reclamation projects.

Doubtless, other changes should be made, but not many of those advocated by outsiders who know little, intimately, about the workings of the Government, or by those who are merely the slaves of logic.

Neither will the Budget Bureau which is about to be set up in accordance with the law recently passed, necessarily work the needed changes. It will be highly serviceable in many ways. The Bureau will promote the better business handling of estimates and expenditures, and should be highly influential in shaping taxation and appropriations, but it cannot control either of the latter.

Further relief could be had if Congress would evince less suspicion of executive officers, and would create conditions which would make it possible for the nation to secure and retain in strategic or "key" administrative positions, men of great ability and experience. Many of the actual administrative defects or failures in Washington arise from statutory restrictions which unnecessarily hedge administrative officers about, and particularly from the small salaries fixed by Congress for the most responsible and difficult positions. Many legislative restrictions, of course, are necessary, but we have gone to useless and uneconomic extremes. We strain at a gnat and swallow a camel. It would be in the public's interest either for Congress to create from five to six, or a dozen or more, positions in each executive department which would carry maximum salaries of from ten to twenty-five thousand dollars, to be filled by men of great ability; or to give the heads of departments lump sums, with discretion and without limitations to pay salaries necessary to secure the talent required, with an annual report to Congress. An average fund of $200,000 a department would serve the purpose and would be the greatest single minor measure which could be adopted to ensure executive efficiency and to prevent waste.

REAL EXECUTIVES IN GOVERNMENT

UNLESS we can secure and retain the right sort of men in strategical, supervisory positions of vast importance, our democracy will continue to be confronted with relatively mediocre performances. It is unjust and unwise to rely on salaries of from $5,000 to $10,000 for men occupying such positions. Take for instance the fiscal Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, now the Undersecretary. This officer has responsibilities for the supervising of financial transactions of a very delicate and complex nature, running annually into billions of dollars, and should be a man to whom the largest banks or corporations of the country

would gladly pay from twenty-five to fifty thousand dollars a year. Of course, the Government cannot compete with business in the matter of salaries, and fortunately it is unnecessary for it to try to do so; for men will serve with joy a great nation for much less than they will serve private agencies. But the Government can and should pay the right sort of men enough to make it possible for them to live as they are compelled to live, and to provide for their old age and their families without undue worry to themselves. I am sympathetic with a rational proposal to give proper compensation for the hundreds of thousands of men and women who fill the subordinate positions, but too exclusive attention has heretofore been devoted to these positions and little, if any, has been given to the positions of the kind I have in mind. Certainly, there is no reason why Congress should not trust something in this direction to the patriotism and judgment of the heads of executive departments. It does vest in them enormous powers and almost without exception they have justified the confidence. If Congress would pursue this course, executive departments could render much more efficient service and effect marked economies.

During my service in two departments I was frequently handicapped in discharging a responsibility by my inability to secure or retain men of the right type. Men whom I knew could render vast service to the nation could not be attracted for the consideration offered.

Indeed, on more than one occasion when, because of statutory restrictions, it became necessary to ask for increased appropriations for salaries, I pointed out that we would not only refuse the increase but also would accept marked reductions, if something were left to the discretion of the responsible head. I am not optimistic that there will be a change in this direction. Washington pointed out the need of doing this very thing more than one hundred and twenty odd years ago: others have followed suit from time to time, and yet nothing has been done.

HURTFUL RESTRICTIONS

AS TO the removal of other administrative restrictions, I am still less optimistic. These consist partly in statutory limitations of great variety on administrative discretion, involving not only salaries for positions which cannot efficiently be handled on that basis, but also even such minor things as the arrangement of space for department workers, and the determination of what a department can publish or even mimeograph, and where the work can be done. Here the situation is going from bad to worse. Congress is even usurping executive functions by creating legislative committees of its own to administer matters of this sort. Perhaps congressional suspicion of the Executive will increase and further handicap the administration of the nation's business. And if it does, the only way out of a bad and unnecessary mess will be to make the Executive a committee of Congress—that is, create a real responsibile ministry selected from the majority in the legislative body, as have all other leading constitutional countries. But this is another story.

WASTE THROUGH POLITICAL APPOINTMENTS

STILL another step of a minor nature, which would result in more saving than others more commonly discussed, is to remove from politics vast numbers of important positions in various departments. There may be a reason why the Directorship of the Mint should be a political appointment although I have never been able to discover it. There certainly is no reason why a superintendent or an assayer of a mint should be subject to change when parties change. There is just now a change in the New York office. There has been under the supervision of the superintendent more than a billion and a half dollars and there has to be an accounting. It took a committee of five, with all the necessary assistance, three months to complete the work, and, if parties change three years from now, the thing will have to be done over again. There may be a reason why collectors of Custom and subordinate Internal Revenue officers, marshals, and heads of important bureaus should be subjected to change when parties change, but I have not discovered any good reason for the practice. On the contrary, I have noted many reasons why they should not change. The best organized and most efficient part of the Government in Washington to-day is the department of Agriculture. And in that department, there are only three or four officers of consequence—namely, the Secretary, the Assistant Secretary, and the Chief of the Weather Bureau—who are not appointed for merit. Administrative officers have no business playing politics. Laws should not be administered politically. Only

those officers should change, who have to do with the formulation of policies and with the enactment of law, and these are limited mainly to the secretaries of the various departments and the assistant secretaries. As long as administrative officers are appointed for political reasons the error will persist that there can be politics in the administration of law. This is the antithesis of democracy, and fatal to its success as well as highly wasteful.

But in a democracy all these measures are secondary in their bearing on expenditures. No device or piece of mechanism will safeguard liberty or control expenditures and taxes. This control rests with the people; and the people right now have an unusual opportunity to exercise their control, to determine what their expenditures shall be, and, therefore, what taxes they will pay. The matter, in immense proportions, is now before them in critical and dramatic fashion. The test is on them. Their decision will be far-reaching. It has to do mainly with the matter of spending money for war, for destructive purposes.

Look again at the estimates for 1921 and 1922 presented on page 484. The striking thing is that practically all the huge total for the first year of more than $4,800,000,000 except about 401 million, is for war. For the second year, all except approximately 540 million out of more than $3,800,000,000 is for war. The amounts estimated for ordinary purposes, though vast, are relatively small. Many of the items in the second section will disappear during this current fiscal year, such, for instance, as the purchase of the Obligations of Foreign Governments, the Postal Deficit, Expenses of Loans, and probably the item for the railroads. But no one can now predict what such services as the War-Risk Bureau, the Rehabilitation Division, and the Shipping Board will involve. That there will be a continuing large expenditure under these heads is reasonably certain.

Turning now to the third section, we find two items due to the past war; namely, Interest on the Public Debt, and Pensions. The interest will be greater or less according to the way in which the public debt is handled. It will decrease as the debt is reduced or as, in time, when economic conditions change for the better, the debt can be refunded at a lower rate of interest. If the unwise suggestion made by many, that the debt be refunded at a higher rate of interest and a bonus thereby be given the capital, should prevail, the burden will not only not diminish but will increase. The amount paid for pensions is controllable, but judging from the past, the chances are that there will be no considerable reduction in the near future.

THE PEOPLE MUST STOP IT

THE remainder of the estimated expenditures given in the tables; namely, those for future wars, estimated at $1,766,464,000 for 1921 and at $1,580,896,000 for 1922, can be controlled, but only in one way. Doubtless Congress will effect reductions in the estimates, but the totals will still be huge. They can be brought within reason only by removing the causes of war, by participation in an association of nations to enfore peace, and by disarmament through agreement. This is the most urgent matter now before the world, not only so far as the immediate reconstruction of the world is concerned, but also so far as relief from high taxes in this nation or elsewhere is involved. If we remain, or try to remain in isolation, no effective remedy can be found or applied. If we remain apart, we shall be the leaders in a criminal enterprise—the perpetuation of mediæval militarism and its extension to the point where the breakdown of civilization will be reached. Not only our foreign policy but our financial policy as well is contingent upon the success of the Conference which President Harding has called—anyway, upon some method of international coöperation to limit war cost. The recent conflict taught us what military preparation must be, and the expenditure before the recent conflict will furnish no sort of gauge for that on which we shall have to embark if the race for military supremacy persists. If the people wish to continue to spend from 80 to 90 per cent. of their federal funds for war, the Government will execute their wishes. They are now doing this. They have averaged this fraction throughout their history. Since the foundation of the Government we have expended in round numbers 67 billions of dollars, and of this 58 billions were for war—that is, for the Army, Navy, their auxiliaries, pensions, and interest on the public debt. And yet we claim to be an enlightened, a civilized, a peaceful, and a Christian people. If the people wish this stopped they can stop it. They can bring their opinions to bear on their

rulers. They can force them to take advantage of the present opportunity and engage in an international plan for disarmanent. It is obvious that if they do not do so, the least thing they will have to suffer is a continuance of mounting expenditures and of military disbursements, which will probably be as much higher than the recent ones, unthinkable as they are, as the latter were higher than those which preceded. If the people want this, let them quit prating about high taxes. Let them willingly support what they order their government to do. Let them limit their discussion to the best method of financing the business they wish to have done—to the more immediate question, not of reducing expenditures but of modifying existing taxes to meet the necessary level, with the prospect that it will become higher. Certain it is that precedent does not hold out hope that without heroic action we shall get on an expenditure level even approximating that before 1917. After the War of 1812, ordinary disbursements were about double what they were before. This was equally true after the Mexican War. Before the Civil War our expenditures averaged for five years, 65 millions of dollars, the highest annual expenditure being 69 millions. During the Civil War, they rose in 1865 to one and one third billions, and the lowest point reached after the conflict was 231 millions in 1878. The expenditures were not more than 355 millions till 1898. They rose in 1899, after the Spanish War, to 597 millions and thereafter were never under 469 millions. In only two years were they under the 500 million dollar mark. For the fiscal year just closed they slightly exceeded five billions. For the current fiscal year the indications are that they will range above four billions, and from three to four billions for the year following. I doubt if we will ever again see the ordinary federal disbursements, exclusive of the postal expenditures, less than $1,500,000,000 or $1,800,000,000—a sum two or two and a half times as great as that preceding the World War. If we assume that within two or three years, or by the end of the fiscal year 1923 or 1924, the ordinary civil expenditures are reduced to the minimum, that the Shipping Board draws much less heavily on the Treasury, that the business of the War Risk Bureau takes a more favorable turn, that the railroads are out of the Treasury, that special items of military origin disappear, that particular, large, new raids on the Treasury are frustrated, and that the appropriations for the Army and Navy as a result of agreement partially to disarm or for other reasons are reduced to double their average for five years preceding the war—and they are not likely to fall below this—and that the sinking fund operates in full measure, we might see a level of expenditure of somewhat more than 2-billions, roughly as follows:

Ordinary Civil	$ 300,000,000
Indians	30,000,000
Pensions.	260,000,000
Interest	900,000,000
Army and Navy	580,000,000
Miscellaneous, including war risk, rehabilitation, and other items	200,000,000
Total	$2,270,000,000

This is about as favorable an outcome as we may reasonably expect, and it rests on a number of violent assumptions. I am certain that the people do not want this nation to persist in such folly—they want and must have disarmament. But let them remember that it can come only through agreement. They cannot get it if they stand apart. The signs are promising.

There is now a league of more than forty nations, and one of the most important parts or plans of this Association is to effect disarmament. So far, this nation has not seen fit to join this body. The President has thought it wise to suggest a special conference to consider disarmament and his invitation has been accepted by all the nations invited. No one can now predict what the final issue will be; but in no small measure the responsibility rests upon the American people to see that, through one or both of these agencies, the requisite action is taken and relief from militarism is secured.

THE COUNCIL TABLE

EDWIN A. ALDERMAN
President, University of Virginia

CHARLES H. BRENT
Bishop of Western New York

CHARLES W. ELIOT
President Emeritus, Harvard University

CASS GILBERT
Architect

JAMES G. HARBORD
Major-General, U. S. Army

HENRY J. HASKELL
Of the Kansas City *Star*

HERBERT HOOVER
Secretary of Commerce

ERIE C. HOPWOOD
Editor, Cleveland *Plain Dealer*

ROBERT S. LOVETT
Railroad President

DANIEL D. MOORE
Editor, New Orleans *Times-Picayune*

HENRY MORGENTHAU
Former U. S. Ambassador to Turkey

WILLIAM S. SIMS
Rear-Admiral, U. S. Navy

HENRY L. STIMSON
Ex-Secretary of War

BOOTH TARKINGTON
Novelist and Publicist

CASPER S. YOST
Of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

In order to present in one place wise and informed thought and stimulating counsel, month after month, the editors of the WORLD'S WORK *have created this special section in the magazine and invited the gentlemen whose names appear above to contribute to it. The magazine wishes to express its appreciation of their willingness to coöperate in this undertaking.*

The views expressed by each author are his alone, there being no group responsibility for any of the opinions, but no opinions will appear in this section except those belonging to some individual of this group.—THE EDITORS.

A NOTABLE MEMORIAL

BY HENRY J. HASKELL
Of the Kansas City *Star*

EVERY war produces its memorials. A nation's gratitude to its defenders naturally expresses itself in permanent symbols. Their type suggests the general culture of the period. As, for instance, the Civil War statues that dot the country: the soldier on guard in cap and cape; the ornate and conventional shaft. It would be possible to write a fairly adequate commentary on American cultural development from a study of the statues and monuments in Washington.

One of the important influences in the artistic growth of the United States in the next few years will be the sort of memorials that will commemorate the devotion of the men who served in the

World War. A great opportunity confronts the nation—an opportunity and a danger. The memorial construction can be made an inspiring example in beauty, or it can add to the routine ugliness of American cities.

Kansas City has recently determined on the general scheme and design of its war memorial. The spirit in which it met its problems, the methods used, and the results so far achieved, have been so notable that other cities may find inspiration in them. Fortunately the memorial plans were taken in hand by a group of far-sighted citizens, headed by one of the city's business leaders, R. A. Long. It was determined to make the occasion serve a two-fold purpose. First, it was proposed to raise the funds by votive offerings of all the people. Second, it was planned to make this memorial the gateway to a group of monumental buildings to be erected later by private generosity. Such a scheme once under way, it was felt, would be a constant invitation and challenge to civic loyalty and pride. In this way the memorial might be made to give an important impetus to the city's life.

To carry out this double purpose a Liberty Memorial Association was organized to take charge of the plans and construction of the memorial, but empowered further, by its charter, to accept gifts for the construction of additional buildings in the group to be developed on the memorial site.

In the late autumn of 1919 a drive for subscriptions was put on with the cooperation of several hundred men and women. Eighty-six thousand subscriptions were obtained for a total of more than two million dollars; and this in a city of 325,000 population. A Committee of One Hundred was organized and made a serious study of the type of memorial desired. It was hoped to make it one of the world's notable memorial structures. The committee invited competent men from every part of the country for conferences. Out of these came arrangements for a national architectural competition, with large latitude in design.

The city was fortunate in having a recently constructed railroad station of unusual distinction in the business district, with more than forty acres of vacant rough land rising directly in front of it, and connecting with beautiful Penn Valley Park. Eight acres were owned by the city for park purposes, and it undertook to acquire thirty-three more, by condemnation at public expense, as a site for the memorial and for buildings to be erected later.

The architectural competition was completed in June, and a jury of outside architects unanimously and enthusiastically awarded first place to a design by Harold Van Buren Magonigle of New York City. Mr. Magonigle's conception is that of a monumental entrance to a mall a third of a mile long, on which are to be grouped eventually the art gallery, music hall, museum, and other semi-public buildings that the city needs. On a massive base one hundred feet high, rises a two-hundred-foot tower of unusual beauty of design, culminating in a bowl supported by the wings of four angels. From this bowl is to issue a flame by night, a cloud of steam by day. In the words of the architect his design signifies "the flame of inspiration guarded by the spirits of Courage, Honor, Patriotism, and Sacrifice, burning forever upon an altar, high-erected in the skies, a pillar of cloud by day, a pillar of fire by night." This main tower is flanked by two low buildings, one a possible assembly place for ex-soldiers, the other a museum for the keeping of records and memorabilia.

Visitors coming out of the station will be confronted by this impressive group, rising from the hill across the station plaza, reaching an elevation of four hundred feet above the plaza, visible for miles, and dominating the whole downtown district.

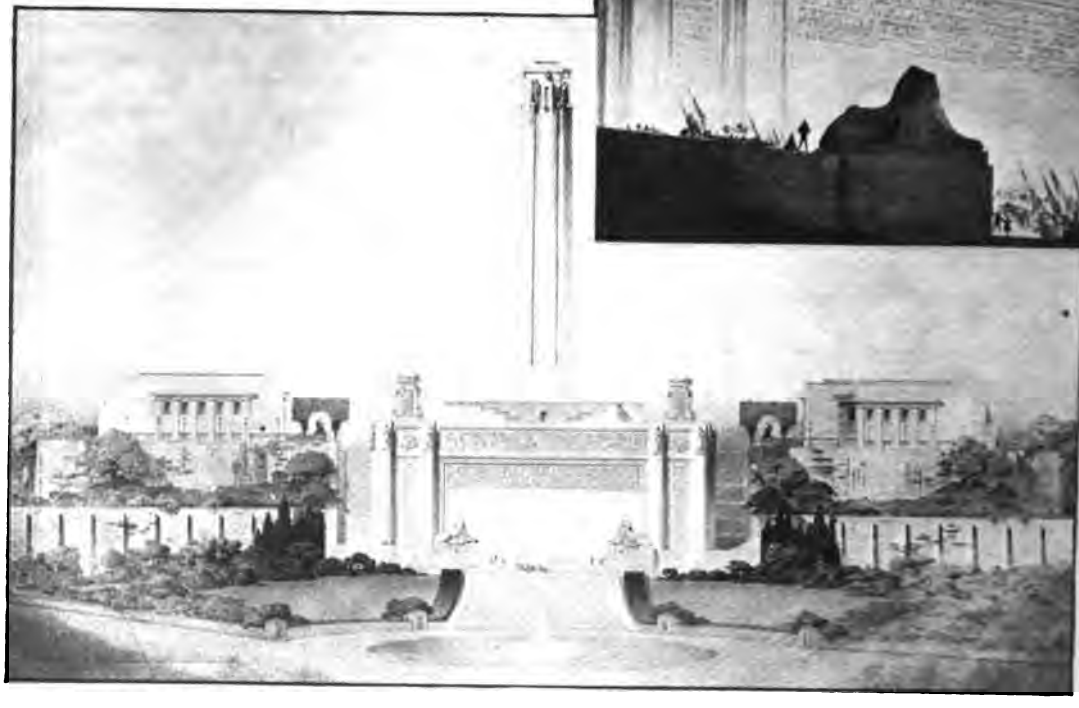
It is the hope of those in charge of the

project that its magnitude and beauty will have a profound effect on the architectural development of the city; that the Liberty Memorial will mark the beginning of a new era in public and semi-public buildings comparable to that inaugurated in the residential districts of Kansas City by the extensive park and boulevard system laid out twenty-five years ago.

It would be a wonderful thing for the future beauty of American life, if this vision from the western prairies might be caught by other cities that so far have given only perfunctory attention to the plans to honor those who gave their services and their lives to the nation's defense in the great struggle for liberty.

THE "PILLAR OF FIRE"

Discussed by Mr. Haskell in the accompanying article. This noble memorial will be erected by the citizens of Kansas City, Mo., in the heart of their city and at a cost of 2 million dollars already subscribed. The 200-foot tower will be crowned by a bowl set upon the wings of four angels. The architect conceives a fire always burning within the bowl which will be "The Flame of Inspiration guarded by the Spirits of Courage, Honor, Patriotism, and Sacrifice . . . a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night." By this notable project a great city has chosen to be constantly reminded of the dominance of the things of the spirit. The photographs shown here are from drawings by the architect, Mr. H. Van Buren Magonigle



A BATTLESHIP LIKE THIS COSTS 38½ MILLION DOLLARS

And the ammunition for it costs 4½ million dollars more. The five principal naval powers now have about 2½ billion dollars' worth of ships of this class alone, about one billion dollars' worth of destroyers, and about one billion dollars' worth of submarines, besides hundreds of other vessels ranging in cost from one million to 10 million dollars apiece. Broadly speaking, this entire "investment" has to be replaced every ten years on account of obsolescence

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THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

An Attempt to "Find the Remaining Sources of Friction in the World and Remove Them." The Spirit and Hope of the Meeting

By FRENCH STROTHER

THE avowed purpose of the Washington Conference is to discuss the "limitation of armaments" and "Pacific and Far Eastern problems." The unavowed purpose is to "find the remaining sources of friction in the world and remove them." The hope is that it may arrive at new *method of negotiation*, which can be applied to the solution of all international problems and settle them without war.

The intention, the aspiration, the underlying motive, of the Washington Conference is the desire for permanent world peace. This motive is exactly the same as the motive that prompted the effort to create the League of Nations. The difference between the Washington Conference and the Paris Peace Conference will, nevertheless, be profound. President Wilson, at Paris, believed that it was possible to erect a mechanism into which all future international difficulties could be poured and out of which they would emerge regenerated to the satisfaction of all parties concerned. President Harding, at Washington, believes that no mechanism can be invented which can guarantee, before the event, to operate satisfactorily upon all international problems, because their complexities cannot be estimated in advance—on the contrary, he thinks that humanly speaking, such problems can only be solved by taking them up individually as they arise and settling each one on its merits, in a spirit of justice and good temper. Thus, the idea at Paris was to erect to order a permanent

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THE FIRST ORGANISM FOR WORLD PEACE

The Peace Palace at The Hague, built with Mr. Carnegie's American money to house the international machinery to make effective the autocratic Russian Czar's (Nicholas II's) dream of world peace, by arbitration before a permanent tribunal

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THE ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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THE SECOND ORGANISM FOR WORLD PEACE

The Supreme Council (*lower picture*) and the Assembly of the League of Nations in session at Geneva, in partial fulfilment of President Wilson's dream of world peace by an international government functioning under a Constitution of the World

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OUR MID-PACIFIC OUTPOST

Hawaii, which contains a greater number of Oriental inhabitants than of Caucasians

PAGO-PAGO, IN AMERICAN SAMOA

The most southerly of the five natural island fortresses which we possess in the Pacific Ocean and which make us inevitably the rivals of Japan for the domination of those waters. The others are Manila, Guam, Hawaii, and Unalaska

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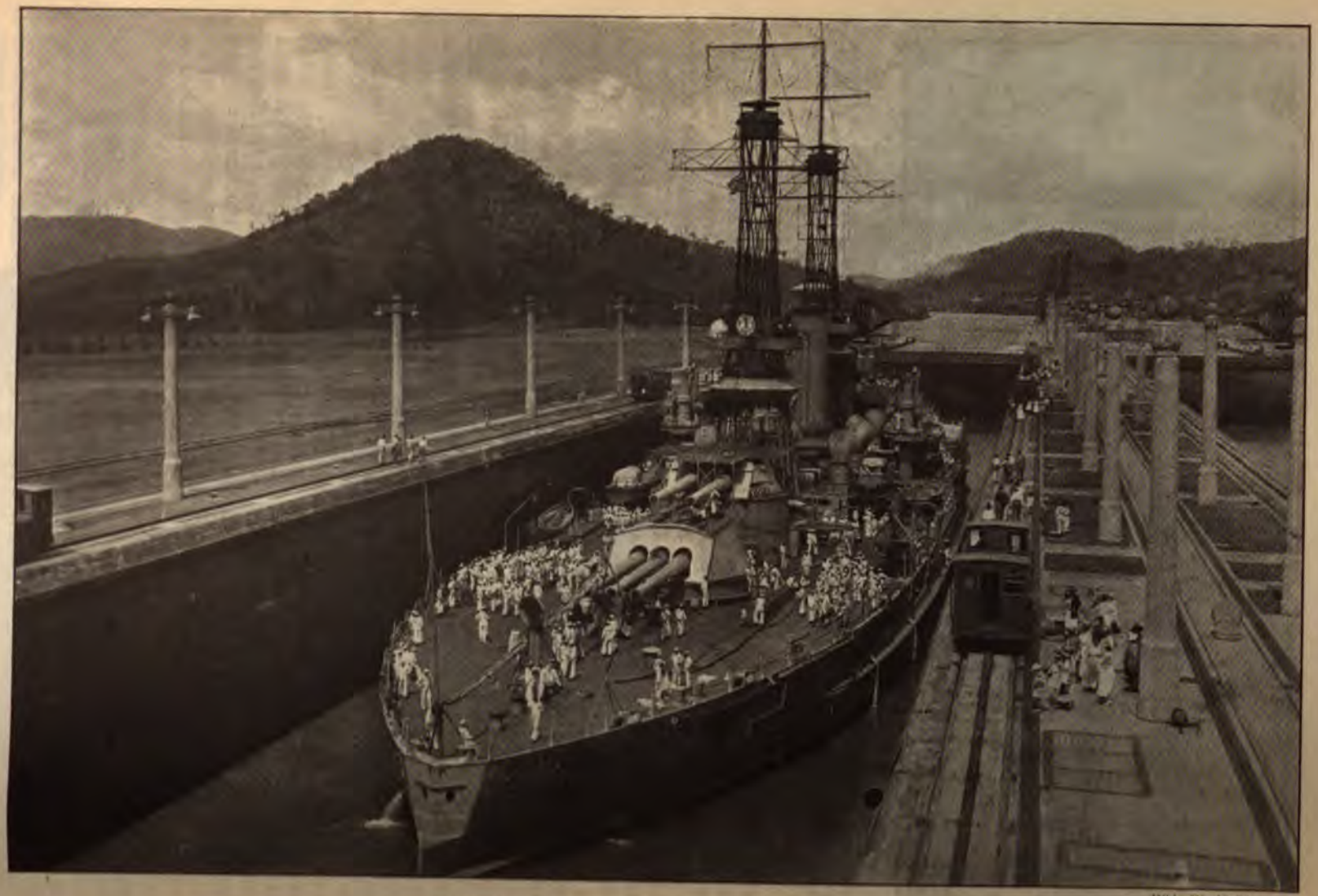

Wide World Photos

THE JUGULAR VEIN OF OUR WORLD POLICY

This lock in the Panama Canal is the critical point in our position in the family of nations. The picture shows that it has reached its limit of usefulness in a military way, because no larger warship can pass through it than those already built. If naval strategy continues to dominate our policy, the Panama Canal must be enlarged and more heavily fortified, so that our fleets may pass safely from one ocean to the other

HONG-KONG, A CENTRE OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM

British dominance here antedates Japan's at Macao, and originated in the same desire both to have a suitable port as a base for commerce with China and to have a strategic point for the development of a sphere of influence to control the Yangtse Valley

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JAPAN, THE UNKNOWN QUANTITY IN WORLD AFFAIRS

The Imperial Palace entrance (*above*) is the symbol of the last feudal monarchy left among the civilized nations, and the Japanese Diet (*left*) is the symbol of the last struggle between the forces that believe in the German ideal of military domination and the new forces of peace-seeking liberalism. The attitude of Japan at the impending Washington Conference will largely determine the issue of world peace or the continuance of world war

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HAWAII, A VITAL SPOT IN THE "PACIFIC PROBLEM"

In a military sense, Hawaii is one of the eight key positions for the defense of our Western coast. The others are Panama, San Francisco, Puget Sound, Guam, Manila, Samoa, and Unalaska. The photograph shows a flourishing pineapple farm

Observe now how differently the British democracy-under-law is governed. The British Constitution is not a written document; no officer or citizen of Great Britain can produce a written paper or parchment and say: "Here is the substantive charter of our institutions." The British Constitution, so called, is simply the sum total of the British ideal of government as that ideal has come to be expressed in institutions which originally were improvised to meet political emergencies as they arose, and which were retained afterward because they "worked." Whenever they ceased to "work," they were altered to fit the new conditions, and new "precedents" were thus established and accepted. In this way, the British Constitution has been quietly and continuously "amended," now by a statute of Parliament, sometimes even by a mere order in council.

The foregoing comparison of the American and British Constitutions suggests very accurately the differences between the spirit and method of the Paris Conference and of the Washington Conference. With these differences in mind, it now becomes clear what may be expected of the Washington Conference. It will be a gathering of responsible statesmen of the principal nations of the world, their object being to discuss fully the danger-spots of the present international situation, and to devise settlements of all *present* dangers that might result in war in the near future. If (and the word *if* must be emphasized, for it represents only a hope, and not a faith)—*if* these settlements disclose a method of negotiation which can be applied to international disputes of every character, there *may* emerge from the Washington Conference various kinds of mechanical arrangements (of the order of the High Court of International Justice) which may *evolve* into permanent mechanisms to maintain permanent and universal world peace.

President Harding's call to the Conference recognized by name two "sources of friction"—in other words, two obvious breeders of war. One is armaments—otherwise the present world practice of "gun-toting." The other is "Pacific and Far Eastern problems"—otherwise the presence in the Orient of four powerful armed nations, quarreling or ready to quarrel over the choice of position for exploiting commercially the most presently promising unexploited source of new wealth in the world, namely, China and the islands of the Pacific Ocean.

The reasons why President Harding put disarmament first in the subjects to be discussed are quite obvious. Any one who wishes

Courtesy Canton Christian College and *Asia*

CANTON, THE CHIEF COMMERCIAL CITY OF "HELPLESS CHINA"

China's riches and her inability either to develop or defend them are the outstanding facts in the "Pacific and Far Eastern problems." The cupidity and rivalry of the other powers are standing "sources of friction" that can only be removed by a common agreement upon future actions

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SHANGHAI, A CHARACTERISTIC INTERNATIONALIZED CITY

China, in her economic and political helplessness, has been subjected to every form of international exploitation, and the future development of her commerce and of her vast stores of raw materials is a bone of international contention

MELBOURNE
Australia's attitude toward Japanese immigration, and toward Japan's mandate over islands of the Pacific is a "source of friction" which the Washington Conference hopes to remove

to have in mind the practical case against armaments, may find the staggering economic and human figures of their cost in the statistical editorials of "The March of Events," in the front part of the magazine, and in ex-Secretary of the Treasury David F. Houston's article on another page. The moral and humane arguments need no recapitulation—the civilized world has cast a unanimous ballot that some way out of "armed peace" must be found. The easiest part of armament to get rid of is the navies, because proportional reduction would not alter the relative power of the nations, and because each nation can make sure, by very simple means, that the others are keeping their promises. It is impossible to hide battleships. The strength of armies is more easily disguised. And the peculiar complexities of the military problem of French defense against German aggression stand in the way of an easy agreement, covering disarmament on the land. For these reasons, the Washington Conference, on the question of disarmament, will probably content itself with trying to find a solution covering navies only, and leave to a more auspicious future the question of the armies.

The reasons why President Harding included "Pacific and Far Eastern problems," though not at all obscure, are less familiar to the public, and should be brought to memory afresh. Briefly the facts are these:

The Treaty of Versailles was limited in its scope to the restoration of peace between the warring powers of Europe. It so happened, because those powers all had colonial possessions, that territories in all parts of the world were incidentally involved. But the substantial purpose at Versailles was the peace of the Occident. To put it in another way, the

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TSING-TAO, THE HEART OF THE ASIATIC PROBLEM
Japan's succession to Germany's interests on the Chinese mainland in the province of Shantung brings to a critical stage the vital question of China's future. Shall it be dismemberment or international development in friendly coöperation?

"AUSTRALIA FOR THE WHITE MAN"
Vessels of Australia's navy, created primarily to guarantee the effectiveness of Australia's policy of Japanese exclusion, in the roadstead at Hobart

world, broadly, is divided into three great regions—Europe, Asia, and America. It so happens, notwithstanding our century-old idea of our "isolation" as solely an American power, that we have always been one of the leading powers of Europe. The fact that we had to go into the latest and greatest European war opened our eyes to this truth. But what most of us did not so readily see, and what Mr. Harding and his advisers and all the rest of the nations do see, is that it so happens that the United States, by virtue of its geographical position, is also one of the leading powers of Asia. Exactly as a militaristic nation of Europe recently threatened our national safety by way of our eastern seaboard, and damaged our national interests, notwithstanding that the Atlantic Ocean lay between that nation and us; just so can a militaristic nation of Asia threaten our national safety by way of our western seaboard, and can damage our national interests, notwithstanding that the Pacific Ocean lies between.

Thus, we see that we are a European power when Europe is in ferment, and that we are an Asiatic power when Asia is in ferment. The European ferment went unchecked to the explosion point. Viewing aghast the ruin which that explosion wrought, and awakened to the moral of its lesson, we have determined to stop the Asiatic ferment before it reaches the explosion point.

(Of course, the full lesson is that there are no longer any such regions as Europe and Asia and America. There is only the World —and no nation can be in danger of war without every foot of the earth's surface trembling in response to its perturbation).

What, then, is "the Asiatic ferment"? In terms of day-to-day incident as we read it in

FRANCE AND FAR EASTERN PROBLEMS
By virtue of her profitable possessions in Annam, France is directly concerned in the policy to be adopted concerning the future development of Asia

Courtesy *Asia*

the newspapers, it comprises such things as "Yap," "the Open Door in China," "the seizure of Shantung," "a white Australia," and "a Japanese mandate in the Pacific, north of the equator." But we must get a broader picture if we are to "find the sources of friction and remove them." Let us try to sketch this broad picture very briefly.

The great outstanding fact of Asia is the helplessness of China. Here is a vast and far from fully populated territory, a Golconda of undeveloped riches, a treasure-house of coal and iron and petroleum, a fertile land for agriculture, peopled by a mixed race of industrious, intelligent, and thrifty citizens who, once brought under the modern industrial system, would probably be the richest group of human beings in the world, and the best customers of all the other nations. These people, however, have not come into the modern industrial civilization and hence cannot yet develop the priceless material gifts with which Nature has endowed them. And, what is worse, these people have not developed or acquired the art of national government. They are thus, on the one hand, helpless to use their treasures; and they are thus, on the other hand, helpless to defend them.

Now, into the same part of the world with this helpless giant, there appeared, a few years ago, six other nations. These were Russia, Great Britain, France, Germany, Japan, and the United States. The first five undertook to seize China's riches by annexing Chinese territory. Common threats of war and common fears made this partition of China a matter of attrition rather than of outright dismemberment. The method was to start with the seizure of a small slice of territory, to claim beyond this a "sphere of influence," and then to transform the sphere of influence into a larger seizure of land, and so on. This procedure was in full operation when the World War broke out and destroyed, for the moment, the power of two of these nations (Germany and Russia) to continue their aggressions, while strengthening the power of a third nation (Japan) to acquire Chinese territory.

The sixth nation concerned with China's problem was the United States of America. We adopted a different policy. We declared that we had no wish to annex Chinese territory, and that we did not believe that any one else should do so. We took the position that China should be taught to govern herself and develop her own natural resources. Our contention was, that once she did so, she would become a market big enough for everybody, and all other nations would share in her prosperity. This was our policy of "the Open Door."

The positions of the other five powers were not identical, but they were every one radically different from ours. The positions of Great Britain, Russia, France, and Germany were substantially identical among themselves; namely, that China, left to herself, would never develop herself industrially or politically, and that, as they needed her raw materials and markets at once, they would take charge of such parts of China as they could seize, and develop them themselves.

The actual position of Japan was practically the same as that of her European rivals, but Japan professed other motives in addition. Japan pointed to two unique peculiarities of her relationship with China. These were (1) her geographical position and (2) her immediate need to find room for her excess population. Japan claimed the same right as other advanced nations claimed, to exploit a backward nation. But she made these other two claims in addition. One of these was political—the right to defend a "Monroe Doctrine of Asia." The other was economic—the right to "racial self-preservation."

It is beside the point to argue the merits of these various points of view. The point to observe is, that they *are* various. They are different, and they breed differences. They are most emphatically "sources of friction." Our philosophy of China's position has brought us into conflict with Japan, acting under her philosophy of China's position, in the question of the future status of Shantung. Australia's philosophy of Japan's position has brought the British Government into conflict with Japan over the whole question of the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. And these concrete examples could be multiplied endlessly. But it is needless to do so; for, if we will remember the broad statement of the three main philosophies of helpless China's position, all details of the "Pacific and Far Eastern problems" will fall into proper perspective. Remembering, in addition, that Yap, for example, is an incidental strategic military corollary of the main issue, while Shantung obviously goes to the economic heart of the problem, just as the Anglo-Japanese Alliance goes to the political heart of the problem.

The reasons are now clear for the inclusion of the Pacific in President Harding's programme for the Conference. The "Peace of Europe" was written at Paris. He proposes that the "Peace of Asia" be written at Washington. The one was written to end a world war. The other is to be written to prevent another world war.

The stupendous significance of the Washington Conference can scarcely be overstated. The most significant point about it is that America called it and that it will sit in America. The meaning of this point is clear. It means that America has at last accepted the fact that this country is the moral, political, and economic leader of the world. This is not said boastingly, or in a spirit of exultation. Pride has no place at such a moment, when the most awful responsibility that ever rested upon human conscience is placed upon us. The whole world looks to us for leadership out of terrors too frightful for the human spirit to contemplate, and for relief from burdens too grievous to be borne. The peace of the world, the means of human sustenance, the continuance of civilization, perhaps the very survival of the human race as we know it—these things rest largely upon our wisdom, our character, and our good-will. For we now have the largest civilized population, with the most effective economic mechanism, and the least impaired political institutions, of all the peoples of the earth. These things are the measure of our responsibilities, not of our opportunities.

In truth, we have had this position for ten years past. The significance of the Washington Conference is that we have at last awakened to our responsibilities, and that we have at last resolved manfully to discharge them.

Hardly less significant are the new spirit and method of the Conference. To resume, for a moment, the analogy used earlier in this article. Our Constitution was written under the inspiration of the French Revolution, and was an effort to imitate the rigid, logical processes of the Latin mind. As has been pointed out, this alien-origined Constitution has been perpetuated only by the practice of a curious process of continuous "interpretation," which was in reality an exhibition of our Anglo-Saxon tradition at work upon this anomalous political document, making it politically practical. No sane American would dream of abandoning our system of a written Constitution. But when President Wilson proposed to write a similar World Constitution, the American stomach rebelled. It rebelled consciously at the danger to American sovereignty implied in a federation of the world. But it rebelled unconsciously at the proposed violation of the Anglo-Saxon political tradition, inherent in our race. Our intellect has tempted us into imitating "the fathers" by writing state constitutions in imitation of the Federal Constitution, just as their intellect tempted them into imitating the logical French by writing a Constitution at all. We have learned to make such constitutions "work," and see no reason for abandoning them. "The fathers" themselves were conscious of the need for amendments, and promptly began to make them. But our instinct is to let practical measures, meeting present emergencies, evolve into unwritten laws of general application. This is the spirit of the Washington Conference. It is a return to the natural Anglo-Saxon method. This method produced the great British Empire. It has been the real method (obscured under French forms) that has underlain our own success in developing the United States, with its marvelous growth from a handful of colonies into a nation whose territory spreads from the longitude of Greenland to the longitude of Peking, and whose people are (practically speaking) the best governed as well as the most prosperous in the world.

The Washington Conference, then, is primarily an evidence of America's awakening to the fact and the responsibility of her world leadership. It is, besides, a return to our inherited, instinctive, practical, evolutional method of political action, as against our acquired Franco-logical method of making constitutions to order, and then trusting to luck and good management to make them fit the work they are expected to do.

CONTROL OF THE PURSE

Helping Our Government to a Solution by a Glance at Other Countries. Lord Bryce's "Modern Democracies" and Other Recent Books on Government

By LINDSAY ROGERS

POPULAR government, as Lord Morley has said, is not a delicately synchronized chronometer. It is, on the contrary, a rough piece of machinery which will work somehow, even though all of its parts are not perfectly adjusted. The American Government can furnish many illustrations of the truth of this statement. Our political system, for example, provides far more than the usual opportunities for acute and continued antagonism between the executive and the legislative departments of the Government, and we alone, among the great states of the world, have been able until now to worry along without a budget system. As Lord Bryce told us a quarter of a century ago, our financial machinery made us waste "millions annually," but fortunately we had "the glorious privilege of youth, the privilege of committing errors without suffering from their consequences."

The recent insertion of the budget cog in our political machinery will unquestionably make it run with greater economy and less friction, but we must not delude ourselves into thinking that the adjustment will be immediately satisfactory. There are a number of unsolved problems, relating to financial control, confronting those countries which have long had budget systems and on whose experience we drew to frame our own recent statute. Nowhere is the financial part of the political machinery a perfectly functioning unit and its frequently unsatisfactory operation serves to direct attention to other closely connected parts. I select only three, all relating to the Legislature: its efficiency, organization for its work, and separation into two chambers. Difficult questions as to these three matters are raised by the control of the purse.

It is a remarkable fact that the question of the method of controlling the Government's money, one of the oldest problems of government, is still almost as acute as it ever was. Supply, historically, is the *raison d'être* for the House of Commons. In antiquity the Cortes of Aragon, the Cortes of Castille, and the States-General of France were the rivals of the English Parliament, but the latter alone survived, primarily because it secured control of the purse, while the other legislative bodies did not. Yet at present this control is limited. By a self-denying ordinance which has been continuously in force for more than two hundred years, the House of Commons will "receive no petition for any sum relating to the public service, or proceed upon any motion for a grant or charge upon the public revenue . . . unless recommended by the Crown" (which means the Cabinet). That puts the responsibility where it should be—squarely on the Executive; and it is still within the power of the Commons to reject or reduce the items which are recommended. But, in fact, so strictly does the party system operate, that the entire financial programme of the Ministry is always adopted without any substantial change, and, indeed, without discussion of many of its features, except in cases where one party loses power on the question of passing the budget. The result is, that so far as appropriations are concerned, the House of Commons in many ways is little more than a rubber stamp for the Cabinet, which is really an executive committee of the House.

An Ex-chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, has declared that "there is no more wasteful body than the House of Commons." For one economy that the House assists, it forces on the Ministry a hundred unnecessary extravagances. "We hate imposing taxes, but love to spend money." And in this the House of Commons is exactly like other legislative bodies. Like other legislatures, also, it has been very much concerned by its impotence during the war; by the executive dictatorship which the exigencies of the conflict forced it to sanction, and by the apparent impossibility of regaining its normal authority. Uneasy about the situation in general, and particularly anxious to effect economies, the

House set up a Select Committee on National Expenditure to report how money could be saved and how the Legislature could exercise a real control. One of the reports of this Committee declared that "there has not been a single instance in the last twenty-five years where the House of Commons, by its own direct action, has reduced on financial grounds any estimate submitted to it." The debates on appropriations have been valuable for the discussion of policy and the efficiency of the administration, but the appropriations would not have been noticeably different if the estimates had not been submitted to Parliament. In times past, the House of Commons humbled kings in order to control expenditure. Its task now is to control its agents, the Ministry. For this the present financial procedure is largely futile, and to effect any improvement it is generally agreed that three reforms will be necessary. This is not the opinion of academic theorists but of the members of the House of Commons themselves, for there have been several very earnest debates on the manner in which there can be more adequate parliamentary control. The proposals should be of interest in the United States, now about to control supply by a system which is modeled very largely on that of England.

First of all, it is recognized that there must be a submission of the estimates in such a form that the Commons will be really able to have an intelligent opinion as to whether the executive programme is economical. That is a condition which should be realized under the American Budget Act and it will be interesting to see whether it is. In the second place, it is evident that a body of seven hundred members, supplied only with figures, the answers of Ministers, and chance facts, is not adapted to form any very intelligent opinion on the merits of the estimates. There must be some committee empowered to investigate establishments, hold hearings, examine witnesses, and make recommendations to the Commons. In France there is real supervision through the powerful budget commissions of the Chambers. A similar expedient is already provided for in the United States by the changes in the rules of the House of Representatives which send the appropriations to a single committee; but this control will be ineffective unless the committee is fortunately made up of men interested in finance, and willing to devote themselves to that drudgery of detail which is essential if their power is to be intelligently directed; unless sectional claims are absolutely barred; and unless the House insists that its committee be economical and then accepts its recommendations. Thirdly, it must come to be realized in England that insistence on economy is not a vote of "no confidence" in the Government, with a consequent general election. At the present time, if a motion is made to reduce an estimate, the party in power need only marshall its supporters and the motion will be defeated, irrespective of its merits; such is the control which the Cabinet has over the Commons and so averse is the latter to a possible dissolution. That is not the case in France where the Cabinet is relatively weak, among other reasons because, although responsible to the Chamber, it cannot dissolve it and force an appeal to the electorate. In the United States, with its separation of powers theory, Congress can insist on having its way.

But, in a sense, the trouble is more deep-seated than the suggestion of these three minor adjustments would seem to indicate, and the experience of parliaments elsewhere shows very clearly that the introduction of a budget system will not solve all our troubles with regard to Congressional control of the purse. Economy and efficiency will have to be striven for, and there will be difficulty with regard to harmonizing taxation and expenditures, the amendment of budget proposals, the audit, and deficiencies. These are important but minor matters. The more fundamental trouble is this:

THE GROWING POWER OF THE EXECUTIVE

LEGISLATIVE regulation of finance, particularly in these days when more than one government is facing bankruptcy, is probably the most important of all political functions, but it is now one of a hundred different functions. Adam Smith's treatise on political science, published a century and a quarter ago, was entitled "Lectures on Justice, Police Revenue, and Arms." Those subjects, for his day, adequately indicated the scope of state authority, the chief problems with which legislatures had to deal; but at the present time, even apart from the abnormal control of the war, modern governments have become vast public service corporations. All states now exercise powers which cannot fairly be termed essential, their assumption being dictated by considerations of expediency rather than of

necessity. The collectivist state is no longer the idle dream of theorists; it is almost upon us. Most critics inveigh against it on grounds of personal liberty. The point I wish to make here is that it imposes an almost unbearable burden on political institutions which were formed to deal with a few, comparatively simple problems. The ordinary legislator simply has not the time necessary to secure the information which will enable him to have intelligent opinions on the many questions which clamor for some legislative action. In England, also, a Parliament, devised for the government of two islands—in itself a sufficient burden—has become responsible for one fourth of the inhabitants of the globe. In the United States local self-government is a vanished dream rather than a reality, and the commonwealths are becoming mere geographical expressions. Congress, with its powers enormously increased over those intended by the "founding Fathers," spends, nevertheless, an astonishing proportion of its time on unimportant matters. Of the legislative grist which comes from the Congressional mill, more than half is of purely private or local concern. The number and complexity of governmental problems result, therefore, in inevitable legislative inefficiency.

This change in the character of government is very largely responsible for one tendency which is constantly pointed out—the vast increase of executive power. There is a direct connection between legislative inefficiency and executive autocracy. In the United States we are accustomed to inveigh against the latter and to talk about making the Executive more responsible. That is an entirely laudable purpose, and it is not to be doubted that the powers of the irresponsible American Presidency are so great as to be alarming. But we should not lose sight of the fact that the complexity of modern life, with its many demands for governmental regulation, requires very extensive delegations to the Executive, and that even in countries where there is, in theory, an absolutely responsible government, critics point to the decline of parliamentary authority and the dictatorship of cabinets. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George did not get their power simply because they wanted to have it and seized it. Parliamentary and Congressional inefficiency—or perhaps I had better say inability to deal with their problems—magnified many times the offices of President and Prime Minister. If the cry now is simply to let the pendulum swing backward, it will stop at a point in its arc far removed from that indicated by the literary theory of constitutional division of power, and will result in poor functioning of the governmental machine. It is doubtful, indeed, if the pendulum can swing backward, so helpless is a large legislative body without leaders, and so impossible is it to check the delegation of power to administrative agencies. The choice, however, is not between autocracy and inefficiency; both can be prevented. If legislatures are to control expenditure or to exert a real influence on other governmental policies, they must organize for that purpose. Only the most efficient organization will make possible effective supervision.

AN EFFECTIVE SYSTEM IN FRANCE

IT IS an interesting fact that in France the pendulum seems to swing the other way, the criticism there being that the Executive does not play a large enough part in the government of the country. For this situation there are a number of causes, but not the least of them is a very efficient organization of the French Chamber into commissions, nineteen in number. In their composition they represent faithfully the political groups in the Chamber, prepare legislation so that proceedings in the Chamber are frequently perfunctory and its business less congested, and, most important of all, organized to articulate with the Executive Departments, they are able to exert a control over administration which is unknown to the House of Commons or the American Congress. Their attention to details can be better informed and more effective than the roving criticism of the Chamber. Ministers appear before them and find in them able allies or severe critics. There is no separation of powers theory, as in the United States, to allow the departments to hold the legislature at arms length, and no cabinet dictatorship to protect department from legislative disapproval, as in England. The Commission on Foreign Affairs exercises a supervision over diplomacy which is far more informed and real than that possessed by the American Senate.

In one important respect, however, the American Government stands alone. Nowhere, except in the United States, has the Upper Chamber more power than the Lower House. As a rule the makers of constitutions have intended that the popular branch of the legislature should pre-dominate; and this was

the intention (at least in one important respect) of the American Constitution, which provides that all bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives. But, apart from its duties as a council to advise the President, the Senate of the United States has steadily acquired power at the expense of the more democratic body, and this has occurred, I say, despite a constant, opposite tendency elsewhere. Only one other senate—that of the Australian Commonwealth—is equal in power, legally and practically, to the Lower House. The second chambers of France, Italy, Belgium, and most other European states, as well as those of New Zealand, the Dominion of Canada, and the South African Union, have a legal equality of power, but practically are weak. The Canadian Senate is the weakest and the French Senate the most powerful of these chambers; but the French Senate has not the influence of the Chamber of Deputies. It claims legal equality of power, but in practice, it admits the so-called "doctrine of the last word" as to money bills, and, in some respects, defers to the more popularly elected chamber on other matters.

The special prerogative of the House of Representatives to originate money bills is too frequently nothing more than the prerogative to originate the enacting clause. The truth of this is abundantly illustrated by the recent tariff legislation, and it is notorious that, with regard to appropriations, the Senate is inclined to be more generous than the House of Representatives. The real function of the House of Representatives seems to be to try to eliminate the increases sanctioned by the Senate. This division of authority will make very difficult, indeed, the efficient and economical operation of a budget system in the United States. The Executive will have to deal with two coördinate Houses and the anomalies of this budgetary procedure may direct attention to the fact that, almost alone among modern states, we give enormous powers to a second chamber over which popular control is likely to be difficult and postponed.

These three questions raised by the control of the purse, and many other proposals for a readjustment of the machinery of popular government, are all masterfully considered by Lord Bryce's recently published "Modern Democracies," a work comparable in many ways to Montesquieu's "Esprit des Lois." Montesquieu was the oracle who was always cited and consulted in framing the American Constitution, and now, as worthy to rank with his great treatise, we have "Modern Democracies," by the author of what is in many ways the most remarkable description of our own political institution, "The American Commonwealth."

"MODERN DEMOCRACIES"

POLITICAL physiology, rather than anatomy, is Lord Bryce's subject. He is concerned, that is to say, with the manner in which governments actually work, rather than with their formal structure, and he does not bother with the location of the minor parts in the political machinery. He discusses, first, the considerations which are applicable to democratic governments in general, and then gives an account of eight constitutional systems at work: Athens, the Republics of Spanish America, Switzerland, the United States, Canada, Australia, France, and New Zealand. Unfortunately he omits England, for, having served in legislatures and cabinets, he could not "be credited with impartiality." But who, in writing on politics ever attained impartiality? It is knowledge and experience and insight and intimacy and candor that we want, and it is a pity that Lord Bryce refuses to discuss the democracy which he knows best. Nevertheless, we should be thankful for the admirably lucid accounts of the political systems which he does include. His concluding criticism of democratic institutions in general; his analysis of certain phenomena which bear on the working of democracy everywhere—the money power in politics, the backward races, letters, and arts—and his final reflections on the present and future of democracy (the problem of non-oligarchical leadership and radical movements) are simple enough for the tyro to understand and profound enough for the specialist to ponder.

It is not too much to say that no other living man could have written Lord Bryce's book, so exceptional have been his opportunities for travel, and observation of different governmental systems at work; his experience in English public life; his extensive acquaintance with politicians in the countries he discusses, and his background of legal and historical knowledge. American readers will regret that our own public life is so largely devoid of men who have any knowledge of political philosophy or governmental principles. The men we elect

are interested only in current politics. In England, Lord Morley, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Marriott, and a score of others appeal to wider audiences than their constituencies, but to mention American names would necessitate invidious paucity. Certainly, no American could have produced Lord Bryce's work.

In the United States there has been much writing on politics, but most of it has been by academic authors. Furthermore, it has been largely monographic, dealing with special problems like the budget, or special subjects like constitutional law, and there is very little with which Lord Bryce's volumes can be compared. They are dedicated to President Lowell of Harvard, "to whom Englishmen are indebted for an admirably lucid and exact description of their government in its theory and practice, 'The Government of England,'" now unfortunately somewhat out of date. Despite this, and despite a meticulous analysis which sometimes obscures rather than illumines big problems, it is a remarkably able and readable book. From the Collectivists, however, has come the most recent and in many ways the most brilliant criticism of English political institutions, Mr. and Mrs. Sydney Webb's "A Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain." Their introductory chapters are a masterpiece of acute analysis and will be approved by readers who cannot accept their proposals for reform. One suggestion, however, bears on some of the considerations set forth above; a modification of the bicameral theory so that there will be one parliament to deal with political questions, and a second to deal with social and economic questions, each autonomous in its sphere, with the twilight zone being looked after by the two chambers in joint session.

Of the American Government there has been no really adequate analysis since Lord Bryce's "The American Commonwealth" and President Wilson's "Congressional Government." Both were first published more than thirty-five years ago, but both still repay careful reading. To see ourselves through foreign eyes, accustomed to watch a parliamentary government function, is an excellent way of appreciating the vulgar forces which are more important than constitutional theories; and Mr. Wilson's incisive brochure, stressing the question of responsibility, is still as timely to-day as it was when it was written. His own Presidency furnishes a hundred illustrations of the truth of his criticisms, and while he does not give sufficient weight to the fact that political institutions cannot be transplanted but must grow out of the life of a people, the quest for a responsible government will be aided by his analysis. France has suffered because her cabinet system, transplanted from England, has functioned rather roughly, and recently there has appeared the best description in English of French political problems—Professor E. M. Sait's "Government and Politics of France." It is a modest book, clearly and at times brilliantly written, and contains many interesting generalizations and comparisons which put it far above most American text books, for they are, unfortunately, too descriptive.

The task of the writer on politics is growing more and more difficult. Materials are increasing very rapidly. Democratic experiments in states which were formerly under the Russian and Austro-Hungarian monarchies, and in such countries as India, China, and Egypt will put theories to new tests, and all generalization, therefore, must be provisional. Each writer, in Lord Bryce's phrase, "hands on the torch to his successor and the succession is infinite." For the torch really to shed light, the study must be comparative. If government is, as Burke said it was, "a contrivance of human wisdom to provide for human wants," American problems can be helped to a solution by the experience of other countries, for human wants are everywhere the same. Solution must be achieved, for there is no denying Macaulay's pregnant dictum: "The great cause of revolution is this, that while nations move onward, constitutions stand still." And political progress is possible only if the citizen—whose desire for a budget system, for administrative reorganization, and for other changes is responsible for Presidential and Congressional willingness to effect them—realizes that the matter is not one simply of current political controversies in the press, but that advances will come only with the aid of light from the torch taken by Lord Bryce from Montesquieu and handed on—to who knows whom?

COAL TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

How Every Householder Can Save Money and Help National Prosperity at the Same Time. How Our Coal Supply Can Give Us a Leading Place in World Trade

By FLOYD W. PARSONS

ONE federal building in Wall Street, New York City, now holds gold coin and bullion to the value of $1,500,000,000. This is one fifth of all the gold that has been used as money in the world since the beginning of civilization. Never before has so much of the precious yellow metal been collected in one place at one time. But great as is this enormous treasure which lies in one of Uncle Sam's assay offices, it has only one half the value of the total quantity of coal purchased by fuel consumers in the United States in a single year.

No raw material or natural resource is like coal in being a chief essential in the home as well as in industry. Coal is the muscle and sinew of both manufacture and commerce, and without it, dozens of useful products would largely lose their value. It is the nucleus around which our present civilization has been built. If we were to be cut off from an adequate supply of coal, our progress in industry for years to come would be backward instead of forward, for there is nothing we know of that could be utilized immediately fully to replace coal in our lives.

Even if we were to develop and utilize, at once, every possible water-power resource in America, the total energy thus made available would replace only a small part of the horsepower now derived each year from coal. Oil will be the only important competitor of coal. The petroleum resources of the United States, so far as ground oil is concerned, have an estimated life of but twenty or thirty years. Therefore, looking ahead a dozen years or more, our hope for a fuel to supplement coal appears to be in the development of a shale-oil industry. The world's oil-bearing shale resources are so great they are almost beyond computation.

Next to oil, as a competitor of coal, is natural and artificial gas. Like ground oil, the country's supply of natural gas is limited to a comparatively short period of time. The waste of natural gas, like the waste of coal and oil, has been appalling. Domestic consumers of natural gas obtain an efficiency of no more than 14 per cent. from a gas cookstove, as a result of faulty appliances.

There are some facts concerning natural gas which every citizen should know. He should understand that we are faced with a decreasing supply; that natural gas is a wasting asset, and one that is not being replaced by Nature; that only nine states are important producers of natural gas; that the cost per consumer for sinking a natural gas well and for providing equipment, pipe lines, etc., is greater than for any other public service; that it is not uncommon for a well and even a field to reach a state of virtual exhaustion in twelve or fifteen months; and that of all the natural resources in the United States, natural gas will soonest be exhausted, and it will take not less than 36 million tons of coal to replace the gas now consumed.

Artificial gas is also a competitor of coal, but at the same time, it is a by-product of the coal and oil industries, and when properly used is a boon to the public, because of the fuel saving that results. The artificial gas industry of the United States is made up of more than one thousand corporations, and represents a total investment of approximately $4,000,000,000. Artificial gas is directly supplied to 8,300,000 consumers in 4,600 cities, towns, and villages throughout the country, and serves a population of more than 40,000,000 people. It is estimated that 62,000 miles of street mains are used to distribute gas, and this does not include the small service pipes which convey the gas from the mains to the householders' premises. It is estimated that 300 billion cubic feet of artificial gas is produced and distributed each year in the United States. In the making of this gas the companies use nearly 10,000,000 tons of bituminous coal; 26,000,000 gallons of oil; 1,500,000 tons of coke; and 2,000,000 tons of anthracite coal.

Care in the use of gas for fuel purposes would save the nation many millions of dollars each year. Here are a few rules to remember: See that the burners in the gas stove are not more than one and one-quarter inches below the cooking vessel. In other words, the gas flame

should be one and one-quarter inches high. When a higher flame is used, much of the heat generated goes out horizontally and is without effect in cooking. Never permit the flame to lick up along the side of the vessel, and make sure that the tip of the flame barely touches the bottom. The gas should burn with a pale blue, non-luminous flame; a luminous flame deposits soot and is otherwise wasteful. In order to get the proper type of flame, adjust the burner so as to admit the right amount of air. In the winter, when the gas pressure is low, either raise the burners or lower the position of the cooking vessel, so that the tip of the short flame will still touch the bottom. Often, it is necessary to lower the vessel to within one-half inch of the gas burner. Raising and lowering the cooking vessel or adjusting the burners is not a difficult job.

Never burn gas under solid tops in cook-stoves. Use only grid tops or skeleton lids. Shut out all side drafts, so that the flames will not be deflected. Always place the vessel in position before lighting the gas, and eliminate red or yellow from the flame by adjusting the air shutter. Remember that a cooking vessel cannot be made any hotter after boiling commences, so when boiling begins, lower the flame. Always turn off the gas before removing the vessel, and do not forget that deposits of soot and scale on the bottoms of hot-water tanks, or inside of hot-water heaters make it necessary to use more gas.

The greater use of gas in American homes will save large quantities of coal, but the benefits resulting from the wider use of gas are likely to be offset, to a considerable extent, by the declining production of natural gas. Therefore, viewed from any angle we choose, the coal problem remains perhaps the most important economic question confronting the people of the United States.

The cost of coal more nearly and more directly affects the lives of the people of this country than any other widely used commodity. It enters into the cost of practically all of our necessities and most of our luxuries. When the price of coal goes up, the price of everything we use goes up; when coal comes down, all other things follow. In 1917, just before America entered the war, the labor cost per ton of anthracite coal was $1.51. Then the Government took hold of our coal industry, and wages were advanced by the Federal Fuel Administration and later by the award of a United States Coal Commission, until now the labor cost per ton of hard coal is $4.07. The bituminous industry shows practically a like development in mining costs. At the commencement of the war, a ton of bituminous coal could be purchased in most of our mining fields for $1.50 a ton. From this low level, the price of bituminous coal rose to $7 or $8 a ton at the mines in most districts. Since these peak prices were recorded, there has come a substantial decline in soft-coal prices, and the outlook for a return of prices to a normal level is particularly good, if the Government will keep hands off, if consumers will exercise economy in the use of coal, and, most important, if the railroads will provide adequate transportation at a lower rate than now prevails.

COAL CAPITAL VERSUS COAL LABOR

SIX hundred thousand miners throughout the country have refused to consider any reduction in wages before the termination of the present agreements on March 31, 1922. At that time, both the anthracite and bituminous wage contracts expire, and there is little doubt but that the miners will demand a continuance of the present rates. The final outcome, however, will depend on the attitude of the public, and for this reason it is probable that the miners will be compelled to see the wisdom of accepting an adjustment in wages, corresponding with the adjustments made in other basic industries. There can be no balance in the nation's trade until each and every great business has been brought into line. If there is one thing that would be more likely than anything else to impede the satisfactory readjustment of the world's business, it is a failure to bring the prices of anthracite and bituminous coal to a fair and reasonable level.

A few years ago, when the coal industry was in a sad condition financially, and bituminous operators in most fields were hardly earning the interest on their bonds, a delegation of coal-mine owners went to Washington and implored the Government to investigate conditions and permit the coal industry to accumulate and circulate figures covering production, prices, etc., so that this information might tend to stabilize the business. Federal officials did not look with favor upon the proposal, much to the disappointment of the coal operators. Now, members of the Government are urging legislation that practically requires the coal owners

to do the thing that these operators once proposed. But the coal men, having had a taste of real prosperity, due partly to the war, but mostly to Federal regulation and inadequate transportation, which latter curtailed production and advanced prices, can see nothing alluring in the Government's present proposal. If the public is wise, it will let the coal operators have their way, remembering that the productive capacity of our bituminous mines, just now, is far greater than our consumptive capacity.

When the nation has solved its railroad problem, it need not worry at all about an adequate supply of fuel. Let those who want to regulate the coal industry devote their attention to getting our carriers back into shape, and the nation's fuel business will need no Federal control. With plenty of cars and sufficient motive power, there will be more than enough coal for everyone, and the prices will be low. In fact, if transportation becomes adequate, the principal danger will be from prices that are too low, rather than from prices that are too high. Then another delegation of coal men will go to Washington asking for help, and the Government will again refuse aid.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN LEADERSHIP

THE nation's prosperity is largely dependent on a well-managed and profitably operated coal industry. For this reason, we must now encourage the building up of a world-wide coal business. We are living in an age when world power depends upon the relatively cheap production of coal and iron. A nation that deliberately throws away its advantages in this respect is, economically speaking, digging its own grave. Prior to the war, the British transacted 71 per cent. of the entire seaboard coal trade of the world. Then, British exports totaled more than 76,000,000 tons, and in addition, Great Britain supplied 22,000,000 tons each year to coaling stations and for ships' bunkers. To-day British exports of coal are running at the rate of less than 25,000,000 tons annually. The question arises, will the United States or will Great Britain control the coal markets of the world in the coming years? The nations of the world which have no coal at all, or only an insufficient supply, require in the neighborhood of a hundred million tons of coal each year, and this fuel must come either from the British Isles or from the United States. That America has a great opportunity in this world field is clearly evidenced by a study of the facts in the case.

Last year 1,185,000 men were employed in the mines of Great Britain, producing 229,000,000 tons, or an output per man employed of 193 tons. Here in the United States the average production per man employed is upward of 900 tons. In 1920 British mine owners employed 10 per cent. more miners than they did in 1913, and with these additional miners the collieries produced 58,000,000 tons less coal. The cost of coal in England for the month of March was more than thirty-nine shillings per ton. With the pound sterling at par, this would be the equivalent of approximately $10 per ton. Here in the United States it is a poor mine that cannot produce a ton of bituminous coal for $3 or $3.50 a ton.

One thing is sure. Now that America has plenty of ships, Great Britain must reduce her costs of mining at least 50 per cent., if she would compete successfully in foreign markets with American coal exporters. Furthermore, Great Britain must enlarge her production materially, for the coal needs of England are about 190 million tons annually; so, in order to return to her former position of preëminence in the coal world, she must produce considerably more than the output now being mined. British operators must adopt labor-saving and cost-reducing machinery, and this is not going to be an easy task, in view of the dictatorial attitude of the British Miners' Union. Recently in one month in Wales, where mining is done mostly by hand, the average output per miner for the entire month was but fifteen tons, or slightly more than one half ton for each working day. In an average American mine, equipped with modern machinery, it is not unusual for a single miner to turn out fifteen tons in a single working day. As the situation stands to-day, American coal can be mined in West Virginia, transported 200 or more miles to the seaboard, loaded into ships, and landed in England for less than it costs to mine a ton of coal in a British colliery under present conditions. This statement becomes more startling when I add that this can be done under an American mining wage considerably in excess of England's present scale.

Now all of this sounds very hopeful for the future of America's coal export trade. However, the outcome will depend on whether or not American operators immediately take steps to eliminate the handicaps that now confront

them. In Great Britain the problem to be overcome is inefficient labor and a lack of modern equipment. Here, we are hampered by inadequate coal docks and pier equipment. If the British deliberately gave up the world's coal markets, we could not step in and take this trade without enlarging our shiploading facilities on the Atlantic seaboard. At the present time, the total average coal-loading capacity of all our Atlantic Coast export coal-docks is about 135,000 tons per ten-hour day. This means that working ten hours for 300 days in a year, we can load only 40,500,000 tons of coal. Now these same docks must also handle a considerable tonnage of coal annually for New England, as well as 5,000,000 tons of bunker coal for the use of ships. It is evident, therefore, that unless something is done at once to enlarge our coal-loading facilities materially, the United States need not hope to gain a permanent position as the world's leading coal export nation.

It is to be hoped that the people of the United States will realize in full the importance of our present opportunity in the world's coal market. The more we study the lesson of Great Britain, the more evident it becomes that we need not expect to reëstablish our merchant marine permanently, unless we go forward firm in the idea that our shipping and our coal interests must be closely allied. In England, in most cases, either shipping controls coal, or coal controls shipping. In the past, England would only allow her vessels to seek American coal when she had had no other cargo available, so that while the cost of the English coal f.o.b. vessel was invariably higher than the cost of American coal f.o.b. vessel, the English colliery owner was able to make c.i.f. prices so low that America was unable to compete successfully in the world's coal markets, except to a very limited degree. Unless we watch our step, the same condition will again exist.

The American public must get out of its mind the idea that a large export coal trade means higher prices for coal here in the United States. Quite the reverse is true. American miners have demanded wage increases because they had too little employment and could not make both ends meet, working only two thirds of the time, unless they received high wages for this part time employment. If we can build up a worth while foreign business in coal, our miners will have more regular employment, and the operating companies will be able to produce coal more cheaply, because overhead charges will be reduced as production increases. As an example of how misinformation is often circulated, we have only to remember recent reports which stated that the scarcity of anthracite coal was due to large exports of this fuel and to its use on our merchant marine. The truth is that practically no anthracite has ever been exported to Europe, and very little of it has ever been used on ocean steamers for fuel purposes. There is an old saying that "commerce follows the flag"; this should be amended to read, "commerce follows fuel."

As already stated, a large export trade will tend to stabilize the bituminous coal industry, and this should redound to the benefit of domestic consumers of coal. But there is another and a better way for both individuals and corporation to reduce their annual coal bills, and that is by exercising greater care and intelligence in burning coal.

RAILROAD PRODIGALITY IN COAL

PERHAPS the greatest waste of coal is by our railroads. At the present time, the country's carriers use about 27 per cent. of all the bituminous coal produced in the United States each year. If this tonnage were placed in standard coal cars and coupled in a single train, it would have a length of 26,260 miles. If moving at a constant speed of twenty miles an hour, this train would require fifty-five days to pass a given point. Such a volume of coal would be sufficient to pave a roadway from New York City to San Francisco, one foot in thickness and one half mile wide.

The railroads are badly in need of locomotives and cars. If our transportation lines were to effect a saving of 2 per cent. in their annual consumption of coal, the amount thus laid aside would be sufficient to purchase several hundred modern locomotives, and thousands of freight cars. For each 1 per cent. of fuel saved, the railroads of the United States effect a direct gain of about 5 million dollars while the indirect saving amounts to a sum that is equally as great. Of all the coal that is used in the fire-box of a locomotive, only 6 per cent. of the total value of the fuel is applied to the work of moving the freight or passenger cars.

When a pound of coal is burned in a freight locomotive at ordinary freight train speed, it will furnish sufficient energy to carry one ton fifteen miles. An ordinary passenger locomotive consumes a pound of fuel for every fifty-

two feet it travels. Each unnecessary stop made with a heavy freight or passenger train represents a fuel loss of from 500 to 750 pounds of coal, depending on the weight of the train, the length of the stop and the grade conditions. A brake-line air leak on a train of fifty freight cars has been known to cause a loss of as much as 2,540 pounds of coal in a ten-hour period. The loss of coal each time a modern locomotive pops off for five minutes is about seventy-five pounds. If locomotive firemen were to save a little more than one shovelful of coal out of each ton used, the total saving would be equal to nearly 1 per cent. of all the coal handled.

The ultimate in fuel economy on our railroads is a long way off. Railroad practice in many parts of our country is far from being modern. For example, the brick arch, if applied to an American locomotive, and properly operated and maintained, will save approximately 15 per cent. of the locomotive's fuel; yet some of the largest roads in the country are only now commencing to equip locomotives with this well known fuel-saving device.

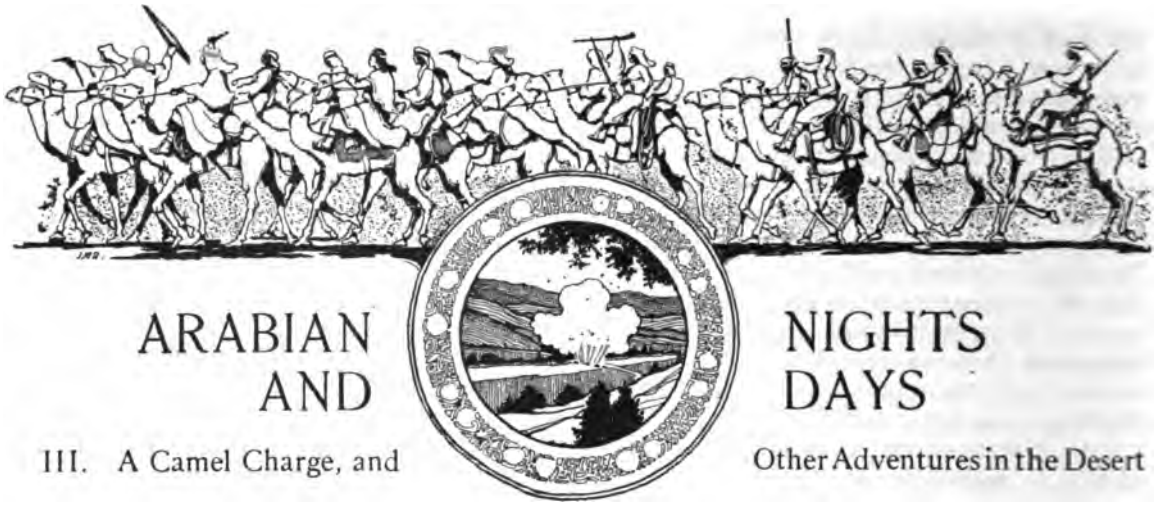
SOME HINTS ON COAL ECONOMY

DURING the war, stress was laid on economy in household heating and cooking practices. The reason was the vital need for coal to carry on the fight. Now, unfortunately, we hear very little about ways and means to save coal in our homes. Here is one thing to remember. Each householder profits just as much from making four tons of coal do the work now done by five, as he does from a 20 per cent. reduction in prices. Fuel waste would be less if consumers kept in mind a few facts. In American homes there is too much heat and too little moisture. Dry air at 70 degrees generally feels cooler than moist air at 60 degrees. Moisture is the great bed blanket Mother Nature has supplied for the inhabitants of the earth. The atmosphere in many houses drys a person out just as wet clothes are dried out on a wash line. Body evaporation carries away heat and we feel chilly. Every house should have a hygrometer as well as a thermometer, and as much attention should be paid to humidity readings as to temperature readings. There are dozens of ways to humidify a house. Radiator pans may be used, or the householder may adopt some simple plan like hanging a soaking-wet bath towel over the back of a radiator. Even a boiling kettle in a room is helpful. Moist air is a preventive as well as a cure for catarrh: It retains its heat much longer than dry air, and as a consequence, less coal is needed to keep such air warm. In an atmosphere containing proper moisture, a temperature of from 64 to 68 degrees is scientifically best for the human race.

In firing a house-heating furnace, do not poke and slice the fire more than necessary, and do not break the bed from the top. Break all lumps into pieces; firing large lumps is wasteful. In shaking the ashes, do not shake through unburned fuel. The first glow in the ash pit is a warning to stop. In winter, maintain the fuel bed ten inches thick; in mild weather, decrease the depth and keep a layer of ashes on the grate under the live coals. Remove ashes frequently and brush the flue once a week. Be economical of hot water. To heat only a gallon of water from 40 degrees to 150 degrees requires about a quarter pound of coal. If we use ten gallons of hot water in taking a bath, at the above rate, we consume two and a half pounds of coal. Even in our use of cold water we should exercise care, for some of our small municipal plants consume as much as a pound of coal in pumping twenty-five gallons of water. People often leave a faucet open simply to get a cold drink of water.

Some industries campaign among their customers in behalf of economy of usage. For instance, the gas industry spends thousands of dollars each year in an effort to improve all gas-consuming devices. One gas company last year spent $65,000 to reduce the waste of gas in the homes of its customers. Another concern coined the phrase, "matches are cheaper than gas," and this little reminder has caused many people to extinguish needless flames and then relight the burners when there was work to be done.

This farsighted policy is based on the belief that waste of gas by faulty appliances or otherwise, causes high gas bills. High bills breed complaints. Complaints mean letter writing, delayed payments, and dissatisfied customers. The companies believe that satisfied customers mean more to them than the small revenue that might come from the excessive use of gas. Members of the coal industry often complain that the public is hostile toward their business without cause. The mine owners might lessen this hostility by showing more interest in the question of economy in coal consumption. Good-will, like corn or wheat, grows only where it is planted and cultivated.



ARABIAN NIGHTS AND DAYS

III. A Camel Charge, and Other Adventures in the Desert

By COL. THOMAS E. LAWRENCE

THE Turkish engineers, who had blown up the wells, reported to their Government that every source of water was utterly destroyed. One of our secret friends sent a message to say that he had been present at the firing of the King's well at Jefer, and that the charges of dynamite were all set in the top of the shaft. In his opinion, the well was not filled up, but the upper courses of stone had been blown inward, and keyed together. We would find them arching over the mouth of the well, and the bottom still intact. So on a June morning we rode out from Bair in good hope.

We marched that day, and slept the night in the great plain of Jefer. Next day at noon we reached the wells, whose condition seemed very bad. They were all ruined, apparently beyond our mending, and we began to wonder where we would have to ride for our next drink. However, in the end we collected around the King's well (Auda's family property) and sounded about it with a tent-mallet. The ground rang hollow, and we called for volunteers to dig down into it and make sure.

It was a hot task for a mid-day in summer, in that blinding white place, but necessary, for if it failed we would have to go sixty miles in the night to the next well. The Jefer plain is of pure hard mud, as flat as the hand, white with salt, and thirty miles across—but it was easy digging, since there were no stones, and the explosion which shifted the masonry had cracked and loosened the soil about it. As they dug and threw out the earth, the core of the well rose up like a round tower in the centre of their hole. This proved that the damage was indeed superficial, and we began very carefully to take away the ruined head of the pile. Some of the stones were difficult to move, for they had become interlocked in their fall; but this was all the better sign and we worked harder. Before sunset, they shouted that there was no more earth, that the interstices between the blocks were clear, and that they heard the mud-fragments that slipped down splashing many feet below. Half an hour afterward there was a rush and rumble, followed by heavy splashes and then yells. We ran up to see what it was, and found the well yawning open, no longer a tube, but a great bottle-shouldered pit, twenty feet across; and the bottom was black with water and white with the spray where the last Ageyli, who had been clearing away the blocked stones when the key slipped, was striking out lustily to keep his head above water.

Everybody stood and laughed for a long time, while the Mirzugi lowered him a noose of rope, and out we pulled him, very wet and frightened, but quite unhurt. We rewarded and feasted the diggers, and watered our camels all night, while a second squad of Ageyli, with a long chorus, built the mouth up again in an 8-foot wall of mud and stones. At dawn the earth was stamped in round it, and the well stood complete to the surface of the desert, as fit, in appearance, as it had ever been. Only the water was not too plentiful. We worked it all the twenty-four hours, and ran it to a cream; and still there were some camels not satisfied.

From Jefer riders went forward into the Dhumaniyeh tents at Batra, to lead their promised attack against the Turkish post of Fuweila, which covered the great spring of Aba el Lissan, and the edge of the plateau, where the road to Akaba drops down in steep

waves to the Guweira plain. We decided to sit in Jefer till the morning of the first, when the messengers ought to return with news of how the attack had gone.

NEWS OF A MASSACRE

AT DAWN next morning, a tired horseman rode in with news that the Dhumaniyeh had fired on the Fuweila post yesterday, as soon as our men had reached them. The surprise, however, had not been complete, and the Turks had been able to man their stone breastworks. The Arabs fell back into cover, and the enemy, believing that they had only an ordinary affray to cope with, had made a sortie on their horses and swept down upon the Dhumaniyeh tents across the ridge. The men were all out fighting, and in their anger the Turks had smashed the tents and furniture, and cut the throats of the women and children. The Arabs got down from the hill-tops too late to save their families, but in time to cut off and kill the men who had massacred them. To complete their vengeance, they assaulted the now weak garrison of the fort, and carried it in their first rush.

We were ready saddled and waiting, so we got off in ten minutes, and rode southwestward toward El Haj, the first station south of Maan on the Hedjaz Railway, and on our direct road for Fuweila. At the same time, we sent a small party northwestward, to cross the line just above Maan, and make a diversion on that side. Especially they were to try and capture the great herds of sick camels which the Turks used to pasture about Shobek, to wait until they were again fit enough for service. We calculated that the news of the Fuweila disaster would only have just reached Maan, and that before the Turks could assemble a relief column and transport for it, our northern party might catch their camels, and our main body would be on the railway, where we intended to execute such demolitions as would compel the relief expedition to be deflected from Fuweila thither.

BRIDGE BLASTING INTERRUPTED

SO WE rode steadily through the flowing mirage until the afternoon, when we descended on the line with little opposition, and cleared a long stretch of it, capturing the weak guards and patrols. The Turks could not distinguish us in the heat haze, and we took them without casualties to ourselves. Then the explosives arrived, and we began to blow up some of the numerous bridges of this section, and to cut the rails. The noise of the explosions would give instant notice of us to Maan, and we hoped it would bring the enemy down upon us in the night—or rather down to parts where they would find no enemy, but many broken bridges. The drainage vents in the spandrels of the arches were still open, and thanks to them we worked well and cheaply. Five pounds of gelatine in these holes shattered all the arch, and stripped the side walls. Each bridge took no more than six minutes to do. By sunset we had ruined ten bridges and many rails, and had exhausted our supply of explosives. So we called our force together and rode five miles west of the line in the dark, till we were in a covered place. There, we made fires and baked bread.

However, our meal was barely cooked when some horsemen rode up and said that at sunset a long column of fresh troops of infantry with guns had appeared at Aba el Lissan from Maan. This was most unwelcome, for the Arabs were disorganized by victory, and had had to abandon their ground to the Turks without fighting. They were now at Batra, waiting for us. We learnt afterward that this surprising vigor of the enemy was accidental. They had left Maan in the morning, marched gently along the motor road through Waheida and Mreigha to Aba el Lissan, and thence uphill toward the old post, which was deserted except for the silent vultures flying round the stone walls in quick uneasy rings. The battalion commander feared that this sight might be too much for his young troops, and so led them back to the spring of Aba el Lissan in its steep narrow valley and camped them there in peace all night.

This news shook us into quick life. We threw our baggage across our camels and rode off with the messengers, over the rolling downs of this end of the table-land of Syria. We carried our hot bread in our hands, and ate it while we rode, and with it mingled the taste of the dust of our large force as it crossed the valley bottoms, and the strange, keen smell of the wormwood which overgrew all the slopes. In the still air of these hot summer evenings in the hills, everything strikes very suddenly on the senses; and when marching in a long column, as we were doing, the front camels, pacing cautiously in the dark, kick the dust-laden branches of the aromatic shrubs, the

scent-particles fly up, and hang in a long mist upon the air, scenting the passage of all those behind.

We rode all night, and when dawn came we dismounted on the crest of the hills between Batra and Aba el Lissan, with a wonderful view to the west of the green and gold plain of Guweira, and beyond it the ruddy mountains, hiding Akaba and the sea. Gasim abu Dumeik, the head of the Dhumaniyeh was waiting there for us with his hard-bitten tribesmen, We talked for a few minutes, made rapid plans. and scattered for the work. We could not go forward to Akaba, with any hope of success, while this battalion held the head of the pass; and if we could not dislodge it, all our two months' hazard and labor would go for nothing. Fortunately, the enemy made our work easier by bad dispositions. They remained supinely in the hollow, while we split into sections and crowned all the hills about them unobserved. Then we began to snipe them steadily in their positions under the slopes and rock faces and by the water, hoping to provoke them to come out and charge uphill at us. Meanwhile Zaal went off with the horsemen and cut the Maan telegraph and telephone wires in the plain behind.

WITHERING HEAT

THE situation endured all day. It was terribly hot, hotter than I had ever felt it before in Arabia, and the anxiety and constant effort made it hard for us. Even many of the tough tribesmen broke down under the beating of the sun, and crawled or had to be carried under the shade of rocks to recover. We had little water and could not detach enough men to bring more to us, so that thirst was added to our pains. We had to run up and down, supplying our lack of numbers by mobility, looking over the ridges for a spot from which to shoot, or to counter some Turkish effort. The hill-sides were steep and difficult, and exhausted our breath, and the long plants and grasses wove about our dragging feet as we ran, and seemed to pluck us backward. We had to be very careful of our ammunition, and each round was fired grudgingly, for our rifles were so hot with the sun that they seared our hands, and the rocks on which we lay burned the skin off our forearms and off our chests, so that later they peeled in great painful sheets. Our feet, of course, were harder; yet even they were severely tried, and before the evening, many of the more energetic men were leaving rusty prints upon the ground at every stride.

We consoled ourselves with the knowledge that the enemy in their enclosed valley would be hotter than we were on the open hills, and also, that they were Turks, men of white meat, little apt for warm weather. We clung tightly to them, and did not let them move or mass or sortie out against us cheaply. They could do nothing adequate in return. We were no targets for their rifles, for we moved with speed and eccentricity, and we were able to laugh at their little mountain gun which they fired up at us. Its shells passed over our heads and burst hundreds of feet in the air behind us—yet, of course, so far as they could see, fairly on the hostile summit of the hill.

In the afternoon, I had a heat-stroke myself, or pretended to have one, for I was worn out by the weariness of it all, and cared no longer how it went. So I crept down into a hollow to the southeast, where there was a trickle of thick water in a muddy cup of the hills, and tried to suck some moisture off the dirt through my sleeve. Masir joined me, panting like a tired animal, with his cracked and bleeding lips gaping apart in his distress; and then old Auda appeared striding down powerfully, his eyes bloodshot and staring, his face working with excitement. He croaked hoarsely with joy when he saw us spread out there anyhow by the stones, trying to find coolness under them, and said to me. "Well, how is it with the Howeitat? All talk and no work?" "Indeed," I returned for I was angry with everyone and with myself, "they shoot a lot and hit a little."

Auda turned almost pale with rage, and tore his headcloth off trembling, and threw it on the ground beside me. Then he ran back uphill like a madman, shouting out to his men on this side and on that in his dreadful strained and rustling voice.

A CHARGE OF THE CAMEL-MEN

THEY came together to him, and after a moment, scattered away downhill. I feared things were going wrong, and struggled up to Auda again where he was glaring out alone from the hill-top; but all he would say to me was: "Get your camel, if you want to see the old man's work." Nasir called for his camel, and we all mounted.

The Arabs passed in front of us into a little

rising place, which led to a low crest, and beyond the crest we knew the hill-side went down in a hollow slope to the Aba el Lissan valley, somewhat below the spring. All our four hundred camel-men were collected here, on our side of the ridge, holding together in a close mass, just out of sight of the enemy. We rode to their head, and asked the *Shimt* what it was, and where the horsemen had gone. He pointed over the ridge to the next valley above us, and said: "With Auda there," and as he spoke there were yells and shots in a sudden torrent from beyond the crest, and we kicked our camels furiously to the edge to see. There were our fifty horsemen coming down the last ridge into the main valley like a thunderbolt, at full gallop, shooting from the saddle. As we watched them we saw two or three go down, but the rest tore forward at a marvellous speed, and the Turkish infantry, which had been huddled together under the cliff, making ready to cut their way desperately northward toward Maan in the first dusk, began to sway in and out, and finally broke before their rush.

Nasir screamed at me "Come on" with his bloody mouth, and we all plunged our camels madly over the slope, and down toward the head of the fleeing enemy. The slope was not too steep for a camel gallop, but steep enough to make their pace terrific, and their course uncontrollable, at least for me. Indeed, I had great difficulty in sitting my plunging animal at all. The Arabs extended to right and left, when the ground widened, and began to shoot from the saddle into the Turkish brown as we charged. The Turks had been too bound up in terror of Auda's fiery charge on their rear, to see us as we came over the eastward slope, so we also took them by surprise, and in the flank. Anyway a charge of runaway camels going nearly thirty miles an hour would sweep away everything living in its track.

A POOR AIM, AND ITS RESULT

MINE was a Sherari racing camel, Naama. I had bought her for a great price in Nebk the month before, and she stretched herself out, and hurled herself downhill with such might that we soon outdistanced all the others. The Turks fired a few shots, but mostly they only shrieked and tried to run; and the bullets they did send at us were not very harmful, since it takes a heavy weight of metal to bring a charging camel down in a heap. I had got amongst the first of them, and was shooting (with a pistol, of course, for only an expert-rider can use a rifle at the gallop,) when suddenly my camel tripped and went down emptily on its face. I was torn completely from the saddle, and went sailing grandly through the air for a considerable distance, landing with a crash that seemed to beat all the life and feeling out of me. I just lay there passively, waiting for the Turks to kill me, continuing the verse of a half-forgotten poem whose rhythm, something, perhaps the long stride of the camel, had brought back to my mind as we leaped down the hillside:

For Lord I was free of all Thy flowers, but I chose the world's sad roses
And that is why my feet are torn and mine eyes are dim with sweat,
But at Thy terrible Judgment seat when this my tired life closes
I am ready to reap whereof I sowed, and pay my righteous debt.

And at the same time another part of my mind thought what a poor squashed thing I would look, when that following cataract of live men and camels had poured over me.

However, after a long time I finished my poem, and no Turks came to me, and no camel trod on me; a curtain seemed taken away from my ears and there was a great noise in front. So I sat up and saw the battle over, and our men driving together and cutting down the last broken remnants of the enemy. Behind me was my camel's body, which had lain there like a rock, and divided the charge into two streams past me; and in the back of its skull was the heavy bullet of the fifth shot I had fired! Ahmed brought me Obeyd, my spare camel, and then Nasir came up leading the Turkish commander, whom he had rescued, wounded, from Mohammed el Dheilan's wrath. The silly man had refused to surrender, and was trying to restore the day for his side with a baby pistol.

The Howeitat were very fierce, for the slaughter of their women the day before had been a new and horrible side of war, suddenly revealed to them. In all the history of the desert there are only two instances of intentional harm to a woman, and every Arab is brought up to execrate the authors of those outrages in passionate songs. However, there were about one hundred and sixty prisoners, many wounded; and about three hundred

dead and dying were scattered over the open valley beside the road. A few of the enemy got away, notably some mounted men, and their Motalga guides. Mohammed el Dheilan, chased them for three miles into Mreigha hurling insults at them as he rode, that they might know him and keep out of his way. Among them was Dhaif Allah, who had done us the good turn about the well at Jefer.

HOW THE KORAN KEEPS OFF BULLETS

AUDA came swinging up to us on foot, his eyes dancing with joy, and the words bubbling incoherently from his mouth. . . . "Work, work, where are words? Work, *bulletsy abu Tayi,*" and he held up his shattered field glasses, his pierced revolver holster, and his leather sword-scabbard, cut to ribbons. He had been right through a volley, which had killed his mare under him, but the six bullets through his equipment had left him scatheless. He told me later in confidence, that he had bought a miniature Koran for one hundred and twenty pounds, thirteen years before, and had not since been wounded. It was one of the little Glasgow reproductions, costing eighteen pence in England, but the other Arabs are too afraid of Auda to laugh at his superstition (unworthy in a grown Bedouin) or to explain the bad bargain that he made.

I made haste to question the prisoners about themselves and their movements, and what more there was in Maan, since their prompt appearance at Fuweila made me fear that the garrison had perhaps been heavily reinforced. But the shock had been too great for them, and they could only gape at me or gabble unintelligibly. Man after man whom I questioned could not speak a sane word. They wept and embraced my knees, swearing that they were Moslems and my brothers; and that was all the sense left in them. Finally I got angry, and took one of them aside, and was rough to him, shocking him by new pain into a half-understanding, in which he replied to simple questions well enough, and very reassuringly. I learnt that their battalion was the only reinforcement, and merely a reserve battalion; and that the troops left in Maan would not be enough to defend the perimeter.

This meant we could take it, and the Howeitat clamored to be led there at once. The dream of unlimited booty lured them, though what we had taken here was a rich prize. However, Nasir, and later Auda, helped me restrain them. We could take Maan, but we had no support, no base nearer than Wijh three hundred miles away, no communications, no money.

Meanwhile our Arabs had plundered all there was to be found on the Turks, in their train, or at their camp, and then soon after moonrise Auda came to us and said that we must make a move. This annoyed Nasir and myself.

However, Auda insisted on it. Partly, it was superstition again (he feared the newly dead all around); partly, he thought that the Turks might return in force from some quarter, or other clans of the Howeitat might surprise us lying here broken and asleep. Some of them were his blood enemies; others might be coming in to help our battle, and in the darkness think we were the Turks, and fire upon us blindly. So we roused ourselves, and kicked the unfortunate wounded prisoners into life. These had to march, for the most part. Some twenty of our camels were dead or dying from our charge, and of spares we only had the old baggage camels that had carried the dynamite. They hardly mounted ourselves, and many of our animals were too weak to carry a double burden. Those that could be were loaded with an Arab and a Turk; but some of the Turkish wounded were too hurt to hold themselves on the pillion behind the saddle. In the end, we had to leave about twenty of them behind on the grass beside the spring, where at least they would not die of thirst, though there was little hope of life or rescue for them.

Nasir set himself to find blankets for the abandoned men, who were half naked, and I went off down the valley to where the fight had been, to see if the dead had any clothes they could spare for them.

The dead lay naked under the moon, Turks are much whiter-skinned than the Arabs among whom I had been living, and these were mere boys. Close around them lapped the dark wormwood, now heavy with dew and sparkling like sea spray. Wearied in mind and body, I felt that I would rather be of this quiet company than with the shouting, restless mob farther up the valley, boasting of their speed and strength, and quarrelling over the plunder. For, however this campaign might go with its unforeseen toils and pains, death must be the last chapter in the history of every man of us.

The World's Work

ARTHUR W. PAGE, EDITOR

FRENCH STROTHER, MANAGING EDITOR BURTON J. HENDRICK, ASSOCIATE EDITOR

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WILLIAM N. HASKELL

Head of the American Relief Administration now operating in Bolshevist Russia. This organization is the first important outside influence to come directly in contact with the Russian people since the overthrow of Kerensky by the Bolsheviki

[See "The March of Events"]

THE
WORLD'S WORK

OCTOBER, 1921

VOLUME XLII NUMBER 6

THE MARCH OF EVENTS

MR. HARDING wisely takes a few days off, now and then, to go camping and try to forget that he is President of the United States. On these occasions, as private citizen in his shirt-sleeves in the woods, he doubtless sometimes looks with detachment upon the other self he left behind in Washington and tries to appraise himself as President. If, in such a mood, he were to write such a letter as the following and address it to the White House, it would be read by many of his fellow citizens as a reflection of their own feelings:

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I have followed your career for the last seven months with sympathy, and often with approval. You took the Presidency at a very trying moment, and my neighbors and I have been willing to forego criticism until you should have time to make good. Even the Democrats hereabouts have said nothing unkind. They are like the rest of us: very anxious to get things out of the way that are disturbing business—such things as the tariff (do we really need to rattle those bones again?) and the new tax laws.

You can do a lot to help these things along—more than you seem to realize. You have been a little too modest about your powers and duties as a leader. Several times you have overcome your scruples and pulled Congress up and told it to go do what it ought to do—kill off the Bonus Bill, for example (you will have to do that again, by the way: that snake is scotched but not dead yet). Every time you have done this, every time you have really led Congress, you have done a good job. And you have represented *us;* we *want* you to lead. Congress needs it. Mr. Lodge is the leader of the Senate, but he doesn't lead. The House has no leaders. You must do that job.

You have some first-rate qualifications. Your amiable disposition is a help. So is that newly discovered trace of iron in your spine. Your experience with the political mind is an asset. Then you have good advisers whom we trust. We believe in Mr. Hoover: he has an engineer's passion for facts and sound design behind his Quaker enthusiasm for good works. Mr. Hughes is as good an attorney for good causes as any in the country. Mr. Mellon's advice on finance, if you will make Congress take it, is wholesome medicine for our economic ills.

But good advisers can't make final decisions. You have got to do that. All the rest of the Government is first mates, pilots, petty officers, and crew. You are the captain. You went into the Presidency with the idea that you were elected to act as a check on Congress. You were mistaken. We expected you to lay out the course, and that Congress should be our check on you, whenever we thought you were headed wrong. A debating society can't run a ship. You pick the route and leave it to us to organize a mutiny if we don't like it. Above all, let us get under way!

Faithfully yours,
W. G. H.

ADOLPH OCHS

For twenty-five years owner and active head of the New York *Times*, one of the country's leading independent conservative newspapers, which, during Mr. Ochs' régime, has greatly influenced American journalism

[See March of Events]

FLOYD W. PARSONS

Founder and for several years editor of "Coal Age," engineer, and writer of wide vision upon industrial and economic subjects

[See page 590]

CHARLES B. WARREN

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Recently appointed ambassador to Japan. Mr. Warren, in 1896, was counsel for the United States to determine the Behring Sea claims and in 1910 was counsel for the United States before the Hague Tribunal in the North Atlantic Coast Fisheries Arbitration with Great Britain. He has been a member of the Republican National Committee since 1912

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HENRY W. ANDERSON

Republican candidate for Governor of Virginia, and a citizen of high standing who is trying to make the Republican Party in the South a "white man's party" and a genuine opposition party to the Democrats

Photo by Sarony

FRANK BACON

Whose impersonation of Lightnin' Bill Jones in "Lightnin'" recalls the enduring creations of Joseph Jefferson and Denman Thompson out of American traditional and characteristic materials. Mr. Bacon recently ended an uninterrupted run of three years in New York, an American record for success in one *rôle*

The Washington Conference

THE main facts about the Conference that is to convene in Washington on Armistice Day are these:

The Conference will not discuss disarmament: it will discuss the limitation of armaments.

Limitation of armaments will not be discussed first, but last. This for the reason that "policy determines armament." And since the Conference intends to discuss the future policy of Asia, it must discuss that policy first.

There will not be any limitation of armaments at all unless the Pacific and Far Eastern problems are first settled satisfactorily.

The Open Door is regarded by the United States as the supremely important Pacific and Far Eastern problem.

The United States is convinced that the Open Door will not be kept open unless Japan abandons her extensive military preparations, relinquishes the territory she has seized on the mainland of China, and gives up her pretensions to an exclusive or highly preferential interest in the future of China.

The United States believes that Japan can be persuaded to trust her own future to a peaceful development of her natural advantages for trade with China, unless she is encouraged to continue her military aggressions by hope of aid from a military and economic partnership with some great European power.

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which has heretofore defended Japanese and British interests in China, was such a partnership against, first, Russia, and then, Germany.

The United States considers that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance now has no excuse for being; and that if it is to be renewed it can only be as a threat of war against the United States, which is the only remaining power that is big enough to cause Japan and Great Britain any concern in Asia.

These are the blunt facts about the Washington Conference. They are stated bluntly because the Conference offers one of the most glorious opportunities in all history to achieve one of the loftiest ambitions of the human race—the ideal of peace on earth, brought about by the good will of men; but good will is not going to accomplish it without the help of good sense, and the best evidence of good-sense is to face the facts.

What right has the United States to declare that the Open Door is the supreme problem of the Far East? Critics of our attitude on this question have drawn a cynical analogy. How, they ask, would America feel if Japan had called a conference of the world powers to meet at Tokyo to discuss Caribbean and Far Western problems, including the Monroe Doctrine? Is this, they ask, any less "insolent" a proposal than our invitation to Japan to come to Washington to discuss Pacific and Far Eastern problems, including the Monroe Doctrine of Asia?

The answer is simple: the Open Door *is* the Monroe Doctrine of Asia. The Monroe Doctrine was an assertion that the countries of the western hemisphere must be secured against foreign efforts to seize their territory or to interfere with their political institutions. That is exactly what the Open Door proposes in behalf of Asia.

In practice, the Monroe Doctrine has given all nations an equal opportunity to trade in the western hemisphere and to invest their capital in the development of the natural resources of North and South America. This again is exactly what the Open Door proposes as the principle in Asia.

The analogy of the critics is misleading. Japanese policy for the last twenty years has not been to further a Monroe Doctrine of Asia, but has been to exploit the rest of Asia for the benefit of Japan. The Japanese came to the parting of the ways in 1894. They then elected to admit the right of conquest in China, and chose to lead in the scramble for territory in their own front yard. They accepted the risk that this would bring them into competition with great nations which did not hesitate to back up their merchants with armies, and the further risk that this would make Asia a battleground of the European powers. The Japanese not only accepted these risks, they invited them. They first studied what they regarded as the model military establishment of the world—Germany; and then, in 1894, they attacked China and won decisively. Instantly, the to-be-expected happened. The European powers, seeing a little rival about to seize the plums of Chinese territory and trade, stepped in and took them away from Japan, and followed this action by seizing strategic cities on the coast, as vantage points from which to proceed to dismember China themselves.

At this juncture, the United States pro-

claimed the policy of the Open Door. If Japan, in 1899, had accepted the powerful aid of the United States in safeguarding this real Monroe Doctrine of Asia, she might to-day be as securely the leader of an inviolate Orient as the United States is of an inviolate Occident. Instead, Japan preferred the path of war. She took another lesson from Europe, and sought an alliance. As Russia was the most aggressive of her competitors in Asia, Japan made the alliance with the least aggressive—Great Britain. She then provoked war with Russia, and won. Russian prestige declined, and Germany appeared as the most aggressive European power and the most dangerous competitor in China. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was renewed to meet that menace. Then came the World War, and Germany followed Russia into temporary eclipse. Now the Anglo-Japanese Alliance is up again for renewal. Having served its purpose as a defense against two imperialistic powers that sought special privileges in China, what purpose can it serve hereafter?

The answer is: It can serve no wholesome purpose. The United States is the only remaining great military power which professes an interest in the future of China. But the United States is not imperialistic; it threatens no conquests, and it asks no privileges in Asia which it would deny to any other nation. Therefore, unless Japan has designs in China which include rapacious seizures of territory and a political interference with the sovereignty of China for her own selfish ends, Japan can feel no need for a military alliance as against us. And unless Great Britain has interests in Asia that cannot be protected except by the sufferance of Japan, there is no sound reason in British policy for renewing an alliance that could only be construed henceforward as an affront to the United States. Great Britain is, of course, in no such a position. Being a trading nation, her economic interest is to have a free field for commerce the world over. And being a democracy, her political interest is to discourage the growth of military autocracy wherever it develops. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance has already served the only sound purpose it ever had from the standpoint of British interests—it helped to destroy the two great military autocracies of Europe, namely Russia and Germany. For Great Britain now to encourage Japan to develop into another such menace to the world would be an act of political folly which few people will credit her with the stupidity necessary to commit.

How Can Japan Disarm?

THE reluctance with which Japan accepted the invitation to attend the Washington Conference is quite intelligible if one will attempt to see the invitation through Japanese eyes. And we must look at the problem of Asia from the Japanese viewpoint, as well as from our own, if we hope to be either fair or effective at the Conference.

If, then, one were to imagine the thoughts of a Japanese statesman, concerned only for the welfare of his country, we might expect from him some such thoughts as these: "My country is small, my people are desperately poor, they are already so numerous that the land does not support them. The only hope for their future lies in manufacturing and commerce. We have no coal or iron. China has both, and is too backward to use them. Self-preservation is the first law of Nature. It is another law of Nature that he is best entitled to the possession of wealth who makes the most efficient use of it. We have, therefore, the law of necessity and the law of efficiency on our side.

"But Europe objects. Well, Europe taught us that might makes right. We have learned European warfare and European diplomacy, and our rewards have been great. All that we possess to-day—our independence as a nation, the respect of the world as a great civilized power, the progress we have made in China—rests upon military force. Why should we go into a conference where we are invited to diminish our military establishment and where we are asked to discuss the title to our gains in China?

"The answers to these questions are painfully simple: The United States to-day is individually the most powerful military nation in the world. The United States and the British Empire, if they choose to act together, are the most powerful military combination that the world is likely to see for another hundred years. And it seems probable at the present moment that the United States and Great Britain have too many interests in common for any other interest to be allowed to stand in the way of a continuance of their cordial agreement upon substantial policies. The United States is determined to have the Open Door in China. Japan, then, willy-

nilly, must accept the invitation to Washington. But what shall she expect when she gets there?"

The foregoing imaginary reflections of a Japanese statesman are a fair statement of a natural fear and perplexity. The Washington Conference is going to be one of the great opportunities of history, but it is also going to be one of the great temptations. If the United States, in the fullness of her power, ignores the genuine necessities of Japan, the Conference will succeed for the moment by virtue of the threat of force, but only at the cost of future deadly trouble in Asia. The Conference must, indeed, secure the integrity of China and the equality of all nations in the opportunities of Asiatic trade, but it must go further than that, and hold out definite assurances that America and Great Britain will remember Japan's own economic problems and will lend her their assistance in solving them. Japan must have, for example, as good an opportunity as the rest of us to buy from China the coal and iron she needs, and, if anything, ought to be given rather the better of that particular opportunity for the present, in view of her necessities and of her lack of these essentials of modern industry.

Japan is coming to the Conference fearful that her interests are in danger. No efforts should be spared to remove these fears. The United States and Great Britain are in a position to "tell Japan where to get off" and to cram an Asiatic programme down her unwilling throat. But generosity of the stronger and good sense alike reject that method. It is demonstrable in logic that the Open Door is the best policy for Japan to adopt of her own volition. That reasoning must be done, and that proposition demonstrated, in good temper and good will. Powerful considerations will work with the Japanese diplomats to accept it. Liberalism is still a long way off from controlling Japanese internal politics, but it is growing stronger, and a militaristic policy that cannot show early dividends which can soon be translated into lightened taxes has little in it to attract the overburdened middle and lower classes of Japan. Doubtless some of their jingoes dream of war as a means of submerging discontent at home in the welding fire of patriotism; but the recent spectacle of America turned quickly into an arsenal with ten million men in arms has nowhere been more intelligently pondered than in Japan.

How can Japan disarm? She cannot afford not to. The day for conquest in China is past. The fruits of China that accrue to any one but the Chinese themselves are going to the best manufacturers and the shrewdest traders of other countries. If Japan wants to win in that race, she cannot afford to waste money and brains and the labor of her people on battleships. These can be invested more profitably in factories, merchant vessels, sanitation, and public schools. The invitation to Washington and the Open Door is an invitation to leave the ruinous policy into which imitation of the vices of Western civilization misled her, and to enter on a new policy that will bring her the friendship of the world and a high place among the nations that are pursuing the worth-while aims of civilization.

Peace Without Obligations?

THE treaty of peace with Germany which was lately signed at Berlin carries into final effect the position of the Senate "irreconcilables", which is that the United States is entitled to all the benefits which Allied diplomacy exacted of a defeated Germany, but is obligated to none of the responsibilities which the rest of the Allies assumed as the price of those benefits. Leaving aside the question of selfishness which this contention raises, what of its practical aspects?

It seems a singularly short-sighted view. Let us assume for the moment that the United States went to war with Gemany solely, as the "irreconcilables" imply, to save ourselves from the menace of German domination and to exact reparation for American lives and property. Now let us imagine further that no other nation had been involved in the war—that we had fought Germany single-handed from August, 1914, to November, 1918—and that we had emerged victorious. Now let us imagine ourselves making a treaty of peace with Germany—making the treaty which we have recently signed. Then let us imagine enforcing the treaty.

There's the rub! Unless we wanted to fight the war all over again in a few years, our treaty must include provisions to restrict Germany's military forces hereafter. Our treaty recognizes this necessity and provides as follows: That henceforward the German army shall not exceed 100,000 men; that Germany shall no more manufacture or import poison gas; that conscription shall be abolished; that hence-

forward the German navy shall consist only of six small battleships, six light cruisers, twelve destroyers, twelve torpedo boats, and 15,000 men.

Could we have written those provisions into the treaty with a straight face, if we alone had to enforce them? Yet these are among "the rights and advantages stipulated . . . for the benefit of the United States, which it is intended the United States shall have and enjoy."

"Stipulated" where? In the Treaty of Versailles, of which we include in our separate treaty the foregoing provisions and such others as are "for the benefit of the United States," while as to the rest we declare that we "shall not be bound" or that we "assume no obligation." In truth, our separate peace with Germany amounts to our sending Germany a bill and leaving our allies to collect it for us.

But this procedure is short-sighted from another point of view. We have invited the most powerful members of the League of Nations (who were also our allies in the late war) to attend a conference at Washington to dispose of a weighty problem in which our interest is momentous—the problem of the Open Door and the Pacific Ocean. A great deal of our hope of success at that conference depends upon the good will of Great Britain. We shall ask her to forego an alliance with Japan which she is now in a position to rearrange in a way that would guarantee her very valuable exclusive privileges in the richest regions of southern and central China. Japan would doubtless be glad to give Great Britain these privileges in exchange for a free hand in Shantung and northern China, and between them they could effectually block the future progress of American trade in China, and in Siberia as well.

If one were a British statesman, to whom that opportunity were offered by Japan, at the same time that the request were made by the United States for coöperation in enforcing the policy of the Open Door, what would one do? Doubtless one would decide to coöperate with the United States, but would one not do so with some anticipatory shudders at the practical difficulties of coöperating with a nation so inexperienced in world affairs as not to realize the impossibility of expecting benefits without accepting the obligations that go along with them?

As a people, we are learning a lot about international affairs, in the painful school of experience. The making of this separate peace with Germany is one of the lessons. It brings home, for one thing, the moral that actions have consequences. Though we never have been really isolated from the world, our position in international affairs has been such, until recently, that it made little difference to the rest of the world what our attitude on world affairs was. Indeed, we had no attitude on questions beyond our own immediate neighborhood. But now that we have had to make a treaty with a European power that must be enforced if we are not to be made ridiculous, and now that we have an active interest in Asia that cannot be maintained without agreements with several remote powers whose interest there is equal to our own, we shall need to develop a sense of the reciprocal nature of international compacts, and learn to calculate the far-reaching obligations we must assume in return for even the most immediate of benefits.

High Tariff, Foreign Trade, or Both?

EVEN tariffs involve reciprocal effects of far-reaching consequence. The arguments over the Fordney Bill in Congress have brought some of these to light. Producers of all sorts—farmers as well as manufacturers—have been divided over the policy of protection when they think of their foreign trade. The foreign market takes roughly 10 per cent. of what we produce. But that 10 per cent. is the part that makes all the difference in the world. It carries enough of the "overhead" of the total product to be very important, and it holds a good deal of the margin of profit. Shall we discourage it by a high tariff, or shall we keep the tariff only just high enough to protect the bulk of the home market, and sacrifice a little of the home market for the sake of a great deal of additional foreign trade? The latter seems the more rational course. In tariff making, as in all other acts which affect our neighbors, it is profitable to bear in mind the wise saying uttered by Mr. Elihu Root before the Institute of Politics at Williamstown, Mass., in August:

> . . . democracies are generous. They mean what is right. They are honest . . . but they are most imperfectly informed.
>
> In every country you will find people in even the democracies, holding that their country is always

right. For them there is only one side to every question, and that is their country's side.

They must learn that the idea of justice is not only justice to themselves, but justice to others. . . .

They must learn that in international affairs, just as in family affairs and neighborhood affairs, respect for the feelings and the prejudices of others is a condition of having one's own feelings and prejudices respected.

They must become internationally minded; they must learn that it is not what a nation does for itself, but what a nation does for humanity that makes greatness. They must learn that in God's good world the way to sustain the heights of prosperity is not to pull down others and climb over them, but to help all up together to united success.

This will be a long, slow process. It is not merely difficult to assimilate knowledge into millions and millions of minds of all degrees of capacity, but it is the slow, difficult task of molding character, for it is a matter of character as well as a matter of knowledge.

The Business Situation

THE war-sick world is beginning to regain strength. We are better off than our neighbors abroad, but the belief that we, as a nation, gained in material wealth due to the war is a fallacy. This was pointed out by Mr. George E. Roberts, vice-president of the National City Bank of New York, in a public address. He said:

It is true that during the first years and before entering the war as a combatant, the nominal wealth of the country increased very rapidly, and the real wealth also increased at greater than the normal rate. But after the country entered the war its own expenditures were very great and the deterioration of property and loss of normal development was very serious. Moreover, a large part of the nominal profits made during the period of rising prices has been lost in the period of falling prices; and the country is now experiencing in idle industries, business depression, unemployment, and bankruptcies, a reaction which is costing an amount that cannot be measured. We are paying now the natural penalty of abnormal prices and abnormal profits, and when we are through with it the record is likely to show, as for every other such experience, that the balance is in red. We have a great body of internal private indebtedness represented in part by war-financing, but more largely by speculation and extravagance induced by the rise of prices. Our people now face the necessity of liquidating this indebtedness with products at low prices and with business stagnant and unprofitable.

To expect a rapid recovery from this condition would be to expect the impossible, but to become resigned to a state of pessimism regarding the future would be to shut one's eyes to what is going on in the country. One hundred and five million people are buying nearly as much as they ever did, although they are paying less for it. Our industries one after another are being adjusted to the lower price levels and those that completed the adjustment early are now running at increasing rates. Our grain growers are making a profit at present prices because of the lower cost of producing this year's crop. The railroads, with the wage cuts now reflected in net earnings, have shown a turn for the better. It is true that Congress adjourned before the Senate passed the bill to provide them with $500,000,000 which they could spend on their properties, but this will undoubtedly soon be available and will stimulate the steel and iron industry, where more than a million men are now idle. It is going to be a hard winter in some industrial centres, but the outlook is for slow improvement. The Federal Reserve System is in a strong condition, and easier bank credits are now available for reviving business.

The New York *Times's* Anniversary

THE friends and admirers of the New York *Times* recently showered congratulations upon Mr. Adolph S. Ochs upon the twenty-fifth anniversary of his management of the paper. The WORLD'S WORK heartily joins in these felicitations. The *Times* is so conspicuously an example of the cardinal principle that should guide all journalism, that its success is at once deserved, and an encouragement to others to hold firm their faith in that principle.

That principle is integrity. The editorial chair is the seat of a public trust. An editor possesses a special opportunity for the study of public affairs, and expresses opinions that are intended to be a guide to others who have not his opportunities. He may be forgiven the errors of human fallibility, but he must be honest. And he must be fair. In its editorial and news pages, the *Times* has followed this elementary principle. Credit here belongs equally to Mr. Charles R. Miller, the editor-in-chief.

Mr. Ochs's management has been especially distinguished in two directions. First, it has been "management" in the best sense of that term. He took the *Times* when it was bank-

rupt, and made it an immensely profitable enterprise, not by changing its staff but by directing to better advantage the energies of the men he found already there. Part of this better direction was better business administration, but much of it was better ideas about newspaper making. And the chief of these is so simple that it seems strange that more newspapers do not imitate it. This simple idea is—to print all the news. Surprisingly few newspapers do this. A well-known Washington journalist recently said that "many news editors throw into the waste-basket a better paper than the one they print." What he meant was, that they throw away, for example, a large part of the very full Associated Press report, and in its stead print "comics," "special articles," and even fiction.

Mr. Ochs pinned his faith to news. He first economized in other directions to afford the paper on which to print in full the press service reports. His expenditures for additional matter have been in the news field—chiefly upon more complete reports of the more important news events. He extended the common practice of printing the Presidents' messages to Congress, and printed other public documents in full, until to-day the *Times* is a contemporaneous reference library of exact information upon outstanding current issues. The steady growth of the *Times* in circulation among the class of people to whom high-grade advertising especially appeals, holds a significant lesson for newspaper owners the country over who are looking for ideas to increase the popularity of their papers.

Famine Relief in Russia

AMERICAN relief in Russia has been somewhat complicated by the fact that nobody outside that country knows exactly what has been going on inside. Heretofore, the American Relief Administration has never undertaken to aid a country until it had first made a thorough survey of the exact needs. But Russia's necessities admitted no delay, and the American Relief has consequently pushed ahead at once to Petrograd and Moscow with supplies for the children, and simultaneously has sent observers throughout the country to map the situation in preparation for a comprehensive plan to follow later. Until this survey has been made and this plan prepared, it will not make a general appeal for funds. In the meantime, the funds in hand are being used. These are sufficient to feed a million children, judging by the experience in Poland; though it may turn out that it costs more per child in Russia, on account of greater difficulties of transportation.

The questions to be determined by investigation on the ground are these: What relief, if any, can be extended to adults in addition to the children? What regions need relief the most? What necessities of distribution are imposed by the limitations of existing means of transportation? Until these questions are answered, the American Relief will not expect to receive funds for any work except in behalf of children, nor funds or supplies intended for work in particular communities in Russia.

The Soviet Government has given satisfactory guarantees that the American Relief agents shall have the necessary freedom of travel and personal security, priority in the use of railroads, free use of warehouses, and full control over local committees, including permission to have these contain representatives of every political and religious element in Russia. The American Relief goes into Russia without any *quid pro quo* in concessions or anything else of that nature. It agrees to engage in no political activity. It has no connection with our Government. Its sole purpose is benevolence.

It is heartening to observe that Poland and Czechoslovakia, out of gratitude for like benefits received from America when they were in distress, have offered all that they can offer toward helping Russia, namely, free warehousing and free transportation of supplies to the Russian frontier.

The Drought in France

THE following communication from Miss Anne Morgan, received at the headquarters of the American Committee for Devastated France, is gladly reprinted here:

Please appeal for an emergency child hygiene fund for our devastated area in France. The waterworks of the invaded area were destroyed and there have been and for some time yet there will be no reparation monies with which to restore these systems.

The intense and unaccustomed heat has been bad for both crops and cattle. When fever and dysentery break out among the children, the plight of the sufferers is heart-rending. Caves, cellars, and ruins

are poor shelters for babies with neither fresh milk nor fresh water available.

It will be difficult for America to understand that, while we have been able to eliminate emergency work almost entirely from the devastated area, we shall have to face it all over again, even more seriously than ever, because of the awful drought of this summer.

Won't you ask the people of America who have healthy, unharmed children to send a thank offering, and those whose children are ill to send a mite of sympathy to the Child Hygiene Department of the American Committee for Devastated France, 16 East 39th Street, New York City, Dr. Alexander Humphreys, Treasurer.

How to Break the Solid South

MR. HENRY W. ANDERSON, Republican candidate for Governor of Virginia, is making a praiseworthy effort to bring to Virginia the advantages of the two-party system in politics. The Solid South has suffered greatly from the evils that follow a long and uninterrupted tenure of power by one party. In a public address, Mr. Anderson drew a vivid picture of the damage Virginia has suffered by reason of its one-sided Democratic control:

For over thirty years the state and local governments of Virginia have been controlled by the Democratic party. This has been the period of the greatest social and economic activity in the history of mankind, and of unparalleled development in the United States. What do we see in Virginia? The test of the freedom and political life of people in a republic is found in the extent to which its citizens value and exercise their citizenship. In 1888, with a population of 1,600,000, Virginia cast over 300,000 votes in the presidential election. In 1916, with a population of 2,300,000, it cast 151,000 votes; in 1917 it cast only 89,000 votes for Governor, while in 1920, with women voting and a possible qualified vote of about 900,000, its total vote was only 231,000. In the same year, North Carolina, with substantially the same population, cast 538,000 votes.

The economic conditions tell the same story. With natural wealth and resources far in excess of those of its neighboring states, Virginia lags behind them in the march of economic progress. In 1920, North Carolina alone paid to the Federal Government in taxes more than twice what was paid by Virginia—a true measure of industrial prosperity. Our rivers, capable of development of hundreds of thousands of horse power of electric current, which is the essential basis of industrial development, are running almost undisturbed to the sea. The northeastern part of this state presents the largest open territory east of the Mississippi River without any railroad. Our farm lands of a richness and variety unsurpassed by any state, with abundance of heat and moisture, with unlimited productive capacity, are being abandoned to weeds and pines; and are generally for sale at prices far below those of other states. The great harbor of Hampton Roads, one of the greatest natural assets of the world, has been neglected save for the activities of the Federal Government. These are only a few of the many evidences of want of economic activity and progress.

In public schools, Virginia stands forty-third in the list of forty-eight states. In highways it stands about the bottom. In every branch of intellectual and industrial life it is far down the list.

The chief reason for the "solidity" of the South is the fear of "Negro domination." Mr. Anderson makes a sensible answer to that argument. He points out that office holding must be based upon fitness, and this automatically rules most Negroes out of consideration. He advises the Negroes to accept that fact, and advises the Republican Party to accept it. Once they do so, the numerous body of white men in Virginia who prefer the national policies of the Republican Party can vote the Republican ticket without fear of injuring white supremacy or fear of losing caste.

If the Republican politicians of the North would stop admitting Negro delegations, numerically out of all proportion to the Negro vote, to the Republican National Convention, and would stop juggling Federal offices in the South in exchange for favors from the Negro politicians, they would be astonished to find how large and influential a body of white voters in the South would join the Republican Party. The history of North Carolina is good evidence of this tendency.

It is unlikely that Mr. Anderson will be elected Governor of Virginia, but he is performing a genuine public service in making the campaign, by demonstrating the possibilities of a high-grade opposition party and by frankly expounding the truth about the way to get it.

A Correction

UNDER a map of Finland, in the WORLD'S WORK for July, we said that neither Finland nor Sweden was in the League of Nations. Sweden has been a member of the League for somewhat more than a year.

First Charge of the Inflationists

THE dramatic incident before a joint Congressional commission, when Governor Harding of the Federal Reserve Board came nearly to blows with former Comptroller of the Currency John Skelton Williams in an acrimonious debate over the conduct of the Federal Reserve System, was probably a prophetic beginning of a controversy involving the Federal Reserve System that may reach national proportions and possibly become an issue in future political campaigns. It is in fact a controversy between the inflationists and the deflationists which is pretty sure to follow every war. After the Civil War the Greenback Party came into existence as the political voice of the inflationists, and was a considerable power in politics for several years. There seems little likelihood that the present controversy will go that far.

Mr. Williams's main charges against the management of the Federal Reserve System were that it fixed exorbitant interest rates and placed unwarranted restrictions on credit, thus precipitating the decline in prices, and showed favoritism toward Wall Street. Such an attack on the Federal Reserve Board made by a former member of the Board instantly challenged public attention, and Governor Harding very properly asked for an immediate Congressional investigation.

Governor Harding in answer to Mr. Williams's recent criticisms declared that the policies of the Board in 1919 and 1920 were formulated solely to prevent the country's banking system from collapsing; that they had not sought to influence prices but to prepare the system to meet the world-wide price break which was clearly evident.

Interest rates were not put up in 1919 because the war was not yet over from a financial point of view and the facilitating of government financing was still an influence in determining the policies of that year. In August, 1919, however, the Reserve Board began calling attention to the evidence of speculation that appeared in many businesses and followed these with other warnings before rates were finally increased in 1920 to counteract rapidly lowering reserves.

Mr. Benjamin Strong, governor of the New York Federal Reserve Bank, in his detailed account of the management of that institution in relation to speculative operations in Wall Street, seemed adequately to dispose of the charge that favoritism was shown on that score.

This attack on the Federal Reserve management seems likely to fail, due to its own unreasonableness, but the demand for renewed inflation will not cease until men have had longer to forget the profits and apparent prosperity of the highly inflated war period. Mr. R. S. Wanamaker, president of the American Cotton Association, who says, "I agree with John Skelton Williams that in deliberately planning deflation on a colossal and unreasonable scale the Federal Reserve Board had committed a monumental crime," proposes that the rediscount rate for Liberty Loan bonds should be 3½ per cent. and that the rate of commercial and agricultural paper should at once be reduced to 4 per cent. That would bring a return of war-time inflation. Mr. W. C. Durant, president of Durant Motors and former president of the General Motors Corporation, has come out with a proposal that all government obligations issued for war purposes be made full legal tender and that the Federal Reserve Bank establish a discount rate of 3 per cent. for the benefit of business. This would at one stroke increase the paper currency of the country by twenty-two billion dollars, or twenty-one dollars for each man, woman, and child in the country, and would in effect make Liberty Bonds due and payable at once when presented to the Government in payment of taxes. Thus is the voice of the inflationist being raised.

Mr. Durant has in the past felt the pinch of bankers' conservatism in his remarkable operations in the automobile industry, and last winter he lost control of General Motors Corporation through the stock market because he was so extended that he could not hold on to his stock in the face of declining prices. It is such men in the business field who are likely to cry loudest for a return to the war-time inflation. But we must not lose sight of the fact that such inflation is not sound banking and was only permitted during the war because, as Governor Strong said, "War necessitates the choice of evils, not the selection of the best policy. Expansion was unescapable." Mr. Durant wants "more elastic credits." He loses sight of the fact that we have had expanding credits reaching almost to the limits of the elastic strength of the Federal Reserve System, and the proof that the life has not gone out of the elasticity of the System is the contraction that took place when the Govern-

ment's war financing was completed and business began to fall off. If comparison is made with our old banking system, then clearing-house certificates, or some similar makeshift, would have been issued during the war and then there would be no question regarding the need for their retirement as soon as possible. As it is, with the Federal Reserve System, we have gone safely through the war inflation and the post-war deflation, as Comptroller Williams said, and now interest rates are coming down and the reserve system is helping in the business recovery which has started.

Shifting the Corporation Tax Burden

IN REPEALING the excess profits tax and the tax on railroad transportation, freight, passenger, and express, to take effect January 1, 1922, as provided in the new revenue bill as it passed the House, the Republican party will make a belated redemption of its pledge to reduce taxes. By the elimination of these two taxes and the reduction of the higher surtaxes on personal incomes, which is also to take effect January 1st next, it will rather half-heartedly further President Harding's avowed intention to aid business. He would have had these reductions take effect as from on January 1st last.

Yet while none of these important changes in the House bill goes into effect until next year, and will not show in the tax payments until the year 1923; nevertheless, business men who have been waiting to learn what their relief from tax burdens is to be can now begin to lay their plans for next year with some assurance regarding the levies to be made on them. The Senate has yet to act on the bill and will undoubtedly propose some changes. But business men can now begin to fix their selling prices for 1922 with more certainty in regard to the amounts they will have to add to cover taxes than it has been possible for them to do in recent years, because of the complicated workings of the excess profits tax. As it was but natural for them to be sure to add enough to cover that uncertain tax, the repeal of the Excess Profits Tax should help materially in the adjustment to lower price levels.

The Ways and Means Committee of the House was faced by the necessity of raising sufficient revenue to meet approximately four and a half billions of government expenditures, and not having any constructive substitute to offer for the present taxes, it decided to let them stand for the remainder of this year in order to secure the funds necessary for the Government. And as most corporations have undoubtedly conducted their operations so far this year on the basis of present taxes, and have collected from the consumer, wherever possible, the amount of the present tax, there is some reason for collecting taxes for the current year at the old rates.

A partial offset to the loss of revenue from the repeal of the Excess Profits Tax is the increase in what is known as the Corporation Income Tax. As the bill passed the House, this tax is raised from 10 per cent. to 12½ per cent. As originally planned by the Ways and Means Committee, and as recommended by Secretary of the Treasury Mellon, the advance was to be to 15 per cent., and the present exemption of $2,000 of net income was to be eliminated. This was a heavy increase for companies making small profits and more than a hundred thousand additional small corporations would have been brought in on the tax. The Democratic argument that this was an effort to shift the tax burden from the large to the small corporation applied effectively in this case and the result was the halving of the advance and the retention of the $2,000 exemption.

Corporations that are not making large earnings on their invested capital will pay higher taxes than formerly because of this increase in the income-tax rate; corporations that are earning a large percentage on their invested capital will profit by the repeal of the Excess Profits Tax. The gain by the Government from the Corporation Income Tax as fixed by the House of Representatives would offset about one third of the loss from the Excess Profits Tax. With the passing of the Excess Profits Tax the difficulty of determining what is invested capital would be eliminated, for all corporations would pay at the same rate on their net income, regardless of the amount of capital employed in the business. This is but one of the many simplifications in the new tax measure which will make it less complicated and bothersome in its application.

In its actual operation the Tax Bill as it passed the House would result in higher taxes for all corporations when their earnings on invested capital are below a percentage that varies between 8 and 10 per cent. according to the amount of the invested capital. A

corporation of $500,000 invested capital or more, as determined for figuring the Excess Profits Tax, would pay less when its earnings exceed this percentage and more when they are less. In the case of corporations having invested capital between $500,000 and $50,000 the dividing percentage would be between earnings of from 10 per cent. to 15 per cent., their tax being less when they exceed this percentage and more when they fall below it. In the case of a company with $50,000 invested capital its dividing line is about 17 per cent. In the case of a company with $25,000 invested capital, the dividing line is about 21 per cent., the tax being less if earnings are above this and more if they are below it. In the case of a company with $15,000 invested capital, the dividing line is around 27 per cent; in the case of a company with $10,000 capital it will be about 35 per cent. In the case of smaller companies, provided that their earnings exceed the $2,000 exemption, the tax would be higher unless their earnings are in excess of 50 per cent. on their capital.

Consideration for the Goose of the Golden Egg

REPEAL of the surtaxes above 32 per cent. on personal incomes above $66,000 is based on sound economic reasoning. It recognizes the fact that the higher income-tax rates are not only defeating their own purpose of making the rich pay heaviest for the support of the Government, but are having a bad reaction on the business enterprises of the country. Ever since the enactment of the higher income tax rates in 1917 there has been an evident drying up of important sources of investment capital that formerly financed productive enterprises. There has been a switching of the investments of those subject to these high taxes from corporation securities into municipal bonds, the income from which is tax exempt. The result has been that where 3,833 returns of taxable income in excess of $150,000 were made in 1916, totaling nearly $1,500,000,000, only 2,543 such returns were made in 1919 and the total income was little more than $800,000,000. (Income from tax-free bonds does not have to be reported.) In 1916, there were 206 individuals who reported incomes of $1,000,000 or more; in 1919 there were only sixty-five. This shrinkage of large taxable incomes took place during years of great prosperity when incomes of from $3,000 to $150,000 grew from less than five billion dollars to nearly twelve and a half billion dollars.

By eliminating these higher surtaxes the Treasury would now lose only $90,000,000 according to official estimates. (We talk of millions in government finances as though they were nothing.) This amount may soon be made up by a return flow of the capital of the rich into taxable channels. Taxable incomes below $150,000 showed a uniform increase between 1916 and 1919, and it therefore seems likely that a leveling of the surtax on incomes above $66,000 may accomplish that result. The return on a taxable investment subject to such a maximum tax would have to be 7½ per cent. to leave the holder as much as he would realize from a 4½ per cent. tax-free bond. The possibilities of making more than 7½ per cent. in corporate enterprises would undoubtedly turn much of this capital that way. This seems the more likely because the House Revenue Bill limits the rate of tax on gains made from the sale of property (including securities acquired for profit or investment) to 12½ per cent., or one eighth of the gain. At present such gains are taxed at the same rate as income.

To bring about a return flow of capital into corporate securities is of more importance than to increase the Government's revenue from this source. For the capital of the rich is now being invested in tax-exempt municipal bonds and being spent largely for non-productive undertakings. In the first seven months of this year more than half a billion dollars' worth of such bonds were sold, considerably more than ever before in such a period, and if it were not for the compensatory fact that many new small investors had been created by the Liberty Loan campaigns during the war, our corporate enterprises would have had a more difficult time to secure the new capital they needed. Senator Smoot has proposed an amendment to the Federal Constitution to make the income from municipal bonds subject to tax by the Government, which would close this avenue of escape for the heavy income-tax payer. Meanwhile the reduction in the surtaxes will lower the advantage these bonds enjoy in competition with taxable issues and will increase the amount of capital available for productive enterprises. At a time when railroads, public-utility companies, and

foreign countries are in great need of capital this is an important development.

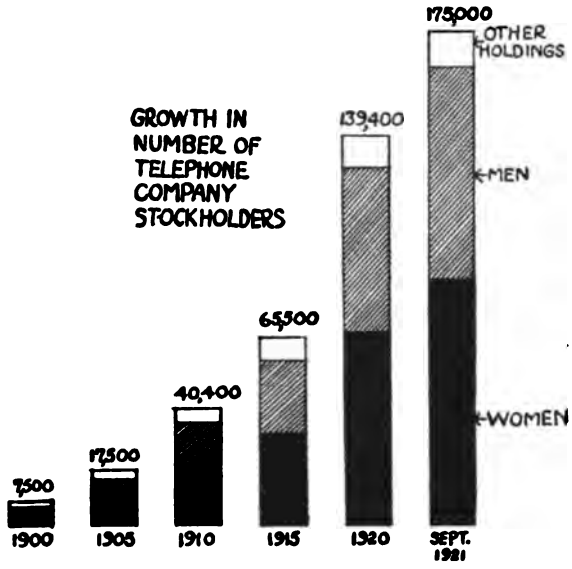
Socializing a Great Public Service Company

A MOST important development in recent years in the field of business in its relationship to the general public has been the growth of "customer ownership" of the stocks of public-service companies. Starting in California before the war and adopted during the war by many companies as a means of raising new capital when other sources were shut off, the scheme of selling dividend-paying securities to their customers has spread to most of the leading public-service companies of the country. And it is now recognized as much more than a scheme to raise capital for needed extensions. It is a means of gaining public good will and fair treatment from regulating and franchise-granting authorities. Where there is a local stake in the property and a sharing in the profits of the business, there is an understanding of the problems of the company and a favorably inclined sentiment that punctures the biased bombast of the demagogue. The management can devote its entire energy to improving the service to the community. "Customer ownership," however, will not permit a company to lower the character of its service or to charge exorbitant rates, for these local partners are also interested in the kind of service they get and what they have to pay for it. But it should stimulate efficiency in the management, for if the return on this local investment should cease it might be disastrous for the company. The scheme provides for popular ownership with private operation; it is an effective antidote for agitation for municipal or government ownership of public utilities. The spread of it is an encouraging sign in this dawning era of better relations between corporations and regulating bodies. It is a companion development to the sound scheme of profit sharing by employees through stock ownership, but it is a new way in business that has received far less public attention.

The American Telephone & Telegraph Company has made wonderful progress in recent months with a campaign to induce its customers to become partners in the business. The results have exceeded the expectations of those responsible for the campaign, and they give some indication of what other and less far-reaching organizations might do among their customers. The campaign was started by the telephone company in June, 1920, under the management of one of the leading investment banking houses of the country. The number of stockholders grew 488 that month. The next month it grew 1,012. Then there were three months in which less than a thousand new names were added to the list each month; but in November it began to grow again and by January this year the monthly gain had reach 3,296. In February it dropped back to about two thousand, but by July it had climbed to 5,276 and in August it was 6,000.

In the fifteen months that this campaign among telephone subscribers has been carried on, more than 35,500 new stockholders have been added to the books of the company. This does not include 7,000 additional stockholders added in connection with an offer of $90,000,000 new stock to stockholders this year. The stock which telephone subscribers have bought has been purchased for them in the open market and they have paid the current market price for it. One of the immediate results of the campaign has been the strengthening of the market for all the telephone company's securities. While other stocks have been going down in price, American Telephone & Telegraph stock has held firm and its bonds have advanced.

Credit for the remarkable success of this campaign is due to the effectiveness of the appeal made by the investment house which circularized the telephone subscribers and to the company's long-continued campaign to win public favor by incessant advertising and fair dealing. The argument of the appeal, which was made in a dignified way, was that the subscriber should buy enough telephone stock so that the dividend from it would pay his telephone bills. This recognizes the fact that the average American does not save money for the sake of saving it, nor invest it for the pleasure of seeing the interest accumulate, but saves it for the sake of spending it later and invests it so that he can buy something with the return therefrom. The attractive circulars mailed to telephone subscribers, briefly calling attention to the investment characteristics of A. T. &. T. stock, suggested its purchase for the purpose of applying the dividend to a specific use. They reached home to that part of the brain which



PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF THE TELEPHONE COMPANY

In twenty-one years its stockholders have grown in number from seventy-five hundred to one hundred and seventy-five thousand. A campaign to interest telephone subscribers in the stock has swelled the total in the last nine months half as much as in the previous five years. These figures do not include forty thousand telephone company employees who are buying the stock on the partial payment plan from the company

produces action, a difficult thing to do through the mails, and particularly so when the action is that of loosening the purse strings or writing a check, unless the offer be of the get-rich-quick variety, which this was not.

When the new stockholder's name has been added to the list, the real purpose of the campaign becomes evident. Then he receives a letter from the president's office over the printed signature of H. B. Thayer, the President. In this letter are these paragraphs:

"We are glad to welcome you as a stockholder and enclose herewith a pamphlet intended to give general information about the Company and its operations . . . . It is hoped that each of our stockholders will take the trouble to become informed as to what the Company is doing and trying to do. We shall be glad to be of any assistance in bringing about that result."

This is necessarily a form letter, but it has such an inviting human quality that it brings many replies. The answers to these replies are carefully considered and are all signed personally by President Thayer. Thus do the officials of this great company take pains to foster public good will. It is of little moment to them that a man has bought three shares of stock, or whatever amount is necessary to pay his telephone bills, but it is of great importance to them that here is another individual who will be favorably inclined to listen to the story they have to tell of what the Bell Telephone organization is trying to do. They are constantly looking for opportunities to explain the telephone company and its purpose.

When the dividend rate was advanced from 8 per cent. to 9 per cent. last June, a newspaper in an up-state New York city published an old-style corporation-baiting editorial in which it argued that telephone rates should have been lowered instead of the dividend raised. A resident of that city sent the editorial to the company. That was an opportunity it wanted. One of the vice-presidents wrote him a clear explanation of why the dividend was raised in order to make it possible to secure new capital at the higher rates of interest now ruling to extend the company's service to meet the public's demands. He also pointed out that this higher dividend would be distributed to the public as there were more than a hundred and fifty thousand stockholders of the company at that time and not one of them held as much as 1 per cent. of the stock. The reply from the up-state man was very gratifying to the company. Continued education of this character, coupled with the rapid growth in the number of people throughout the country who have a financial stake in the company, will bring about fair treatment on the part of the papers as well as of regulating and governing bodies. The telephone company, by the strides it has made in public education, already enjoys a good amount of such treatment.

One of the important results of this campaign of the telephone company to gain new stockholders from among its subscribers is the education it gives the public in the matter of investments. It is creating new investors, for which we have great need for the financing of the future growth of the business of this country and for helping other countries to recover from the effects of the war. That these new investors will aid in future financing was indicated when the telephone company offered $90,000,000 new stock to its stockholders recently and they subscribed for 93 per cent. of it. The banking machinery of Wall Street was not made use of in connection with this large piece of corporate financing.

WILL THE BONDS YOU ARE BUYING BE PAID OFF TOO SOON?

Every month in this part of the magazine the WORLD'S WORK *prints an article on investments and the lessons to be learned therefrom*

THE growing belief among investors that there is a period of declining interest rates ahead is resulting in a demand on their part for bonds that cannot be retired by the issuing companies before their maturity. They are not only asking for long-term bonds, but for issues without redemption features that would permit the companies to call them for payment at a time when it would be impossible for the investor to get anything like the present rate of return on his money.

Investment bankers have had to recognize this demand on the part of investors in shaping up the issues that they wish to offer. In May, an issue of $25,000,000 United States of Brazil twenty-year 8 per cent. bonds was brought out here and emphasis placed on the fact that the bonds were not callable. They went quickly, and the eager demand for them was attributed to this non-callable feature. At about the same time $100,000,000 French Republic twenty-year 7½ per cent. bonds "Not subject to redemption prior to maturity" were brought out and went well. Since then there has been a twenty-five year 6½ per cent. issue of the Canadian National Railways, a fifteen-year 6½ per cent. issue of the Western Union Telegraph Company and other issues in which the non-callable feature has added to their popularity with investors.

The basis for this demand for securities that cannot be paid off at the option of the company is sound. The reason for expecting a downward swing in interest rates has been discussed in this place before and it is not necessary to consider it now. It is enough to say that the movement seems to have started with a six-point average advance in the price of public-utility bonds and a somewhat smaller improvement in railroad bonds in the past year. Industrial bonds are feeling the effect of the business depression and have moved up but little. As compared with prices of 1901, when the long decline in bonds started, high-grade issues are still from twenty-five to forty points lower than they were then. At that time the best-grade 3½ per cent. railroad issues sold above par.

But in exercising this demand for issues that cannot be paid off, judgment should be used as in all matters relating to investments. A woman recently wrote to inquire regarding some small denomination bonds that she was thinking of buying and asked that a good long-term railroad bond be suggested for addition to her list. She specified that it must be a bond that is not redeemable by the company before maturity. The bond suggested for her was the Southern Pacific–San Francisco Terminal first mortgage 4 per cent. bond due 1950. That issue is redeemable as a whole at 105. The bonds, however, are now selling at 74 and it was pointed out to this woman that if they should be retired she would have 31 points profit above her purchase price, which is probably more than she could expect to get from any upward movement in the price of the bonds.

As a matter of fact it is unlikely that the downward swing in interest rates—which is the cause of the advance in bond prices—will go so far as to make it advantageous for corporations to call for redemption bonds bearing 4 and 5 per cent. interest and sell new securities in place of them. In other words, it does not seem likely that financing can be done with bonds bearing a lower rate of interest than this on terms that would result in a saving to these corporations. For that reason there is a large list of low interest rate bonds from which investors can now make a choice of investments without regard to their redemption features and with a view to getting a continued high return through the period of declining interest rates that is ahead.

The advantage that an investor would enjoy fifteen years from now, if interest rates are then back to 4 per cent., provided he held a long-term low interest rate bond, even though it is callable, rather than a high interest rate bond

that is callable, can be shown by two Northern Pacific Railway issues secured under the same mortgage—the old issue of refunding and improvement mortgage 4½s and the new issue of refunding and improvement 6s, both due 2047. The 4½s are callable at any time at 110 and the 6s can be called at that figure on and after July 1st, 1936. If fifteen years from now interest rates are back to 4 per cent., then the 4 per cent. bonds would be selling around 112, or 33 points above their present price, and the 6 per cent. bonds, if it were not for the fact that they are then redeemable at 110, would be selling in the neighborhood of 149. It would then be to the company's advantage to sell lower interest rate bonds and call the 6s for retirement. It might also redeem the 4½s, but the investor would have a $310 profit on them as against only $85 on each $1,000 6 per cent. bond. A slightly higher yield on the 6 per cent. issue at present prices is a reflection of these possibilities of the future and the fact that they are not redeemable for fifteen years makes them attractive to many investors.

In this matter of choosing investments with a view to the future, the investor has to match his wits against those of the corporations issuing the securities. This is particularly true in regard to the new issues now coming out. Corporations or governments do not want to place themselves in a position where they will have to pay high rates of interest over a long term of years if interest rates are coming down. For that reason very few of the new high-rate bond issues run for more than twenty years, most of them for less. And with the exceptions noted on the preceding page and a few others, they all have provisions for their redemption before maturity. It behooves the investor to study these provisions if he wishes to take the full possible advantage of present favorable conditions in the investment market.

These provisions are in great variety and it may help the investor if some consideration is given to them here. The names of the bonds are not mentioned, for these are but examples of the redemption provisions that are to be found in most of the new offerings now being brought out. These provisions all appeared in offerings made during recent months:

A public utility first mortgage 7 per cent. bond due 1946, "Non-callable to August 1, 1926," redeemable thereafter at prices ranging from 105 down to 101 as it approaches maturity. The investor in this bond is sure of the high rate of interest for but five years. Then the bond might be paid off at 6¾ points more than he paid for it.

An industrial ten-year 7½ per cent. bond callable on any interest date at 107½ down to 102. Without any callable feature this bond would be too short a term to insure its carrying the investor through the period of declining interest rates. As it can be paid off at any time at only 9¼ to 3¾ points more than he pays for it, it is still less attractive at this time.

A foreign government twenty-five-year 8 per cent. external loan bond, non-callable for ten years and then redeemable at 105. This assures the high interest return for ten years, but after that the bonds can be retired at a profit of only 6½ points to the investor.

An earlier foreign government twenty-year 8 per cent. issue provides for payments into a sinking fund which will be used to retire bonds at 107½ beginning in 1920, and a point was made that these payments will be sufficient to redeem all the bonds at that price by maturity. Another of the foreign issues brought out here will be retired at 115 in this same way. Whether this will operate to the disadvantage of the investor or not depends on how fast interest rates go down and when his particular bonds are drawn by lot for redemption.

The most typical provision is that of another public utility twenty-year 8 per cent. bond which is redeemable at 107½ for the first five years, 105 during the next five years, 102½ the next five and then at 101 until maturity. In many of them the highest redemption premium is 105. In some it is 110, but as most of them are offered near par, this does not mean much profit to the investor.

The advantages of these provisions all lie with the companies provided they do not have to call the bonds unless they want to. For they are most certain not to do so unless they can finance to better advantage at the time, and at such a time it would be a disadvantage to the investor to have his bonds paid off.

Five, ten, or fifteen years from now 7 and 8 and possibly even 6 per cent. bonds left outstanding may be rare curiosities and the investor who holds them will be the fortunate recipient of higher returns on his capital than his neighbors. He will be doubly fortunate, for under those conditions every dollar will also buy more that at present.

THE COUNCIL TABLE

EDWIN A. ALDERMAN
President, University of Virginia

CHARLES H. BRENT
Bishop of Western New York

CHARLES W. ELIOT
President Emeritus, Harvard University

CASS GILBERT
Architect

JAMES G. HARBORD
Major-General, U. S. Army

HENRY J. HASKELL
Of the Kansas City *Star*

HERBERT HOOVER
Secretary of Commerce

ERIE C. HOPWOOD
Editor, Cleveland *Plain Dealer*

ROBERT S. LOVETT
Railroad President

DANIEL D. MOORE
Editor, New Orleans *Times-Picayune*

HENRY MORGENTHAU
Former U. S. Ambassador to Turkey

WILLIAM S. SIMS
Rear-Admiral, U. S. Navy

HENRY L. STIMSON
Ex-Secretary of War

BOOTH TARKINGTON
Novelist and Publicist

CASPER S. YOST
Of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

In order to present in one place wise and informed thought and stimulating counsel, month after month, the editors of the WORLD'S WORK *have created this special section in the magazine and invited the gentlemen whose names appear above to contribute to it. The magazine wishes to express its appreciation of their willingness to coöperate in this undertaking.*

The views expressed by each author are his alone, there being no group responsibility for any of the opinions, but no opinions will appear in this section except those belonging to some individual of this group.—THE EDITORS.

THE NEW MILITARY POLICY

BY J. G. HARBORD
Major General, G. S., Executive Assistant to Chief of Staff

THERE are several schools of thought on military training in this country. No inconsiderable fraction of our people believes that future wars can be prevented through the League of Nations or through some outgrowth of the Disarmament Conference expected to convene in Washington in November, and that preparedness for war, instead of contributing to prevent it, invites it. The better the boy learns to box, the more apt is some one to jump on him. The bigger and better the army and the navy, the more likelihood of aggression against the nation that owns them. The flabbier the boy's muscles the safer he will be. The smaller the army and navy the nation

has, the longer its expectation of life and the firmer the guarantees to individuals of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Those who do not hold such views and who still believe that wars will occur while human nature remains the same and economic rivalries persist, either believe in trusting to luck as we have generally done in the past, or in some reasonable measure of preparedness by land and by sea. Some who advocate preparedness are in favor of universal military training, claimed by its adherents to be the only democratic and equal way of distributing the duty of the National Defense between all young men of military age, who, incidentally, are made better citizens by the discipline and the physical training; others believe that such training should be voluntary on the part of the young citizen.

TWO PLANS FOR A STANDING ARMY

AGAIN there are two schools of thought in reference to the Regular Army; one holding that there should be a large, more or less skeletonized, regular army, capable of great expansion in case of need, with such National Guard as local interests foster, and few or no reserves; the other believes that we cannot afford a large regular army, but should maintain a small but highly disciplined and instructed professional army, ready to fight without expansion and to hold the line while the citizen army is mobilizing, and that our main reliance in war must be, in the future as in the past, the mass of the Nation's man-power, trained in peace time either in the National Guard or in the Organized Reserves. The National Defense Policy for the time being is the last described.

The last Congress chose voluntary rather than universal training; rejected a large regular army in favor of a highly professional small one, and enacted legislation in the Act approved June 4, 1920, under which it is expected to develop and train the National Guard and the Organized Reserves so that in event of another emergency, such as the World War, they will constitute the nation's principal reliance.

Without arguing as to its merits compared with universal training, this policy, while providing for a small regular army, promises the establishment and gradual evolution during peace of a citizen soldiery, and departs from the blind practice of our past of depending for the most part upon mere raw material from which to secure the immense number of officers and men who will be called to the colors when circumstances require mobilization. It offers the patriotic youth of the country an opportunity to give some return, if he chooses, for the protection afforded him in his citizenship, and invites him to contribute some part of his time in peace, in order that he may better serve his country in event of war—with more efficiency for the country, with less danger and hardship for himself. The President himself has recently thus proclaimed the new Military Policy:

> Our present National Defense Law establishes an economical and democratic military policy thoroughly consistent with our national traditions. It provides for a small regular army to be augmented by great citizen forces in the event of national emergency. This is our traditional military policy. But, whereas in the past these larger war forces have been extemporized after the occurrence of an emergency, the new law wisely provides that the framework of their organization shall be established and developed in time of peace, in so far as this is practicable through the voluntary service of our patriotic young men. The Army of the United States, as defined in the new law, comprises the Regular Army, the National Guard, and the Organized Reserves. Every patriotic citizen should encourage the development of these forces, each within its proper sphere.

The National Guard in time of peace is a state establishment, being under control of the state in which organized, and coming under national jurisdiction only when called by the President into the

Federal service. Its peace training, however, is under close supervision by the War Department, and numerous selected regular officers are designated by the Secretary of War to inspect and instruct these state troops. This is not a new matter. For years Congress has annually appropriated for the partial maintenance of the National Guard. Camps and manœuvres have been held more or less regularly for many years. Upon the recommendation of the Governor, a limited number of selected officers and enlisted men of the Guard of any state may attend a regular course of study at any military service school of the United States, except the National Academy, which by law is limited to youth still in the formative period of its character. The contact of the National Guard with the War Department is through a Bureau of the latter, headed by a National Guard officer, chosen by the President from the active National Guard of the whole country. The National Guard on July 30, 1921, numbered 6,128 officers and 112,623 men in forty-six states.

THE ORGANIZED RESERVE

THE Organized Reserves constitute a purely Federal force which is trained, supported, and controlled by the United States under the powers vested in Congress by the Constitution. Its members —about 66,000 officers at this writing— have a war obligation only in that during periods of emergency they may be summoned to the colors in order to furnish officers when needed in such numbers that the Regular Army and National Guard are inadequate; meanwhile, during fifteen days each year they are required to engage in methodical instruction and drill in the field under competent instructors. Eventually, this corps will constitute that great reservoir from which officers of all ranks, and non-commissioned officers and soldiers of all grades will be called to serve during war in the various branches of the Army whether of the Regular establishment, the National Guard, or the Organized Reserves. It is estimated that in case of any great emergency the initial mobilization of the armed forces of the country will require the services of nearly 200,000 officers, of whom but a fraction could be furnished by the Regular Army and the National Guard. With these figures in mind the importance of a numerous and efficient reserve is self-evident. The number of officers in service in our Army of the United States on November 11, 1918, was 196,788, or 46,788 more officers than we have soldiers in our Regular Army to-day.

The reserve of officers is recruited in three ways. Large numbers of officers, proven in the recent war, have accepted Reserve commissions—generally the highest grade held by them during the emergency. The Reserve Officers' Training Corps, and the Citizens' Military Training Camps will be the two sources which will constantly reënforce the more mature veteran officers inherited from a time but three years ago, when we had over four millions of soldiers. Indeed, the opponents of military training constantly point to this asset of four million soldiers as an excuse for failure to provide a reasonable measure of preparedness. Ours is a land of short memories and brief regrets and our people have forgotten already that these men, aged prematurely by the hardships of war, are fast losing their physical fitness and their skill at arms. They have also forgotten that in justice to those men who made the sacrifice in the last emergency, the next must be met by the thousands of slackers who escaped service then, and the hundreds of thousands of young men who are yearly arriving at the military age. The four millions have served their turn.

The Reserve Officers' Training Corps is maintained in specially selected civilian educational institutions where officers of the Regular Army have been detailed as professors of military science and

tactics. Here, in addition to the regular academic curriculum, the student is required to pursue standard courses of theoretical and practical military training with a view to his appointment as a Reserve Officer, the final requirement being that he must acquire further practical instruction in a six-weeks' course at camp. These institutions are divided, according to numbers attending, into Senior and Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps units. Of the former, there are now 213, with an enrollment for the military instruction of 44,253 students. There are 116 of the Junior rating, with 46,558 students receiving military instruction. Assuming facilities yearly provided by Congress by which their training may be completed in the camps, an annual graduation is estimated of 5,000 young men, competent to discharge the duties of company and battalion officers should the need arise.

WOOD AND THE ORIGINAL PLATTSBURG

THE Citizens' Training Camp in this country owes its inception and the sponsorship of its early years to Major General Leonard Wood, who thus contributed to our emergency service during the war thousands of young officers fairly trained, whose training and patriotic interest were directly traceable to the training-camp system which he inaugurated. The first Citizens' Military Training Camp was held at Plattsburg in 1913, a five-weeks' course, attended by many who later exercised command in the war. The citizens' camps have now received legislative sanction in the National Defense Act, amended in June, 1920, and are actually functioning this summer. More than 40,000 young men asked permission to attend these camps this year, but under the appropriations only about 10,800 could be cared for. These embryo officers are furnished transportation to and from the camps; and are sheltered, fed, and clothed by the Government while undergoing this instruction. In passing, it seems appropriate to invite comparison between the 10,800 which Congress is sending this year, and the more than 11,000 who in 1916 passed through the Plattsburg Camp at their own expense.

RED, WHITE, AND BLUE COURSES

THERE are three courses of instruction given at the Camps this year, of which certain features are common to all. No matter what the course, the effort is made to inculcate the principles of discipline, without which you can have neither officer nor soldier worth the name. The broad purpose of the training is to create definite powers of accomplishment—to make military "doers" and "go-getters" out of these youngsters. A trained man is one who can better do the things which he is called to do, than one who is without training—"better" meaning with increased ease, efficiency, economy, and celerity. Taking these young men at a formative period in their character, the habits of discipline are given by constant and graded repetition, practising and exercising certain faculties progressively, until there is a sub-conscious response to certain conditions, more or less standardized among those who have had similar training.

The three courses in the Training Camps are known respectively as the Red, the White, and the Blue. The Red Course seeks more particularly to bring together young men of all types, the native and the foreign born; to develop closer national and social unity of thought and feeling; to teach the privileges, duties, and the responsibilites of American citizenship; to stimulate interest in the true values of military training to themselves; and, finally, to qualify young men for service in the Reserves.

The White Course is intended to qualify selected privates of the Organized Reserves as non-commissioned officers, in order that they may be used to train

recruits and take charge of small bodies of soldiers. It is also intended to provide preliminary training for candidates for commissions in the Officers' Reserve Corps. To be eligible to take this course, previous training in the Red Course, or the equivalent thereof, is required.

The Blue Course is designed to provide more advanced training for warrant officers and selected non-commissioned officers of the Regular Army, the Enlisted Reserve Corps, and civilians, with a view to their appointment as officers in the Reserve Corps.

In addition to these camps, at which the student is supported by the Government, there is one—Camp Meade—at which there is this year an estimated voluntary attendance of 300 young men, anxious for instruction—anxious enough to absent themselves from their vocations and to pay their own expenses to and from the Camp, from sheer love of country and appreciation of the benefits of military training.

The Enlisted Reserve Corps provides a means for the procurement of the enlisted personnel of the Organized Reserves which, under the basic law, must be composed of trained men; therefore, the Enlisted Reserve Corps is not a training system or institution. For the present, it is the policy of the War Department not to urge enlistments in the Enlisted Reserve Corps, pending the organization of the units of the Organized Reserves, thus avoiding an excessive number of unassigned reservists. However, enlistments are now open to graduates of the Training Camps and will be to other classes as well on about November 1, 1921. Although the strength of this Enlisted Reserve Corps is merely nominal at the present time, it is believed that the authorized strength prescribed for units of the Organized Reserves will be secured.

Congress has thus settled the Military Policy of the United States, prescribing that in time of peace the President shall constitute the military organizations that will be needed if war comes. It has granted the necessary power to the President, along broad lines, deferring to him in the settlement of details of organization. The President has accepted this great mission, and really, for the first time in our national history, our country has a definite military policy. As has been said by one of our best military writers:

> After more than a century, the Government at last has made that provision for the common defense which the preamble to the Constitution proclaimed to be one of the primary objects of the Federal Union.

IF "PEACE ON EARTH" CAME TRUE

The Saving in Dollars and the Saving in Ships. And Why No Saving at All Is Possible Unless the Washington Conference First Settles "the Problems of the Pacific," Which Are the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the Open Door

By ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TURNBULL

Formerly Commander, United States Navy

EDITORS' NOTE: *Before undertaking to discuss what "the limitation of armaments" means in specific terms, it is necessary to recall what armies and navies are for. They are a peaceful nation's weapons, just as the revolver that many men keep in a bureau drawer at home is the family's weapon. Thus, armies and navies are not ends in themselves, but are simply instruments in the hands of civil governments. They are only one of many instruments that are used by a nation to achieve its purposes. These purposes are usually to secure (a) the physical safety of the nation, (b) the right to live undisturbed under the institutions and according to the customs which it prefers, and (c) the opportunity to improve the material well-being of its people in agriculture, industry, and commerce. The principles by which a nation seeks to achieve these purposes are technically called a nation's "policy." Armies and navies, then, are simply instruments of a nation's policy.*

It follows, therefore, that the size of America's army and navy depends absolutely on the facts of America's policy. Because of our geographical position, the character of the institutions we prefer, and the nature of our economic life, and the path of its development, we have evolved three major principles of foreign policy: (1) Toward Europe, close commercial relations and complete independence from permanent *political alliances; (2) toward the Western Hemisphere, "the Monroe Doctrine," which means that no European or Asiatic Power may meddle in politics in North or South America; and (3) toward Asia, "the policy of the Open Door," which means that we think that all nations should have equal rights to trade in China and that no nation should seize territory in China.*

A brief glance at the history of these policies will prove that "policy determines armament." The first two are one hundred years old, while the third is only twenty years old. For eighty years, then, our policy was wholly concerned with our relations with Europe. In those eighty years we never needed a powerful military establishment, because our protection was supplied by the mutual jealousies of Europe itself. The "balance of power" in Europe saved us the cost of armament, since no European nation dared to attack us in force for fear that one of its neighbors would attack it in the rear while it was fighting us. Thus our policies of "isolation" and "the Monroe Doctrine" have been effective, without much of a military establishment of our own to maintain them.

But our policy of "the Open Door" has never been effective, and the reason has been precisely that everybody knew that we would not fight for it. As every other important nation has felt that "the Open Door" was against its interests, we have had no one else to defend it; and as we would not defend it ourselves, it has been violated whenever any other nation felt inclined to do so.

This situation leaves us with three alternatives: (1) abandon "the Open Door" policy; (2) arm ourselves to defend it; or (3) find a way to get other nations to help us defend it. American public opinion will not permit our Government to abandon "the Open Door." American public opinion will not permit our Government to increase our armament to the necessary point to defend it unless *the third alternative is first tried and proved to be a failure. That is the real reason for the calling of the Washington Conference to be held next November.*

With Russia and Germany helpless, and with France absorbed in Europe, only three nations remain at present actively interested in "the Open-Door" policy. These are Great Britain, Japan, and the United States. Of these nations, two are emphatically committed to opposing views of the Open Door. These are the United States and Japan, the one in favor of it and the other against it. Great Britain is "on the fence." Hence, what Great Britain finally decides to do will probably determine the issue. If Great Britain finally decides to favor "the Open Door," we shall

have gained the powerful partner we need to help us defend it, and Japan will know that her hope to dominate China by force of arms is vain. Then all three nations could afford to limit their armaments. Great Britain and the United States could afford it, because their combined power would always exceed Japan's. The Japanese could afford it, because the military weapon would then be proved useless to her and she could spend the money to better advantage on commercial enterprises in the economic struggle that would then replace the military struggle.

Thus, we finally come to the crux of the present issue of disarmament. There is not going to be any limitation of armaments unless "the Open-Door" policy is ratified by Great Britain and accepted by Japan.

Therefore, when we ask what "limitation of armaments" means to the United States, we have to assume that we know what settlement of the Pacific and Far-Eastern problems is arrived at by the Washington Conference. For the purpose of the following article, the author has assumed that great Britain and Japan will accept "the Open-Door" policy and that all the possessions of Japan and the United States will remain as they now are. He then proceeds to discuss our naval strategic position in the Pacific as it would be under these assumptions and the extent to which we could afford to limit our naval preparations there. He assumes also, of course, that Japan is our only potential enemy in the Pacific and that the Atlantic Ocean is a negligible factor at present.—THE EDITORS.

ANY consideration of the strategy of the Pacific should properly begin with an examination of the map. A glance will show the positions of the Caroline and the Marshall Islands, now held by Japan, as well as the positions of our own possessions: Hawaii, Guam, and the Philippines. It is important to note these geographic facts.

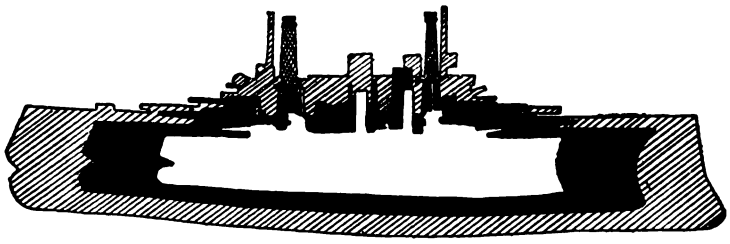
From the American standpoint, the most important group is the Philippines. These Islands are very rich in hitherto undeveloped possibilities. In addition to the great natural resources, vegetable and mineral, there are many excellent harbors; above all, the Islands lie comparatively close to the continent of Asia. Thus an integral part of the United States is near China—a tremendous advantage, possessed by no other country save Japan.

With the Philippines really developed, the United States would be in the best possible position to compete commercially with Japan in Asia. As yet, no such development has taken place, for the very cogent reason that American capital has hesitated for lack of the great essential—political security. That explains why present-day discussion of "Pacific problems" has said so little of the Philippines. Yet, with this essential supplied, there would be little obstacle to capital; the consequent importance of the Islands would promptly follow.

Political discussions of the Philippines often suggest that we should give the Filipinos independence as soon as they have acquired the capacity to govern themselves. It is argued that we have promised to do this. But there is no mention of the fairly obvious fact that, though the natives might in time develop the capacity to govern themselves, they could never acquire the capacity to defend themselves. Undefended, they would fall an easy prey to the first invader. It is a question whether, by giving them independence, we should not be doing them grave harm.

Assuming, as seems reasonably justified; that the people of the United States, once informed of the true political state of the Filipinos, not to mention the commercial possibilities of the Islands, will conclude that we should retain our hold, the problem of our Pacific strategy narrows down to the question of how we can retain that hold. With our present defenses we could not do it. The guns mounted on Corregidor, the fortified island in Manila Bay, can command only the comparatively small area within range. If our fleet were in Philippine waters it would be so hampered by being obliged to support Corregidor that it would be useless as an offensive force, even if it could be maintained at so great a distance from our own west coast.

It is estimated that, for a successful operation against Japan, we would require a fleet more than double hers in strength. But disregarding relative sizes, whatever force we sent across the Pacific would necessarily have to be maintained by a "train"—that is, a continuous flow of supplies carried in ships. The proportions of such a train, for the force deemed adequate, may be pictured by drawing upon our map [see page 554] a line from San Francisco to the Philippines, and placing upon this line,



GREAT BRITAIN, JAPAN, AND AMERICA

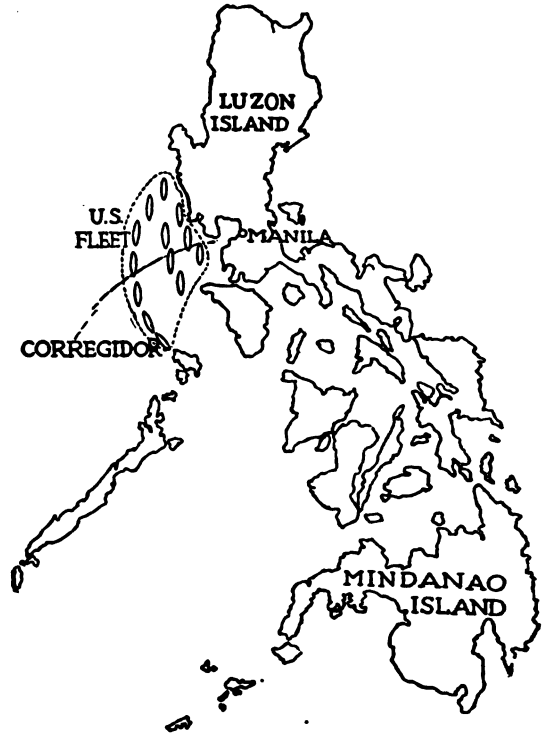
The apparently great preponderance of the British fleet, at present, is due in considerable part to special experimental types built during the war, and to the inclusion of units not yet counted obsolete but soon to become so

□ JAPANESE 1
■ U S 2
▨ GREAT BRITAIN 3½

at intervals of 300 miles, groups of six ships of 5,000 tons each, headed for Manila. There must be a corresponding line of "empties" en route to the United States, Further, it must be conceived that there would be many vessels at each end, loading, unloading, and repairing. The mere operation of such a train would be a stupendous undertaking of ships, men, and money, even if there were no interference. However, in case of war with Japan we could count upon very great interference.

It is easy to see where the Marshall and Caroline groups lie with reference to the lines representing the "train." Upon these islands, Japan is already preparing bases; she could readily carry the work further. From these bases, it would be a simple matter to conduct air, surface, and submarine raids upon our train. Our line of communications would be cut. However great our fleet in the Philippines, it would very soon be quite helpless. Under existing conditions, should Japan decide to attack the Philippines, we have no force capable of reaching the Islands in time to defend them, nor any force capable of retaking them once they had fallen. The cost of an expedition designed and built for the latter purpose would run into the billions. The like of such a force of battleships, cruisers, destroyers, submarines, aircraft-carriers, and transports could not be found in history. Yet after it had been assembled and started it would probably fail, without ever coming to the major-ship action which might mean ultimate victory, simply because the necessary "train" could not be maintained. Only by defending the Philippines so strongly that they cannot be taken can we hope to retain them by any force within reason. How can we so defend them?

Recent experiments, such as those in which the captured German ships were bombed from the air, have demonstrated the possibilities of aircraft. Torpedoes, equipped with gyroscopes, are now launched from planes. Improvement of this weapon will materially increase the danger of an air attack. In future fleet actions, that fleet which can command the air will hold a tremendous advantage. While this does not mean that the battleship or any other type is absolutely doomed, it does prove the vital necessity of accompanying air-protection. Against a determined attack from the air, gunfire from ships would be ineffective. The results attained on the Western Front, something like



THE PHILIPPINES DEFENDED BY THE NAVY

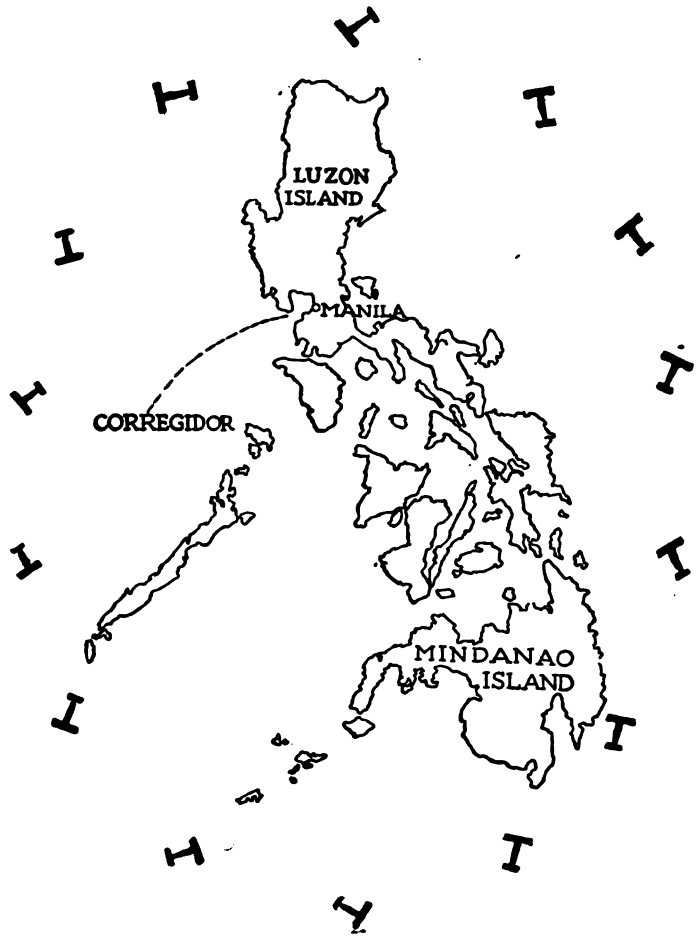
The necessity of supporting Corregidor and the practical impossibility of guarding with ships the many possible avenues of approach to the islands make it quite possible for an enemy to land at some unprotected spot in order to attack Manila from the rear, if the defense of the Islands is left to a fleet alone

one hit in a thousand, could scarcely be equalled from ships. From the rolling platform of battleships no anti-aircraft fire could be as effective as that from batteries mounted for the purpose ashore. Even flying at dangerously low altitudes, mere numbers would push home the attack because all the planes would not be hit. Again, the aircraft need not attack the main body; destruction of the transports and auxiliaries would accomplish the same practical result. Between explosive bombs and gas, either in containers or sprayed, such an attack would very probably be fatal.

The same considerations govern an air-force defending the land from an approaching fleet. Long before the ships could get the shore-batteries within range, planes, if in sufficient force to overcome the fleet's planes, could cripple the expedition by destroying the transports, the escort, or both. Even if the defending planes were so late in concentrating as not to reach the landing-place until the landing had been started or actually effected, these planes, always given the air-supremacy, could bomb out the landing place and make it untenable, in spite of any effort on the part of the invader. It follows that the proper main defense of the Philippines should be aircraft. The policy of defending the Philippines by aircraft is one which has for ten years been earnestly advocated by such a leading strategist as Admiral Bradley Fisk. Submarines and other vessels would be required, of course, but the chief reliance should be upon aircraft. The many landlocked bays of the Islands would form admirable bases for sea-planes.

With the Philippines adequately defended by several hundred—or, for all present purposes, say a thousand—aircraft, the positions of the United States and Japan would be reversed. The Islands lie on or near the trade routes of Japan. Air and other raids against Japan's trade could be successfully carried out, so long as the base in the Islands was assured us. As Japan could not be self-sustaining in a war of any length, such raids would be fatal to her. Of course, our holding Guam and Hawaii, if we do hold them, would subject Japan, should she make the highly unlikely attempt to reach our continent, to the same "train" difficulties which would confront us, operating in the opposite direction.

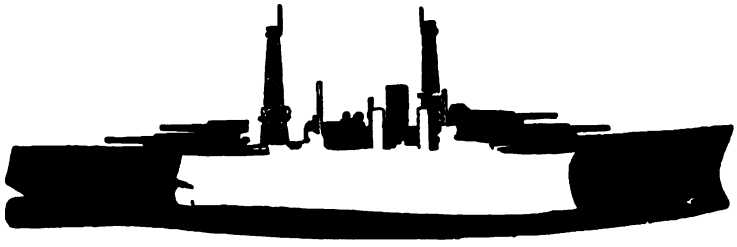
An air effort on the part of Japan to overcome our air defense of the Philippines would fail on account of the distance. With the Island of Formosa at least two hundred miles from Luzon, and with the rugged contour and exposed beaches of that island, Japan could not, from Formosa, deliver an air attack that would get home. Further, for Japan to begin to



THE PHILIPPINES DEFENDED BY AIRPLANES

A thousand airplanes, costing about the same as one battleship, and based upon the many landlocked harbors of the archipelago, could close every avenue, and with bombs prevent any attack from any direction. Formosa, Japan's nearest territory to the Philippines, is not easily adaptable as a base for airplanes, and any attempt to make it so would be easily recognized as offensive, whereupon measures could be taken to maintain our supremacy of the air

prepare Formosa as an air base would be so obviously hostile an act that we could at once proceed to build more planes for the Philippines, thus always holding the air command. Japan's preparation of Formosa for aircraft would differ from our taking the same steps in the Philippines, in that she would have no other logical reason than a hostile one. If Japan began building aircraft-carriers, contemplating an attack from the sea, the same course—building more planes—would still defeat her purpose. For exactly the same reasons, if we allow Japan to seize the Philippines, she would at once defend them with aircraft, and our air efforts to retake them would fail. An aircraft-carrier of the largest projected size carries eighty planes and costs about as much as a battleship. We should again be confronted with the difficulty of maintaining a "train" for the required number of carriers, even if we went to the enormous expense of building them.



THE JAPANESE AND AMERICAN NAVIES NOW
Based upon the latest and best available information (March, 1921) and neglecting units considered obsolete, the United States has at present double the naval offensive power of Japan

1921
□ JAPAN 1.
■ U.S. 2.

Thus the military and political fate of the Philippines depends upon who first fortifies them with aircraft. If we do not provide for their defense now, Japan's first hostile act would be to seize them and establish an air-force greater than any we could bring from sea. If we once establish air-supremacy, it will be comparatively easy to maintain it. We can build planes as fast as, or faster than, Japan can. While we hold them, it will be easy to get these increasing forces to the Philippines; once Japan was in control, it would be practically impossible.

Aircraft can be built at a cost of about forty thousand dollars each, that is, at the rate of about a thousand planes to one battleship. This means that less than the price of one battleship will provide for adequate present defense of the Philippines. It is a strong argument for stopping the building of battleships for the present and proceeding *now* to build aircraft. If we do it, Japan will not even try to take the Philippines. If we do not, she is sure to take them whenever she concludes that she really wants them. Once we have made the Philippines secure, commercial development will follow as a matter of course.

As they stand, the Philippines, instead of being our asset, are a potential hostage in the hands of Japan.

II

With the Philippines adequately defended in the manner suggested, or with the announcement of our definite policy so to defend them, our position with reference to the limitation of armament generally would be immeasurably stronger. Our most vital possession in the Pacific would be secure, and the only remaining essential to be considered would be the maintenance of *relative* strength. We could then lop off ship for ship, with Great Britain and Japan, from our future naval building programmes.

What are the present relative strengths of the three fleets, and what would be possible in limiting them under various possibilities of policy?

Based upon the latest and best available information (March, 1921) and neglecting units considered obsolete or non-battle-worthy, the present status of fleets is as follows:

TYPES		UNITED STATES	GREAT BRITAIN	JAPAN
Battleships	1st line	16	26	6
"	2nd "	14	19	4
Battle Cruisers	1st "	—	6	4
" "	2nd "	—	4	—
Cruisers	1st "	—	2	—
"	2nd "	10	18	5
Light Cruisers	1st "	—	45	8
" "	2nd "	3	24	1
Destroyer leaders		—	24	—
Destroyers	1st line	277	334	35
"	2nd "	21	42	12
Submarines	1st "	56	85	1
"	2nd "	44	65	12
Submarines, fleet	1st "	2	14	—
" "	2nd "	—	6	—
Air carriers		—	6	—

The apparently very great preponderance of the British Fleet, at present, is due in considerable part to special experimental types built during the war, and to the inclusion of units not yet counted obsolete but soon to become so.

Our present programme provides, in capital ships, for six battle cruisers and twelve battleships. Japan's present programme, as far as it can be definitely stated from the information at hand, is the so-called "8-8-8", that is, eight battleships and eight battle cruisers every eight years.

If we stop in 1923 with the completion of two battle cruisers and the six battleships of the *Maryland* class, while Japan continues her programme until 1927, the estimated strength will be:

JANUARY, 1927—AUTHOR'S ESTIMATE

	UNITED STATES	JAPAN
Battleships	21	12
Battle Cruisers	2	11
Cruisers and Light Cruisers	37	57
Destroyers	304	120
Submarines	100	97

This would mean a practical equality of fleets by the date set.

Should Britain not build the four battleships which have been spoken of, her preponderance by 1927 would not be great.

For the sake of comparison, the following table shows the Japanese estimate of the situation in 1927, as recently published in Japanese papers. This estimate is more drastic as to the obsoleteness of certain ships, but it allows for the completion of the present United States programme.

JANUARY, 1927
JAPANESE ESTIMATE

	UNITED STATES	JAPAN
Battleships	12	8
Battle Cruisers	6	8
Light Cruisers	10	23
Destroyers	120	73
Submarines	63	80

A similar practical equality.

Both these estimates show that, should Great Britain and the United States combine to present a solid front to Japan, the relative strength of two to one will be constantly maintained. Even should it be decided to go further than "limiting" and actually "disarm" by the destruction of certain ships, Britain and the United States could consent to this, so long as the relative strengths were undisturbed.

In the event of our deciding to act independently in the Pacific while retaining our present possessions, we could, by providing as suggested for the defense of the Philippines, build up a strong competition in commercial China with both Japan and Britain. In this case, however, we should probably be confronted with an Anglo-Japanese agreement similar to the old one. Therefore, to continue to have a voice in the political integrity of China and to prevent monopolies against ourselves, we should be obliged to carry out at least our present programme of naval construction and probably a larger one—since a merchant-marine demands a navy adequate to protect it under existing world conditions. Were this our policy, it would seem idle to talk of any limitation which would not leave us materially stronger than Japan and at least equal to Britain.

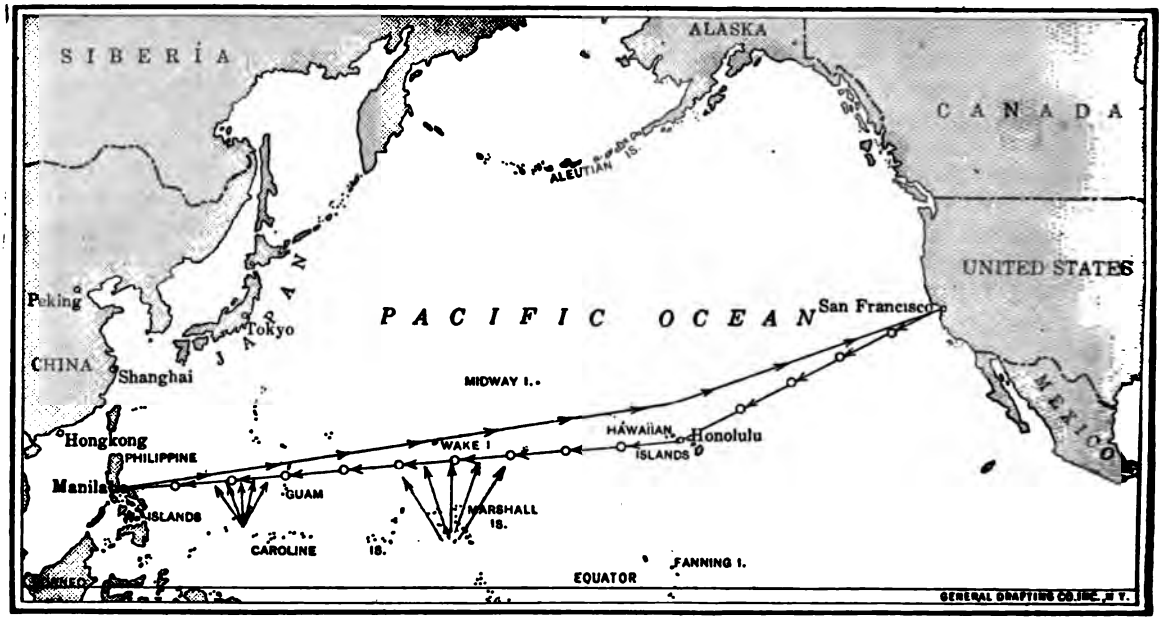
Again, should we decide to abandon the Philippines, with the almost certain result that control of the Islands would pass rapidly into the hands of Japan—or even possibly of Great Britain—we could not expect to benefit by the harbors and docking facilities that would be promptly developed there. Thus we could not hope to compete commercially in China, or to keep a voice in her political future. In this case, however, we could carry limitation of armament to any point deemed economically necessary by the nation, which would mean the loss of our present place as the "world's financial centre" and our retrogression as a world-power.

Under such circumstances, the advance of

JAPAN AND AMERICA SIX YEARS FROM NOW

Based on an estimate by the author in which he presupposes that Japan will adhere to her "8-8-8" ship-building policy—that is, that she will build eight battleships and eight battle cruisers every eight years—and that the United States will suspend building after 1923. A Japanese estimate, however, which is more drastic in its views of obsolete ships, reaches this same conclusion even including America's entire present building programme

1927
□ JAPAN
■ U.S.
Nearly equal



THE PRACTICAL IMPOSSIBILITY OF DEFENDING THE PHILIPPINES WITH A BATTLE FLEET

A constant stream of war materials and supplies would have to be sent to our battle fleet in the Philippines in the event of war, and the many ships carrying this freight would be subject to attack and interruption by Japanese submarines, cruisers, and other commerce destroyers based on the Marshall and Caroline Islands, both of which are in the hands of Japan

Japan would probably be rapid, because of the wide distribution of Britain's effort. Since Japan would be very likely to gain the supremacy in the political future of China, the ultimate outcome might logically be an increase in the seriousness of the "Yellow Peril." To prepare, years hence, with other white races, to meet such a danger, would involve a far greater outlay on our part than could be represented by any present saving.

As actual possible savings, certain approximate figures can be given:

(A) Under an Anglo-American-Japanese agreement, under which the English-speaking powers would have twice the naval strength of Japan, we need not build:

Six Battleships at	$ 40,000,000	$240,000,000
Four Battle Cruisers. . .	40,000,000	160,000,000
But we should have to spend to defend the Philippines, for 1,000 aircraft at $40,000 each		400,000,000
	40,000,000	
And for, say, two plane-carriers	80,000,000	
	120,000,000	120,000,000
A saving in construction cost of roughly		$280,000,000

This, if Japan carried out her programme to 1927, while Britain did practically no building, would result in practical equality. It should be remembered that no such an agreement by Japan is likely, unless we announce at once our intention to defend the Philippines by aircraft.

(B) No agreement with Britain and Japan, but retention of the Philippines.

Here no limitation which left us less than equal to Britain and individually two-to-one against Japan would be safe. This means, no saving at all.

(C) No agreements, and abandonment of the Philippines.

This would make possible the saving given under (A) and a greater saving due to little or no new construction, after 1923, that would not be required merely to defend the continent of the United States from invasion. It would involve the loss of our opportunities in Asia.

HOW CAN JAPAN DISARM?

The Possibilities of a Change of Policy on the Part of Japan. The Problems that Face the Island Empire of the Orient.

By SYDNEY GREENBIE

WITHOUT an adjustment of affairs in the Pacific there can be no real disarmament; without disarmament, there is going to be no permanent peace; without both, there is little hope for civilization! Thus the hope of civilization lies in some adjustment whereby China comes back into her own again; whereby Japan remains free to develop industrially to a position of economic independence; and whereby the other nations who have things to do in China, for China's good and for their own, find the door wide open.

All other methods have been tried. America has tried to live in lofty and self-righteous isolation. Until the year A.D. 1899 we kept insisting upon this. But by that time we had reached Asia and discovered ourselves thoroughly messed up in European affairs. For twenty-two years now we have been vociferously denying that we ever engaged in alliances, all the while proclaiming a policy that was dragging us slowly into every alliance that every scheming nation of Europe and Asia could devise. And to-day America is calling a conference of all the remaining Powers to see how we can extricate ourselves from all these alliances. At the same time both Japan and Great Britain are tugging away at our coat-tails urging us to come in.

To come into what? Into the Anglo-Japanese Alliance! Yet for a quarter century we have been urging them to come into our kind of alliance—the Open Door Policy—to no avail. This policy has been acclaimed as a breath of new air in world politics, it has been endorsed in every vicious agreement, covenant, alliance, and understanding—and has been just as persistently violated in secrecy. Some nations have dubbed it "Dollar Diplomacy"; others have criticised it as too idealistic, or as sentimental and weak. They have connived in its name and dismembered China under its very nose. Yet for a quarter century it has been the one clean, outstanding moral force in a world of scheming, self-seeking imperialists. Yet to-day America has to call the nations together to ask them—Where do we stand, gentlemen! Is the door of China going to be open, or are you just "kidding" us. The time has come when it must form the basis of a concrete and inviolable understanding.

For it must be remembered that however broadly we may talk of the problems of the Pacific—there is only one problem, and that is the open door. There are other issues that emerge out of this—there are the questions of the Pacific islands, the new and confusing problem of mandates, the questions of immigration and Racial Equality, the conflicting principles of democracy and bureaucracy—but there is only one issue over which any possible conflict can ever arise, and that is the right to trade in China unhampered by such restrictions as any nation may try to impose over regions wrested from China under unjust pressure and force of arms.

Twenty-seven years ago, China was regarded as the most powerful nation in the Orient. To-day not even Germany is as humiliated and demoralized; yet China was never guilty of a single aggressive act that would have justified it. The bleeding process by which China has been brought to the verge of bankruptcy began when Japan defeated China in the war of 1894. The powers refused to let Japan encroach upon the maritime or eastern provinces as the spoils of victory, but she secured, instead, a sumptuous indemnity claim. In order to pay this indemnity, China was forced to secure foreign loans, and the two most important sources of revenue the Government had—the salt tax and the maritime customs—fell into the hands of the foreign powers. Japan never forgave them for this interference, and got her revenge ten years later in her war with Russia.

In the meantime, upon the pretext of the murder of two missionaries, Germany, in 1898, came down upon China with her mailed fist and exacted a ninety-nine year lease of Kiao-

this voluntary assistance. But when we estimate the spoils, it becomes evident that not only were the motives not generous, but they involved a violation of the very Alliance itself. For the Alliance alleges that its aims are to guarantee the integrity of China, while Japan, in order to make sure her booty, invaded neutral territory to the extent of several hundred miles beyond Tsingtau, which they were after, and followed this by the famous Twenty-one Demands. These demands were made not through the regular secret diplomatic channels but were handed to the President, Yuan Shi-kai, with a request for absolute secrecy and a demand for immediate action. Japan denied that she had made the Demands until denial was no longer possible. And revelation forced the withdrawal of Group V of the Demands which would have forever closed the door of China to all but Japan. America, though quite unable to interfere in negotiations being carried on between two independent nations, again made them aware of the existence of the Open Door Policy, and China was given another breathing spell.

JAPAN BREAKS FAITH

THAT Japan has not kept the door open in Korea, Manchuria, and Shantung is beyond denial—it has never really been denied. Last summer, quarantine regulations in Tsingtau were imposed to such an extent as to make it "appear to us to be economic weapons in disguise," we are told. While on the pretext of suppressing an alleged intriguer against Japan's hold on Korea, a British merchant and shipper, Mr. Shaw, was put in prison for five months, and then released without compensation. His loss nearly ruined him, and the British claim that it was with that intention that the charge was made against him. His case was brought to the attention of Parliament. This, notwithstanding the Alliance.

Furthermore, when during the war it was suggested that Japan send troops to Europe, the Japanese raised such objections as reflected on the Allied armies. They said publicly that it would not do for Japanese soldiers to go to Europe as they did not know what it was to retreat. This was at the height of the anti-British sentiment that obtained at the time. And when the Allies decided to send troops to Siberia, the Japanese children were told to cheer the soldiers with this cry: "Japanese soldiers are the only ones who have not been defeated by the Germans." This from an ally. The net result to Japan of the Alliance, in spite of the claims of over-generous Englishmen that it is a one-sided affair, with Japan getting nothing, while England secured more than ample protection, has been:— The substitution of Japan for Russia in Manchuria and Mongolia and Siberia; for Germany in Shantung; a national debt wiped out by war profits; Korea part of the empire; the South Manchurian Railway, Kwantung leased territory, a part of Sakhalin, and the German Islands north of the equator. Yet the *Kokumin*, a Japanese newspaper, in speaking of the Alliance as bankrupt, haughtily refuses to have Japan remain Britain's watch-dog in Asia.

Japan, like all the other nations trained in the old diplomacy, has lived up to her agreement with England according to her lights. Great Britain is at this very moment trying to get round the Open Door Policy and the Consortium Agreement by securing exclusive and extensive mining rights in Kwantung, South China, which threaten not only the Open Door, but China's last hope itself. The point is, that alliances are futile, and that safety lies in another direction. For if Japan can go on making twenty-one Demands and special military agreements that threaten Britain's interests, and Britain can go on pushing contracts that threaten the Consortium, while all along both Alliance and Consortium declare for an Open Door and an independent China, what is the use of alliances and agreements?

And if that is the way definite agreements protect a large nation like China, how much faith can one have in mandates leaving the South Sea Islands inviolate? Have we not been constrained three times to define the Open Door?—in Hay's pronouncement, in the Root-Takahira agreement of 1908, and the Ishii-Lansing agreement of 1917—each exactly nine years apart—and still we are as far from keeping it open as ever.

THE SQUARING OF ACCOUNTS

AS I pointed out in the July issue of THE WORLD'S WORK, Australasia will not accept a renewal of the Alliance in terms inimical to America. Canada has since shown herself to be even more emphatic and negative. Nor is there any danger of their being bought off by promises from Japan to abstain from ever pressing the racial equality plea. Should they "bite," Japan would emerge only that much stronger;

and what would prevent her from forgetting her promises, as in Shantung? Other nations have forgotten their promises in their day, too.

As affairs have hitherto been, Japan has been no greater a diplomatic trickster than any other nation. What's the use of diplomacy if not to win in a contest of wits? But we see that victory does not spell peace, but further conquest. What is the way out? We have all been hard on Japan in our time, and certainly not without reason. But here is Japan's time come to settle her accounts with the world. She came nearly losing her chance again by trying to have it understood beforehand that the Conference was not to discuss things that are settled. Japan was not ready to have all her spoils placed in the European balance. But right there she would have lost out, as only in adjusting matters in the light of present needs is there any hope of peace.

JAPAN'S NEEDS

AND no nation's needs are more urgent than those of Japan. Japan has had ten years in which to send her increasing population to Korea and Manchuria, but climatic conditions together with the competition of cheap Chinese and Korean labor make that solution a blind alley. She has not disposed of one year's increase in all. There is only one way out for her—and that is through industrialization. If Japan were to become industrialized, she would have, for a century to come, enough work for her people at home to keep them from going abroad—enough engineering work, street paving, hygienic work, educational development to keep them from just reproducing. The trouble with Japan right now is, that of a certain kind of labor she has an abundance; but of trained artisans or professional people, she is far behind other nations. Industrialization is Japan's salvation. In the meantime, the world may discover a way out of its difficulties without the present greedy land and concession hunger that seems to be eating away the very vitals of nations.

But Japan is not alone in the need of industrialization.

China, too, can solve her national problems in that way. But China cannot do so without the aid of the West and of Japan in an open market where she is free to secure her needs on a fair basis. Here it is well to recall a statement of Mr. Taft in October, 1907, while passing through Shanghai:

> I am not one of those who view with alarm the effect of the growth of China with her teeming millions into a great industrial empire. I believe that this instead of injuring foreign trade with China would greatly increase it, and while it might change its character in some respects, it would not diminish its profit. A trade which depends for its profit on the backwardness of a people in developing their own resources and upon their inability to value at the proper relative prices that which they have to sell and that which they have to buy is not one which can be counted upon as stable or permanent.

Thus we get back to the Open Door and the elimination, not the extension of alliances.

America's Effort to Prevent the European War

A SECOND CHAPTER FROM "THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF WALTER H. PAGE"

By BURTON J. HENDRICK

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In this and succeeding numbers, the WORLD'S WORK *will publish several chapters from the forthcoming biography of the late Walter H. Page, Ambassador to Great Britain from 1913 to 1918—the five years that included the period of the World War. Even before the outbreak of the great conflict, the American Embassy, under Mr. Page, had several important problems to solve. The instalment following this gives a graphic account of the "grand crash" which the plan outlined in this instalment was designed to prevent.*—THE EDITORS.

PAGE'S mind, from the day of his arrival in England, had been filled with that portent which was the most outstanding fact in European life. Could nothing be done to prevent the dangers presented by European militarism? Was there no way of forestalling the war which seemed every day to be approaching nearer? The dates of the following letters, August, 1913, show that this was one of the first ideas to be presented to the new Administration.

Mr. Page to Col. Edward M. House

Aug. 28, 1913.

MY DEAR HOUSE:

. . . Everything is lovely and the goose hangs high. We're having a fine time. Only, only, only—I do wish to do something constructive and lasting. Here are great navies and armies and great withdrawals of men from industry—an enormous waste. Here are kings and courts and gold lace and ceremonies which, without producing anything, require great cost to keep them going. Here are all the privileges and taxes that this state of things implies—every one a hindrance to human progress. We are free from most of these. We have more people and more capable people and many times more territory than both England and Germany; and we have more *potential* wealth than all Europe. They know that. They'd like to find a way to escape. The Hague programmes, for the most part, just lead them around a circle in the dark back to the place where they started. Somebody needs to *do* something. If we could find some friendly use for these navies and kings and things—in the service of humanity—they'd follow us. We ought to find a way to use them in cleaning up the tropics under our leadership and under our code of ethics—that everything must be done for the good of the tropical peoples and that nobody may annex a foot of land. They want a job. Then they'd quit sitting on their haunches, growling at one another.

I wonder if we couldn't serve notice that the land-stealing game is forever ended and that the cleaning up of backward lands is now in order—for the people that live there; and then invite Europe's help to make the tropics as healthful as the Panama Zone?

There's no future in Europe's vision—no long look ahead. They give all their thought to the immediate danger. Consider this Balkan War; all European energy was spent merely to keep the Great Powers at peace. The two wars in the Balkans have simply impoverished the people—left the world that much worse than it was before. Nobody has considered the well-being or the future of those peoples nor of their land. The Great Powers are mere threats to one another, content to check, one the other! There can come no

help to the progress of the world from this sort of action—no step forward.

Work on a world-plan. Nothing but blue chips, you know. Is it not possible that Mexico may give an entering wedge for this kind of thing?

Heartily yours,
WALTER H. PAGE.

In a memorandum, written about the same time, Mr. Page explains his idea in more detail:

Was there ever greater need than there is now of a first class mind unselfishly working on world-problems? The ablest ruling minds are engaged on domestic tasks. There is no world-girding intelligence at work in government. On the continent of Europe, the Kaiser is probably the foremost man. Yet he cannot think far beyond his provincial views of the Germans. In England, Sir Edward Grey is the largest-visioned statesman. All the Europeans are spending their thought and money in watching and checkmating one another and in maintaining their armed and balanced *status quo*.

A way must be found out of this stagnant watching. Else a way will have to be fought out of it; and a great European war would set the Old World, perhaps the whole world, back a long way; and thereafter, the present armed watching would recur; we should have gained nothing. It seems impossible to talk the Great Powers out of their fear of one another or to "Hague" them out of it. They'll never be persuaded to disarm. The only way left seems to be to find some common and useful work for these great armies to do. Then, perhaps, they'll *work* themselves out of their jealous position. Isn't this sound psychology?

To produce a new situation, the vast energy that now spends itself in maintaining armies and navies must find a new outlet. Something new must be found for them to do, some great unselfish task that they can do together.

Nobody can lead in such a new era but the United States.

May there not come such a chance in Mexico —to clean out bandits, yellow fever, malaria, hookworm—all to make the country healthful, safe for life and investment, and for orderly self-government at last? What we did in Cuba might thus be made the beginning of a new epoch in history—conquest for the sole benefit of the conquered, worked out by a sanitary reformation. The new sanitation will reclaim all tropical lands; but the work must be first done by military power—probably from the outside.

May not the existing military power of Europe conceivably be diverted, gradually, to this use? One step at a time, as political and financial occasions arise? As presently in Mexico?

This present order must change. It holds the Old World still. It keeps all parts of the world apart, in spite of the friendly cohesive forces of trade and travel. It keeps back self-government and the progress of man.

And the tropics cry out for sanitation, which is at first an essentially military task.

A strange idea this may have seemed in August, 1913, a year before the outbreak of the European war; yet the scheme is not dissimilar to the "mandatory" principle, adopted by the Versailles Peace Conference as the only practical method of dealing with backward peoples. In this work, as in everything that would help mankind on its weary way to a more efficient and more democratic civilization, Mr. Page regarded the United States, Great Britain, and the British Dominions as inevitable partners. Anything that would bring these two nations into a closer coöperation he looked upon as another step in human progress. He believed that any opportunity of sweeping away misconceptions and prejudices and of impressing upon the two peoples their common mission should be eagerly seized by the statesmen of the two countries. And circumstances at this particular moment, Page believed, presented a large opportunity of this kind. It is one of the minor ironies of modern history that the United States and Great Britain should have selected 1914 as a year for a great peace celebration. That year marked the one hundredth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Ghent, which ended the War of 1812, and in 1913 comprehensive plans had already been formed for observing this impressive centennial. The plan was to make it more than the mere observance of a hundred years of peaceful intercourse; it was the intention to use the occasion to emphasize the fundamental identity of American and British ideals and to lay the foundation of a permanent understanding and friendship. The erection of a monument to Abraham Lincoln at Westminster—a plan that has since

been realized—was one detail of this programme. Another was the restoration of Sulgrave Manor, the English country seat of the Washingtons, and its preservation as a place where the peoples of both countries could share their common traditions. Page now dared to hope that President Wilson might associate himself with this great purpose to the extent of coming to England and accepting this gift in the name of the American nation. Such a Presidential visit, he believed, would exercise a mighty influence in forestalling a threatening European war. The ultimate purpose, that is, was world peace—precisely the same motive which led President Wilson, in 1919, to make a European pilgrimage.

Mr. Page to Col. Edward M. House

August 25, 1913.

. . . I wrote him (President Wilson) my plan—a mere outline. He'll only smile now. But when the tariff and the currency and Mexico are off his hands, and when he can be invited to come and deliver an oration on George Washington next year at the presentation of the old Washington homestead here, he may be "pushed over." You do the pushing. Mrs. Page has invited the young White House couple to visit us on their honeymoon.* Encourage that and that may encourage the larger plan later. Nothing else would give such a friendly turn to the whole world as the President's coming here. The old Earth would sit up and rub its eyes and take notice to whom it belongs. This visit might prevent an English-German war and an American-Japanese war, by this mere show of friendliness. It would be one of the greatest occasions of our time. Even at my little speeches, they "whoop it up!" What would they do over the President's!

But at that time Washington was too busy with its domestic programme to consider such a proposal seriously. "Your two letters," wrote Mr. House in reply, "have come to me and lifted me out of the rut of things and given me a glimpse of a fair land. What you are thinking of and what you want this Administration to do is beyond the power of accomplishment for the moment. My desk is covered with matters of no lasting importance, but which come to me as a part of the day's work, and which must be done if I am to help lift the load that is pressing upon the President. It tells me better than anything else what he has to bear, and how utterly futile it is for him to attempt such problems as you present."

In December, however, evidently Colonel House's mind had turned to the general subject that so engaged that of the Ambassador.

Col. Edward M. House to Mr. Page

145 East 35th Street,
New York City.

DEAR PAGE:

In my budget of yesterday I did not tell you of the suggestion which I made to Sir William Tyrrell when he was here, and which I also made to the President.

It occurred to me that between us all we might bring about the naval holiday which Winston Churchill has proposed. My plan is that I should go to Germany in the spring and see the Kaiser, and try to win him over to the thought that is uppermost in the English Government and ours.

Sir William thought there was a good sporting chance of success. He offered to let me have all the correspondence that had passed between the British and German governments upon this question so that I might be thoroughly informed as to the position of them both. He thought I should go directly to Germany without stopping in England, and that Gerard should prepare the Kaiser for my coming, telling him of my relations to the President. He thought this would be sufficient without any further credentials.

In other words, he would do with the Kaiser what you did with Sir Edward Grey last summer.

I spoke to the President about the matter and he seemed pleased with the suggestion; in fact, I might say, he was enthusiastic. He said, just as Sir William did, that it would be too late for this year's budget; but he made a suggestion that he get the Appropriations Committee to incorporate a clause, permitting him to eliminate certain parts of the battleship budget in the event that other nations declared for a naval holiday. So this will be done and will further the plan.

Now I want to get you into the game. If you think it advisable, take the matter up with Sir William Tyrrell and then with Sir Edward Grey, or directly with Sir Edward, if you prefer, and give me the benefit of your advice and conclusions.

*Mr. and Mrs. Francis Bowe Sayre, son-in-law and daughter of President Wilson.

Please tell Sir William that I lunched at the Embassy with the Spring-Rices yesterday, and had a satisfactory talk with both Lady Spring-Rice and Sir Cecil.

Faithfully yours,

E. M. House.

December 13th, 1913.

It is apparent from Page's letters that the suggestion now contained in Colonel House's letter would receive a friendly hearing. The idea which Colonel House suggested was merely the initial stage of a plan which soon took on more ambitious proportions. At the time of Sir William Tyrrell's American visit, the Winston Churchill proposal for a naval holiday was being actively discussed by the British and the American press. In one form or another it had been figuring in the news for nearly two years. Viscount Haldane, in the course of his famous visit to Berlin in February, 1912, had attempted to reach some understanding with the German Government on the limitation of the German and the British fleets. The Agadir crisis of the year before had left Europe with a bad state of nerves, and there was a general belief that only some agreement on shipbuilding could prevent a European war. Lord Haldane and Von Tirpitz spent many hours discussing the relative sizes of the two navies, but the discussions led to no definite understanding. In March, 1913, Mr. Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty, took up the same subject in a different form. In this speech he first used the words "naval holiday," and proposed that Germany and Great Britain should cease building first-class battleships for one year, thus giving the two nations a breathing space, during which time they might discuss their future plans in the hope of reaching a permanent agreement. The matter lagged again until October 18, 1913, when, in a speech at Manchester, Mr. Churchill placed his proposal in this form: "Now we say to our great neighbor, Germany, 'If you will put off beginning your two ships for twelve months from the ordinary date when you would have begun them, we will put off beginning our four ships, in absolute good faith, for exactly the same period.'" About the same time, Premier Asquith made it clear that the Ministry was back of the suggested programme. In Germany, however, the "naval holiday" soon became an object of derision. The official answer was that Germany had a definite naval law and that the Government could not entertain any suggestion of departing from it. Great Britain then answered that, for every keel Germany laid down, the Admiralty would lay down two. The outcome, therefore, of this attempt at friendship was that the two nations had been placed farther apart than ever.

The dates of this discussion, it will be observed, almost corresponded with the period covered by the Tyrrell visit to America. It was now Colonel House's plan that President Wilson should take up the broken threads of the rapprochement and attempt to bring them together again. From this, as will be made plain, the plan developed into something more comprehensive. Page's ideas on the treatment of backward nations had strongly impressed both the President and Colonel House. The discussion which had just taken place between the American and the British Governments on Mexico seemed to have developed ideas that could have a much wider application. The fundamental difficulties in Mexico were not peculiar to that country or indeed to Latin-America. Perhaps the most prolific cause of war among the more enlightened countries was that produced by the jealousies and antagonisms which were developed by their contacts with backward peoples—in the Balkans, the Ottoman Empire, Asia, and the Far East. The method of dealing with such peoples, which the United States had found so successful in Cuba and the Philippines, had proved that there was just one honorable way of dealing with the less fortunate and less progressive races in all parts of the world. Was it not possible to bring the greatest nations, especially the United States, Great Britain, and Germany, to some agreement on this question, as well as on the question of disarmament? This once accomplished, the way could be prepared for joint action on the numerous other problems which were then threatening the peace of the world. The League of Nations was then not even a phrase, but the plan that was forming in Colonel House's mind was at least some scheme for permanent international coöperation. For several years Germany had been the nation which had proved the greatest obstacle to such international friendliness and arbitration. The Kaiser had destroyed both Hague Conferences as influential forces

the remaking of the world and in the fall of 1913 he had taken on a more belligerent attitude than ever. If this attempt to establish a better condition of things was to succeed, Germany's coöperation would be absolutely indispensable. This is the reason why Colonel House proposed first of all to visit Berlin.

Col. Edward M. House to Mr. Page.

145 East 39th Street,
New York City.

DEAR PAGE:

. . . Benj. Ide Wheeler* took lunch with me the other day. He is just back from Germany and he is on the most intimate terms with the Kaiser. He tells me he often takes dinner with the family alone, and spends the evening with them.

I know, now, the different Cabinet officials who have his confidence and I know his attitude toward England, naval armaments, war, and world politics in general.

Wheeler spoke to me very frankly and the information he gave me will be invaluable in the event that my plans carry. The general idea is to bring about a sympathetic understanding between England, Germany, and America, not only upon the question of disarmament, but upon other matters of equal importance to themselves, and to the world at large.

It seems to me that Japan should come into this pact, but Wheeler tells me that the Kaiser feels very strongly upon the question of Asiatics. He thinks the contest of the future will be between the Eastern and Western civilizations. . . .

Your friend always,
E. M. HOUSE.

January 4th, 1914.

By January 4, 1914, the House-Wilson plan had thus grown into an Anglo-American-German "pact," to deal not only with "disarmament, but other matters of equal importance to themselves and the world at large." Page's response to this idea was consistent and characteristic. He had no faith in Germany and believed that the existence of Kaiserism was incompatible with the extension of the democratic ideal. Even at this early time—eight months before the outbreak of the World War—he had no enthusiasm for anything in the nature of an alliance, or a "pact" that included Germany as an equal partner. He did, however, have great faith in the coöperation of the English-speaking peoples as a force that would make for permanent peace and international justice. In his reply to Colonel House, therefore, Page fell back at once upon his favorite plan for an understanding between the United States, Great Britain, and the British colonies. That he would completely sympathize with the Washington aspiration for disarmament was to be expected.

Mr. Page to Col. Edward M. House

January 2, 1914.

MY DEAR HOUSE:

You have set my imagination going. I've been thinking of this thing for months, and now you've given me a fresh start. It can be worked out somehow—doubtless, not in the form that anybody may at first see; but experiment and frank discussion will find a way.

As I think of it, turning it this way and that, there always comes to me just as I am falling to sleep this reflection: the English-speaking peoples now rule the world in all essential facts. They alone and Switzerland have permanent free government. In France there's freedom—but for how long? In Germany and Austria—hardly. In the Scandinavian States—yes, but they are small and exposed as are Brussels and Holland. In the big secure South American States—yes, it's coming. In Japan—? Only the British lands and the United States have secure liberty. They also have the most treasure, the best fighters, the most land, the most ships—the future in fact.

Now, because George Washington warned us against alliances, we've gone on as if an alliance were a kind of smallpox. Suppose there were—let us say for argument's sake—the tightest sort of an alliance, offensive and defensive, between all Britain, colonies and all, and the United States—what would happen? Anything we'd say would go, whether we should say, "Come in out of the wet," or, "Disarm." That might be the beginning of a real world-alliance and union to accomplish certain large results—disarmament, for instance, or arbitration—dozens of good things.

Of course, we'd have to draw and quarter

*Ex-President of the University of California, Roosevelt Professor at the University of Berlin, 1909-10.

the O'Gormans.* But that ought to be done anyhow in the general interest of good sense in the world. We could force any nation into this "trust" that we wanted in it.

Isn't it time we tackled such a job frankly, fighting out the Irish problem once for all, and having done with it?

I'm not proposing a programme. I'm only thinking out loud. I see little hope of doing anything so long as we choose to be ruled by an obsolete remark made by George Washington.

W. H. P.

January 11, 1914.

. . . But this armament flurry is worth serious thought. Lloyd George gave out an interview, seeming to imply the necessity of reducing the navy programme. The French allies of the British went up in the air! They raised a great howl. Churchill went to see them, to soothe them. They would not be soothed. Now the Prime Minister is going to Paris—ostensibly to see his daughter off to the Riviera. Nobody believes that reason. They say he's going to smooth out the French. Meantime the Germans are gleeful.

And the British Navy League is receiving money and encouraging letters from British subjects, praying greater activity to keep the navy up. You touch the navy and you touch the quick—that's the reason. It's an enormous excitement that this small incident has caused.

W. H. P.

Mr. Page to Col. Edward M. House

London, February 24, 1914.

MY DEAR HOUSE:

You'll be interested in these pamphlets by Sir Max Waechter, who has opened an office here and is spending much money to "federate" Europe, and to bring a lessening of armaments. I enclose also an article about him from the *Daily Telegraph*, which tells how he has interviewed most of the Old World monarchs. Get also, immediately, the new two-volume life of Lord Lyons, Minister to the United States during the Civil War, and subsequently Ambassador to France. You will find an interesting account of the campaign of about 1870 to reduce armaments, when old Bismarck dumped the whole basket of apples by marching against France. You know I sometimes fear some sort of repetition of that experience. Some government (probably Germany) will see bankruptcy staring it in the face and the easiest way out will seem a great war. Bankruptcy before a war would be ignominious; after a war, it could be charged to "Glory." It'll take a long time to bankrupt England. It's unspeakably rich; they pay enormous taxes, but they pay them out of their incomes, not out of their principal, except their inheritance tax. That looks to me as if it came out of the principal. . . .

I hope you had a good time in Texas and escaped some cold weather. This deceptive sort of winter here is grippe-laden. I've had the thing, but I'm now getting over it. . . .

This Benton*-Mexican business is causing great excitement here.

Always heartily yours,

W. H. P.

P. S. There's nothing like the President. By George! the passage of the arbitration treaty (renewal) almost right off the bat, and apparently the tolls discrimination coming presently to its repeal! Sir Edward Grey remarked to me yesterday: "Things are clearing up!" I came near saying to him: "Have you any miracles in mind that you'd like to see worked?" Wilson stock is at a high premium on this side of the water in spite of the momentary impatience caused by Benton's death.

W. H. P.

Col. Edward M. House to Mr. Page

145 East 35th Street,
New York City.

DEAR PAGE:

I have had a long talk with Mr. Laughlin.** At first he thought I would not have more than one chance in a million to do anything with the Kaiser, but after talking with him farther, he concluded that I would have a fairly good sporting chance. I have about concluded to take it.

If I can do anything, I can do it in a few days. I was with the President most of last week. . . .

*Senator O'Gorman was the anti-British Senator from New York State at this time working hard against the repeal of the Panama tolls discrimination.

*In February, 1915, William S. Benton, an English subject who had spent the larger part of his life in Mexico, was murdered in the presence of Francisco Villa.

**Mr. Irwin Laughlin, first secretary of the American Embassy in London; at this time spending a few weeks in the United States.

He spoke of your letters to him and to me as being classics, and said they were the best letters, as far as he knew, that any one had ever written. Of course you know how heartily I concur in this. He said that sometime they should be published.

The President asked me if I thought it would be all right with you if he could arrange to get a fund to help out the Embassy, and I told him that I thought it would. We talked of this quite earnestly, for he is now crystalizing his mind in regard to the Federal Reserve Board, and if you are not to remain in London, then he would probably put Houston on the Board and ask you to take the Secretaryship of Agriculture.

You have no idea the feeling that is being aroused by the tolls question. The Hearst papers are screaming at all of us every day. They have at last honored me with their abuse. . . .

With love and best wishes, I am,

Faithfully yours,

E. M. House.

April 19th, 1914.

Col. Edward M. House to Mr. Page

145 East 35th Street,
New York City.

Dear Page:

. . . It is our purpose to sail on the *Imperator*, May 16th, and go directly to Germany. I expect to be there a week or more, but Mrs. House will reach London by the 1st or 2nd of June. . . .

Our friend* in Washington thinks it is worth while for me to go to Germany, and that determines the matter. The press is shrieking to-day over the Mexican situation, but I hope they will be disappointed. It is not the intention to do anything further for the moment than to blockade the ports, and unless some overt act is made from the North, our troops will not cross the border.

Your friend always,

E. M. House.

April 20th, 1914.

Mr. Page to Col. Edward M. House

London, April 27, 1914.

My dear House:

Of course you decided wisely to carry out your original Berlin plan, and you ought never to have had a moment's hesitation, if you did have any hesitation. I do not expect you to produce any visible or immediate results. I hope I am mistaken in this. But you know that the German Government has a well-laid, progressive plan for shipbuilding for a certain number of years. I believe that the work has, in fact, already been arranged for. But that has nothing to do with the case. You are going to see what effect you can produce. Yet the fact that you are who you are, that you make this journey for this especial purpose, that you are everlastingly right—these are enough.

Moreover, you can't ever tell results, nor can you afford to make your plans in this sort of high work with the slightest reference to probable results. That's the bigness and the glory of it. Any ordinary man can, on any ordinary day, go and do a task, the favorable results of which may be foreseen. *That's* easy. The big thing is to go confidently to work on a task, the results of which nobody can possibly foresee—a task so vague and improbable of definite results that small men hesitate. It is in this spirit that very many of the biggest things in history have been done. Wasn't the purchase of Louisiana such a thing? Who'd ever have supposed that that could have been brought about? I applaud your errand and I am eagerly impatient to hear the results. When will *you* get here? I assume that Mrs. House will not go with you to Berlin. No matter so you both turn up here for a good long stay.

I've taken me a little bit of a house about twenty miles out of town whither we are going in July as soon as we can get away from London. I hope to stay down there till far into October, coming up to London about thrice a week. That's the dull season of the year. It's a charming little country place—big enough for you to visit us. . . .

Col. Edward M. House to Mr. Page

An Bord des Dampfers *Imperator*
den May 21, 1914.

Hamburg-Amerika Linie

Dear Page:

Here we are again. The Wallaces* land at Cherbourg, Friday morning, and we of course go on to Berlin. I wish I might have the benefit of your advice just now, for the chances for success in this great adventure are slender

*Obviously President Wilson.

*Mr. Hugh C. Wallace, afterward Ambassador to France. Mr. Wallace accompanied Mr. and Mrs. House on this journey.

enough at best. The President has done his part in the letter I have with me, and it is clearly up to me to do mine. . . .

Faithfully yours,
E. M. House.

It will be observed that Colonel House had taken the advice of Sir William Tyrrell, and had sailed directly to Germany on a German ship—the *Imperator*. Ambassador Gerard had made preparations for his reception in Berlin, and the American soon had long talks with Admiral von Tirpitz, Falkenhayn, Von Jagow, Solf, and others. Von Bethmann-Hollweg's wife died almost on the day of his arrival in Berlin, so it was impossible for him to see the Chancellor—the man who would have probably been the most receptive to these peace ideas. All the leaders of the government, except Von Tirpitz, gave Colonel House's proposals a respectful if somewhat cynical hearing. Von Tirpitz was openly and demonstratively hostile. The leader of the German navy simply bristled with antagonism to any suggestion for peace or disarmament or world coöperation. He consumed a large part of the time which Colonel House spent with him, denouncing England and all its works. Hatred of the "Island Kingdom" was apparently the consuming passion of his existence. On the whole, Von Tirpitz thus made no attempt to conceal his feeling that the purpose of the House mission was extremely distasteful to him. The other members of the Government, while not so tactlessly hostile, were not particularly encouraging. The usual objections to disarmament were urged—the fear of other Powers, the walled-in state of Germany, the vigilant enemies against which it was necessary constantly to be prepared and watchful. Even more than the unsympathetic politeness of the German Cabinet the general atmosphere of Berlin was depressing to Colonel House. The militaristic oligarchy was absolutely in control. Militarism possessed not only the army, the navy, and the chief officers of state, but the populace as well. One almost trivial circumstance has left a lasting impression on Colonel House's mind. Ambassador Gerard took him out one evening for a little relaxation. Both Mr. Gerard and Colonel House were fond of target shooting and the two men sought one of the numerous rifle galleries of Berlin. They visited gallery after gallery, but could not get into one. Great crowds lined up at every place, waiting their turn at the target. It seemed as though every able-bodied man in Berlin was spending all his time improving his marksmanship. But this was merely a small indication of the atmosphere of militarism which prevailed in the larger aspects of life. Colonel House found himself in a strange place to preach international accord for the ending of war!

He had come to Berlin not merely to talk with the Cabinet heads; his goal was the Kaiser himself. But he perceived at once a persistent opposition to his plan. As he was the President's personal representative, and carried a letter from the President to the Kaiser, an audience could not be refused—indeed, it had already been duly arranged; but there was a quiet opposition to his consorting with the all highest alone. It was not usual, Colonel House was informed, for His Imperial Majesty to discuss such matters except in the presence of a representative of the Foreign Office. Germany had not yet recovered from the shock which the Emperor's interviews with certain foreign correspondents had given the nation. The effects were still felt of the famous letter to Lord Tweedmouth—which, when published in the London *Telegraph*, had caused the bitterest resentment in Great Britain. The Kaiser had given his solemn word that he would indulge in no more indiscretions of this sort, and a private interview with Colonel House was regarded by his advisers as a possible infraction of that promise. But the American would not be denied. He knew that an interview with a third person present would be simply time thrown away. His message was intended for the Kaiser's own ears. Ultimately his persistence succeeded. The next Monday would be June 1st—a great day in Germany. It was the occasion of the Schrippenfest, a day which for many years had been set aside for the glorification of the German army. On that festival, the Kaiser entertained with great pomp representative army officers and representative privates, as well as the diplomatic corps and other distinguished foreigners. Colonel House was invited to attend the Kaiser's luncheon on that occasion; and was informed that after this function was over, he would have an opportunity of having a private conversation with His Majesty.

The affair took place in the palace at Potsdam. The militarism which Colonel House had felt so oppressively in Berlin society was especially manifest on this occasion. There

were two luncheon parties—that of the Kaiser and his officers and guests in the state dining room, and that of the selected private soldiers outside. The Kaiser and the Kaiserin spent a few moments with their humbler subjects, drinking beer with them and passing a few comradely remarks; they then proceeded to the large dining hall and took their places with the gorgeously caparisoned and bemedaled chieftains of the German army. The whole proceeding has an historic interest, in that it was the last Schrippenfest held. Whether another will ever be held is problematical, for the occasion was an inevitable part of the trappings of Hohenzollernism. Despite the gravity of the occasion, Colonel House's chief memory of this function is slightly tinged with the ludicrous. He had spent the better part of a lifetime attempting to rid himself of his military title—but uselessly. He was now embarrassed because these solemn German officers persisted in regarding him as an important part of the American Army, and in discussing technical and strategical problems. The visitor made several attempts to explain that he was merely a "geographical colonel"—that the title was constantly conferred in an informal sense on Americans, especially Southerners, and that the handle to his name had, therefore, no military significance. But the round-faced Teutons stared at his explanation in blank amazement; they couldn't grasp the point at all, and continued to ask his opinion of matters purely military.

When the lunch was finished, the Kaiser took Colonel House aside, and the two men withdrew to the terrace, out of earshot of the rest of the gathering. However, they were not out of sight. For nearly half an hour the Kaiser and the American walked up and down, the German generals, at a respectful distance, watching the proceeding—resentful, puzzled, curious as to what it was all about. The quiet demeanor of the American "Colonel," his plain citizen's clothes, and his almost impassive face, formed a striking contrast to the Kaiser's dazzling uniform and the general scene of military display. Two or three of the generals and admirals present were in the secret, but only two or three; the mass of officers watching this meeting little guessed that the purpose of House's visit was to persuade the Kaiser to abandon everything for which the Schrippenfest stood—to enter an international compact with the United States and Great Britain for reducing armaments, to reach an agreement about trade and the treatment of backward peoples, and to form something of a permanent association for the preservation of peace. The one thing which was apparent to the watchers was that the American was only now and then saying a brief word, but that the Kaiser was, as usual, doing a vast amount of talking. His speech rattled on with the utmost animation, his arms were constantly gesticulating, he would bring one fist down into his palm to register an emphatic point, he would stop abruptly in his walk, and enforce certain ideas with a menacing forefinger. At times Colonel House would show slight signs of impatience and interrupt the flow of talk. But the Kaiser was clearly absorbed in the subject under discussion. His entourage several times attempted to break up the interview. The Court Chamberlain twice gingerly approached and informed His Majesty that the Imperial train was waiting to take the party back to Berlin. Each time the Kaiser, with an angry gesture, waved the interrupter away. Despairing of the usual resources, the Kaiserin was sent with the same message. The Kaiser did not treat her so summarily, but he paid no attention to the request, and continued to discuss the European situation with the American.

The subject that had mainly aroused the Imperial warmth was the "Yellow Peril." For years this had been an obsession with the Kaiser, and he launched into the subject as soon as Colonel House broached the purpose of his visit. There could be no question of disarmament, the Kaiser vehemently declared, as long as this danger to civilization existed. "We white nations should join hands," he said, "to oppose Japan and the other yellow nations, or some day they will destroy us!"

It was with difficulty that Colonel House could get His Majesty away from this subject. Whatever topic he touched upon, the Kaiser would immediately start declaiming on the dangers that faced Europe from the East. His insistence on this, accounted partly for the slight signs of impatience which the American showed. He feared that all the time allotted for the interview would be devoted to discussing the Japanese. About another nation, the Kaiser showed almost as much alarm as he did about Japan—and that was Russia. He spoke contemptuously of France and Great Britain as possible enemies—he apparently had

no fear of them. But the size of Russia and the exposed eastern frontier of Germany seemed to appal him. How could Germany join a peace pact, and reduce its army, so long as 175,000,000 Slavs threatened them from this direction?

Another matter which the Kaiser discussed with derision was Mr. Bryan's arbitration treaty. Practically all the great nations had already ratified this treaty except Germany. The Kaiser now laughed at the treaties and poohpoohed Bryan. Germany, he declared, would never accept such an arbitration plan. Colonel House had particular cause to remember this part of the conversation three years afterward, when the United States declared war on Germany. The outstanding feature of the Bryan treaty was the clause which pledged the high contracting parties not to go to war without taking a breathing spell of one year in which to think the matter over. Had Germany adopted this treaty, the United States in April, 1917, after Germany had presented a *casus belli* by resuming unrestricted submarine warfare, could not have gone to war. We should have been obliged to wait a year, or until April, 1918, before engaging in hostilities. That is, an honorable observance of this Bryan treaty by the United States would have meant that Germany would have starved Great Britain into surrender, and crushed Europe with her army. Had the Kaiser, on this June afternoon, not notified Colonel House that Germany would not accept this treaty, but, instead, had notified him that he would accept it, William II might now be sitting on the throne of a victorious Germany, with Europe for a footstool.

VISCOUNT HALDANE (left)

Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain in 1914, and Mr. Page. Haldane's attempt to establish a working basis with Germany for a lessening of armaments met with failure. Mr. Page, though strongly in favor of disarmament and arbitration, wrote Colonel House that his mission would not succeed. He believed that there was only one way to prevent war—that was a working arrangement for this and other great purposes between the United States, Great Britain, and the British free dominions

Despite the Kaiser's hostile attitude toward these details, his general reception of the President's proposals was not outwardly unfriendly. Perhaps he was sincere—perhaps not; yet the fact is that he manifested more cordiality to this somewhat vague "get-together" proposal than had any of his official advisers. He encouraged Colonel House to visit London, talk the matter over with British statesmen, and then return to Berlin.

"The last thing," he said, "that Germany wants is war. We are getting to be a great commercial country. In a few years Germany will be a rich country, like England and

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COL. EDWARD M. HOUSE

Colonel House's interview with the Kaiser in June, 1914, in an effort to avert the impending European struggle are described herewith in the correspondence between himself and Ambassador Page

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POTSDAM

This, on June 1, 1914, was the scene of the Schrippenfest, the day set aside by Imperial Germany for the glorification of Hohenzollernism and the German army. This Schrippenfest was the last one ever held. It was this great day of military pageantry that the Kaiser named for discussing peace and disarmament with Colonel House. The Kaiser's entourage constantly attempted to break up the interview and even enlisted the help of the Kaiserin to that end. The palace at Potsdam was the scene of Colonel House's interview with the Kaiser on June 4, 1914. The Kaiser denounced Japan as the world's greatest menace, sneered at England and France, expressed his fears of Russia, and ridiculed Bryan and his arbitration treaty. Colonel House obtained little encouragement for his disarmament plans. "Every nation in Europe," were the Kaiser's parting words, "has its bayonets pointed at Germany. But we are ready!"

the United States. We don't want a war to interfere with our progress."

Any peace suggestion that was compatible with German safety, he said, would be entertained. Yet his parting words were not reassuring.

"Every nation in Europe," were the Kaiser's parting words, "has its bayonets pointed at Germany. But—" and with this he gave a proud and smiling glance at the glistening representatives of his army gathered on this brilliant occasion,

"We are ready!"

Colonel House left Berlin, not particularly hopeful. The Kaiser impressed him as a man of unstable nervous organization—as one who was just hovering on the borderland of insanity. Certainly, this was no man to be entrusted with such powers as the American had witnessed that day at Potsdam. Dangerous as the Kaiser was, however, he did not seem to Colonel House to be as great a menace to mankind as were his military advisers. The American came away from Berlin with the conviction that the most powerful force in Germany was the militaristic clique—and second, the Hohenzollern dynasty. He has always insisted that this represented the real precedence in power. So long as the Kaiser was obedient to the will of militarism, so long he could maintain his standing. He was confident, however, that the militaristic oligarchy was determined to have its will, and would dethrone the Kaiser the moment he showed indications of taking a course that would lead to peace. Colonel House was also convinced that this militaristic

oligarchy was determined on war. The coolness with which it listened to his proposals, the attempts it made to keep him from seeing the Kaiser alone, its repeated efforts to break up the conversation after it had begun—all this pointed to the inevitable tragedy. The fact that the Kaiser expressed a wish to discuss the matter again, after Colonel House had sounded London, was the one hopeful feature of an otherwise depressing experience, and accounts for the tone of faint optimism in his letters describing the visit.

Col. Edward M. House to Mr. Page

Embassy of the United States of America,
Berlin.
May 28, 1914.

DEAR PAGE:

. . . . I have done something here already—not much, but enough to open negotiations with London. I lunch with the Kaiser on Monday. I was advised to avoid Admiral von Tirpitz as being very unsympathetic. However, I went directly at him and had a most interesting talk. He is a forceful fellow. Von Jagow is pleasant but not forceful. I have had a long talk with him. The Chancellor's wife died last week so I have not gotten in touch with him. I will write you more fully from Paris. My address there will be Hotel Ritz.

Hastily,
E. M. H.

Col. Edward M. House to Mr. Page

Hotel Ritz, 15, Place Vendôme, Paris.
June 3, 1914.

DEAR PAGE:

I had a satisfactory talk with the Kaiser on Monday. I have now seen everyone worth while in Germany except the Chancellor. I am ready now for London. Perhaps you had better prepare the way. The Kaiser knows I am to see them, and I have arranged to keep him in touch with results—if there are any. We must work quickly after I arrive, for it may be advisable for me to return to Germany, and I am counting on sailing for home July 15th or 28th.

Yours,
E. M. H.

Colonel House left that night for Paris; but there the situation was a hopeless one. France was not thinking of a foreign war, it was engrossed with its domestic troubles. There had been three French ministries in two weeks; and the trial of Madame Caillaux for the murder of Gaston Calmette, editor of the Paris *Figaro*, was monopolizing all the nation's capacity for emotion. Colonel House saw that it would be a waste of energy to take up his mission at Paris—there was no government stable enough to make a discussion worth while. He therefore immediately left for London.

The political situation in Great Britain was almost as confused as that in Paris. The country was in a state approaching civil war on the question of Home Rule for Ireland; the suffragettes were threatening to dynamite the Houses of Parliament; and the eternal struggle between the Liberal and the Conservative influences was raging with unprecedented virulence. A European war was far from everybody's mind. It was this utter inability to grasp the realities of the European situation which proved the main impediment to Colonel House's work in England. He met all the important people—Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Edward Grey, and others. With them he discussed his "pact" proposal in great detail.

Naturally, ideas of this sort were listened to sympathetically by statesmen of the stamp of Asquith, Grey, and Lloyd George. The difficulty, however, was that none of these men apprehended an immediate war. They saw no necessity to hurry about the matter. They had the utmost confidence in Prince Lichnowsky, the German Ambassador in London, and Von Bethmann-Hollweg, the German Chancellor. Both these men were regarded by the Foreign Office as guarantees against a German attack; their continuance in their offices was looked upon as an assurance that Germany entertained no immediately aggressive plans. Though the British statesmen did not say so definitely, the impression was conveyed that the mission on which Colonel House was engaged was an unnecessary one—a preparation against a danger that did not exist. Colonel House attempted to persuade Sir Edward Grey to visit the Kiel regatta, which was to take place in a few days, see the Kaiser, and discuss the plan with him. But the Government feared that such a visit would be very disturbing to France and Russia. Already Mr. Churchill's proposal for a "naval holiday" had so wrought up the French that a hurried trip to France by Mr. Asquith had been necessary to

VON BETHMANN-HOLLWEG

The Chancellor of the German Empire in 1914. Colonel House described the situation in Berlin in June, 1914, "an electric dynamo. The whole of Germany is charged as with electricity. Everybody's nerves are tense. It needs only a spark to set the whole thing off"

ADMIRAL VON TIRPITZ

The head of the German Admiralty in 1914. "I was advised to avoid Admiral Von Tirpitz," writes Colonel House to Mr. Page from Berlin, "as being very unsympathetic. However, I went directly at him and had a very interesting talk. He is a forceful fellow." Von Tirpitz bitterly denounced England in this interview

GENERAL VON FALKENHAYN

Another German militarist with whom Colonel House discussed the reduction of armament in June, 1914. Like all the military chieftains, Von Falkenhayn vigorously opposed the proposal

BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER

Ex-President of the University of California and Roosevelt Professor at the University of Berlin, 1909-10. He coached Colonel House on the Kaiser's character and opinions, in preparation for the American's visit of June 1, 1914

JAMES W. GERARD

American Ambassador to Germany, and Mrs. Gerard. Mr. Gerard made the arrangements for Colonel House's visit to the Kaiser. The German Foreign Office was much opposed to the interview and at first insisted that it should have a representative present. German officialdom regarded the interview as a violation of the pledge given by the Kaiser in 1909 that he would in future indulge in no indiscretions of this kind

THE RIGHT HONORABLE
WINSTON CHURCHILL

First Lord of the Admiralty in 1914. His attempt at a "naval holiday" failed in 1913. This "naval holiday" was originally the purpose of Colonel House's 1914 trip to Europe, but the scheme finally grew into an effort to arrange an Anglo-American-German "pact" for disarmament and arbitration

THE RIGHT HONORABLE
HERBERT HENRY ASQUITH

Prime Minister of Great Britain at the time of Colonel House's visit. The British Ministry, in June, 1914, informed Colonel House that there was little likelihood of a European war. The Asquith Cabinet was much involved with domestic troubles—the suffragettes and the threatened civil war in Ireland—and a great European struggle was far from everybody's mind

quiet them; the consternation which would have been caused in Paris by the presence of Sir Edward Grey at Kiel can only be imagined. The fact that the British statesmen entertained so little apprehension of a German attack may possibly be a reflection on their judgment; yet Colonel House's visit has a great historical value, for the experience afterward convinced him that Great Britain had no part in bringing on the European war, and that Germany was solely responsible. It certainly put the Wilson Administration right on this all-important point, when the great storm broke.

PRINCE LICHNOWSKY

German Ambassador to Great Britain in 1914, and Princess Lichnowsky. British statesmen informed Colonel House that Prince Lichnowsky's presence in London in itself showed that Germany had no intention of attacking Great Britain. The Prince was so openly pro-British in his sympathies that he was himself regarded as an insurance against war

The most vivid recollection which the British statesmen whom Colonel House met retain of his visit, was his consternation at the spirit that had confronted him everywhere in Germany. The four men most interested—Sir Edward Grey, Sir William Tyrrell, Ambassador Page, and Colonel House—met at luncheon in the American Embassy a few days after President Wilson's emissary had returned from Berlin. Colonel House could talk of little except the preparations for war which were manifest on every hand.

"I feel as though I had been living near a mighty electric dynamo," Colonel House told his friends. "The whole of Germany is charged with electricity. Everybody's nerves are tense. It needs only a spark to set the whole thing off."

The "spark" came two weeks afterward with the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand.

"It is all a bad business," Colonel House wrote to Page when war broke out, "and just think how near we came to making such a catastrophe impossible! If England had moved a little faster and had let me go back to Germany, the thing, perhaps, could have been done."

To which Page at once replied:

"No, no, no—no power on earth could have prevented it. The German militarism, which is *the* crime of the last fifty years, has been working for this for twenty-five years. It is the logical result of their spirit and enterprise and doctrine. It *had* to come. But, of course, they chose the wrong time and the wrong issue. Militarism has no judgment. Don't let your conscience be worried. You did all that any mortal man could do. But nobody could have done anything effective.

"We've got to see to it that this system doesn't grow up again. That's all."

(A fourth chapter will be published in November)

ARTHUR MEIGHEN, PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

Who Believes that the Future of Civilization Rests Upon the Mutual Goodwill of the United States and the Britannic Commonwealth of Nations. His Influence Against the Renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance

By JOHN A. COOPER

THE Right Honorable Arthur Meighen, Prime Minister of Canada, has recently focused upon himself the interest of his fellow North-Americans to the south of the Canadian border, by his leadership in opposing the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance at the Conference of British Prime Ministers in London. Mr. Meighen is not new to the arena of international politics, however. During the Imperial War Conference of 1918 he was associated with Sir Robert Borden as one of the three Canadian representatives at that important gathering, and the experience gained there peculiarly fitted him for the later rôle he has been called upon to play.

Mr. Meighen's manifest understanding of international problems, especially those which relate to North America and the Pacific, may have occasioned some slight surprise in certain parts of the Empire and the United States, but not in Canada. Among his own people, Mr. Meighen is known to have been a keen student of the affairs of the British Empire, and to possess clearly defined views on the relations between its various component parts. In the session of the Canadian Parliament in 1912-13, he shared in the important debate on Canada's relations to the then naval problem of the Empire, and delivered notable addresses on the subject throughout the Dominion. He was a member of the Cabinet during the War, when Canada's relations to the Empire and to the other nations of the world were being enlarged and emphasized.

Just before he left for this Conference of Prime Ministers, he delivered an address in the House of Commons on what he considered Canada's attitude at that Conference should be; and that address was accepted by all classes of the people as being eminently satisfactory. Having a full and intimate knowledge of Mr. Meighen's record and opinions, Canada felt that her relations with the other British nations were safe in his hands. The Manitoba *Free Press*, the leading Liberal journal of western Canada, which cannot be described as politically friendly to Mr. Meighen, said at that time: "He goes to London not as the leader of a political party, but as the representative of Canada; and as such, he carries with him the best wishes and, in a large manner we think, the confidence of the people of Canada."

At the Conference he took a prominent part and proved himself quite the equal of General Smuts of South Africa, and Mr. Hughes of Australia, as an exponent of Britannic foreign policy, present and future.

It quickly became apparent that the most vital aspect of the Conference was that which opened up the problems revolving around the first item on the agenda—namely, the question of the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance; and in the deliberations that followed, Mr. Meighen played a remarkable and even a decisive part. He recognized indeed the desirability of continued friendship and coöperation with Japan; who has such an inevitably important place in the Far East and whose most thoughtful and far-seeing elements are genuinely anxious to play a worthy rôle in the community of nations; but he urged that an exclusive alliance or arrangement between only two of the Powers interested in the Pacific and Far East had become obsolete and inadequate as a means of regulating the international politics of that region, and that for such an arrangement there should be substituted a wider understanding, based upon the more modern and effective system of free and full consultation and conference between all the Powers vitally interested. In short, he proposed that the British Empire should lend its weight to the principle of a Conference

THE SYMBOL OF AN ANCIENT ALLEGIANCE

Quebec, which was the seat of the French colonial government of Canada 170 years ago, still retains its flavor of French language and custom under the beneficent and tolerant British rule

of the Pacific Powers—that is China, Japan, the United States, and the British Empire—with the expectations that these Powers might become accustomed to the idea of this method as a permanent method of adjusting their relations one with another.

In the Old World the conference system has seen in recent years a remarkable and beneficial extension. It should be no less beneficial in its application to the problems of the New World and the Orient which bid fair to occupy the centre of the stage during the next generations. In these circumstances the Canadian Prime Minister was among the first to welcome President Harding's wise and timely action, taken while the deliberations in London were in progress, in inviting the Powers concerned to meet in conference in Washington. The Washington Conference offers a supreme opportunity not only for harmonizing, upon a sound and permanent basis, the relations between the two great branches of the English speaking world, but also for adjusting the difficult problems that arise from a far more ancient division—the division of humanity by the line that marks the East from the West. The difficulties in all these aspects will be great, but public opinion everywhere is becoming more and more insistent that this Conference must not and dare not fail.

All this but emphasizes how significant and far-reaching was the effect of the recent Conference of the British Empire in London. His leadership in opposing a renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was evidence that he regards Canada as the connecting link between the two great Anglo-Saxon countries, Great Britain and the United States. His general influence in the Conference also indicated that as a Dominion's leader he is in favor of such policies as will tend to preserve the future peace of the world. This attitude is positive rather than negative, active rather than passive. The Dominions are definitely inclined to avoid such activities as would involve the Empire in possible complications requiring a display of military or naval strength.

While the official report of the Conference has not yet reached Canada, one significant paragraph has been cabled. It reads:

> The discussions, which covered the whole area of foreign policy, proved most fruitful in all respects. They revealed a unanimous opinion as to the main lines to be followed by British policy, and a deep conviction that the whole weight of the Empire should be concentrated behind a united understanding, and common action in foreign affairs.

Canadians interpret this to mean that hereafter the Dominions shall be consulted in

advance on all important international matters in which they are likely to be interested, or in which their separate interests may be involved. Henceforth, those nations which desire the fullest friendship with the British Empire must be in harmony with public opinion in the Dominions as well as with public opinion in the British Isles. All parts of the Empire propose to stand together and four-square to all the world.

When he arrived at Halifax on his return from this year's Conference, Mr. Meighen reaffirmed his faith in the British Empire in the following terms:

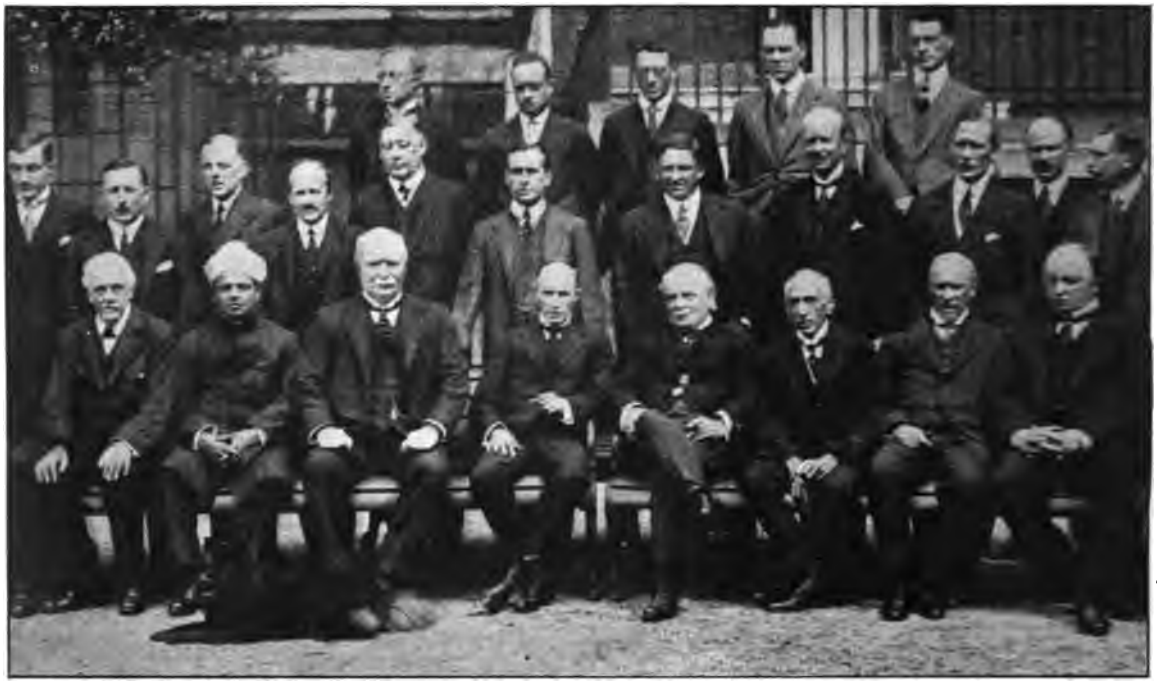
> There is no question that the people of the British Isles are sincerely anxious to get the standpoint of the Dominions. Their Government wants us to understand all the facts of the situation, to get our opinions, and to shape its course in consonance with the considered judgment of the entire league of British Nations. That is the purpose of consultation in conferences. So far as the foreign policy is concerned—I do not think there are many in Canada who would have this country decline the invitation to come and help, who would have us ignore the call to come and reason together. We must walk with the nations of this Empire or walk away from them. The gospel of isolation is the gospel of separation, under a thin disguise. We enjoy the fullest self-government that the heart of a people could desire. That is our heritage—and I know of no one who wants to take it away. Under these conditions I am for coöperation and for unity. I believe in the British Empire.

PREMIER ARTHUR MEIGHEN OF CANADA
Whose conception of Canada's position as a member state of the British Empire includes a conviction that her welfare cannot be advanced by any international policy that is seriously detrimental to the United States

Premier Meighen's views on imperial foreign policy represent those of the whole Canadian people. There has been no adverse criticism at home of his performance at this Conference of Prime Ministers. The general principles which he advocated were delineated for him by the House of Commons in debate before his departure, and were probably refined for him by other important Canadians in private conversations; nevertheless, there is little doubt that his expressed opinions were founded upon solid personal convictions. He has never been accused of being a time-server.

Mr. Meighen's views on these matters show considerable change from those enunciated by his party ten years previously. In 1912, the Conservative party was inclined to contribute directly to a central British Navy, and was less prepared to insist on Canada having a potent voice in the shaping of Britannic foreign policy. Mr. Meighen probably shared those views at that time. But he has modified his point of view as Sir Robert Borden, Mr. Meighen's political godfather, has modified his. In 1912, there was a noteworthy divergence in Canada as to the relations of the Dominion to the Mother-Country, the Liberals being more jealous of autonomy in naval, military, and other matters of national concern. To-day, there is practical unanimity. Farmers, Progressives, Unionists, Liberals, and Conservatives—they all have the same abiding faith in the future of the Britannic Commonwealth of Nations.

If Mr. Meighen has modified his imperial



MR. MEIGHEN AT THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

Held at No. 10 Downing Street, in London, last June. This Conference was an official recognition by the British Government of the right of the self-governing Dominions of the Empire to share in the shaping of Imperial policies which might hereafter involve them in war. It is generally believed that Mr. Meighen, at this Conference, was so emphatic in his opposition to the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (asserting that it would certainly offend the United States and thereby injure Canada) that the issue of a definite renewal of the Alliance was postponed for one year. From left to right, seated: Sir Arthur Balfour, a delegate from India, Premier Massey of New Zealand, Premier Meighen of Canada, Premier Lloyd George of Great Britain, Premier Hughes of Australia, Premier Smuts of South Africa, and Lord Curzon of the British Foreign Office

and international policies in the last decade, in favor of broader activities on the part of the self-governing Dominions, he has not changed his domestic policies. Ever since he entered the House in 1908, he has been an uncompromising protectionist, a believer in the home market, and an advocate of preferential inter-imperial trade. When Mr. Meighen changed the name of his temporary party from "Unionist," a war fusion of the Conservatives and the conscriptionist Liberals, to "National Liberal and Conservative," he did not change his views on fiscal questions. When he toured the country in 1920, explaining his Government's policies and ambitions, he maintained his position as a follower of Sir John A. Macdonald, the father of "protection" in Canada. The Canadian tariff has been protectionist since 1878, but it has never been extreme when compared with certain periods during which high customs tariffs prevailed in the United States.

In regard to foreign trade, Mr. Meighen has also taken a definite line which may lead to important developments. His Government has declared for a considerable extension of the system of maintaining trade commissioners in foreign centres with which Canada is now developing her export trade. This will lead in due time to the establishment of a separate trade-consular service throughout the world. Heretofore, Canada has been almost wholly dependent on the British consular service for trade information and other notable consular service. This was quite satisfactory when Canada's foreign trade, outside of the Empire, was of small proportions. With her growth as an exporter of both raw materials and manufactured goods, it has been found advisable to adopt more intensive methods. To lay the burden of this upon the present British consular machinery would be an imposition that could not be justified. Of necessity, therefore, the Government has taken the power to inaugurate a system of consular agents which will supplement the British service in

such trading centres abroad as have direct and important commercial relations with Canada.

Mr. Meighen is a son of the people. His parents were of Irish lineage and of the Presbyterian faith. He was born on a farm in Perth County, Western Ontario, and attended the High School in the town of St. Mary's. Using school teaching as a stepping stone, he passed on to the University of Toronto, whence he graduated in 1896.

Just at this time, there was a considerable migration westward, and Arthur Meighen "went West," settling first in Winnipeg and finally in Portage la Prairie, a few miles beyond. Here, having read law and been admitted to the bar, he began his rather brief but moderately brilliant career as a practising barrister. Here, too, he found a wife, a brilliant young school teacher from Granby, in the Province of Quebec.

In 1908, the university mathematician and somewhat experienced lawyer made his first definite move toward a political career. He ignored local service and also provincial politics. His ambition pointed to Ottawa as the great arena, and he became the Conservative member of Parliament for the constituency of Portage la Prairie, an honor which he still holds. Since then, politics and oratory have been his serious life work, not a mere hobby.

MR. MEIGHEN ON A CAMPAIGN TOUR

At Portage la Prairie, Province of Manitoba, where he began his career as a lawyer in 1903. He was elected to the Canadian House of Commons in 1908 and 1911; and was Solicitor General of Canada in 1913, and has since been Secretary of State and Minister of the Interior. He became Prime Minister in July, 1920. He is forty-seven years old

Mr. Meighen's success was rapid because there were opportunities for a man of his talents. In 1911 came the great political struggle over the proposed reciprocity arrangement with the United States, negotiated by Mr. Fielding—then Canadian Minister of Finance—and President Taft. The result of the general election was to give the Conservative party the control of the Government. A year or so later, Mr. Meighen was given his first big commission—the framing of a Closure Rule which was found necessary to enable the Government to get its legislation through the House in the Session of 1912-13. His success with this made him Solicitor General. Two years later he was raised to Cabinet rank by being made a Privy Councillor, thus entitling him to be addressed as "Honorable." Another two years and he was given a department; first Secretary of State, and then Minister of the Interior. Last September, he was honored by the King in being called as a member of the Privy Council of Great Britain, thus changing his official designation to that of "The Right Honorable."

When Mr. Meighen became Prime Minister of the Dominion in 1920, he was still in his forty-sixth year. He was thus the youngest man to attain that honor in the history of Canada. Sir Wilfred Laurier, at that age, had just won the leadership of his party, but he was fifty-five before he became Premier. Sir Robert Borden was fifty-seven when he assumed this leading post in Parliament. Mr. Meighen has thus the great advantage of youth, and the British Empire has every reason to expect that he will serve it, as he has begun, for many years to come with that kind of service which it is given to few men to render.

Canada has attained some of the marks and characteristics of a nation, though the United States may not yet be ready to acknowledge her full rank. Her position at the Peace

PREMIER MEIGHEN AND HIS WIFE
Setting out from Montreal, last June, to attend the Imperial Conference in London

THE LIBRARY AND THE PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS AT OTTAWA

This group of buildings constitutes the headquarters of the Dominion Government and is beautifully located on a hill overlooking the Ottawa River. It is here that the Prime Minister exercises his control of Dominion Affairs

attitude will have on his future political career remains to be seen.

A Canadian Prime Minister is not born of the exigencies of a political convention, but he comes to office rather through long years of progressive service in Parliament. He is never an outsider in politics. The Canadian people may choose their own members of parliament, but the dominant party in Parliament possesses almost absolute power in the choice of the Prime Minister. It chooses him, supports him, and appoints his successor. When the dominant party ceases to be dominant, then its leader ceases to be Prime Minister.

When a political party which is in opposition desires a new leader, it is usual to call a national convention of the party, though there have been numerous exceptions to this rule.

The great test, whether a leader be chosen by the members of parliament only or at a national convention of the party, is the test of a general election. Once a leader of a government or of an opposition has passed this test successfully he is regarded as having been definitely confirmed in such leadership.

Mr. Meighen is a typical product of these constitutional practices, and none can understand his present position without a reference to them. Mr. Meighen became Prime Minister because he was closest to being a leader of the dominant party in the House of Commons when Sir Robert Borden decided to relinquish the office which had been his from 1911 to 1920. Mr. Meighen was chosen by this parliamentary party. His colleagues accepted him as their new leader, and the Governor-General courteously acknowledged their right to this prerogative and summoned Mr. Meighen to become his first minister and chief adviser.

In the ordinary course of events, Mr. Meighen's selection by his fellow-members of Parliament should have been followed by his confirmation as leader at a general election. This has not yet been done. Hence, Mr. Meighen has never been actually confirmed as leader of any political party, and in this respect his position is anomalous. Yet the anomaly does not affect his power, nor his authority.

The reason why Mr. Meighen has never been chosen leader of the Conservative Party of Canada, to which he historically belongs, is summed up in the words "The War." In 1917, a Union Government was formed to put compulsory military service on the statute books. That Government consisted largely of Conservatives, combined with a percentage of Liberals. A general election was held in December, 1917, and the Union Government was sustained by an overwhelming popular majority. The Liberal party was broken into two parts—one wing largely French-Canadian, opposed to conscription, and another wing, forming with the whole of the Conservative party, the Union party in the House. The Liberal party retained its organization throughout the country, though weakened and decimated. The Conservative party, as a national party, ceased to exist for the time being, having been completely merged in the Union Party.

That was the position when Sir Robert Borden handed over the Prime Minister's duties to Mr. Meighen. The War was over, but the predominant party in the House was still Unionist. Mr. Meighen, therefore, became the leader of the Union party, though historically a Conservative. His one move in this direction was, with the consent of his supporters in Parliament, to change the name of his party to the "National Liberal and Conservative Party."

Mr. Meighen now finds himself in a peculiar position. The five year period for which a Canadian Parliament is elected is again drawing to a close. Soon Mr. Meighen and his colleagues may find themselves a group of parliamentarians without a party organization in the constituencies. There is no such thing as a "National Liberal and Conservative Party" among the voters themselves. The Farmers have a party organization throughout most of the provinces and are prepared to nominate and support candidates when the general election is in sight. The Liberals have a similar organization, under the Hon. MacKenzie King, leader of the Liberal opposition. The Conservative Party organization is still largely intact, but it has no parliamentary representatives who have not been merged in the Meighen party.

When, therefore, Mr. Meighen desires to appeal to the country for a new five year lease of power, he has two choices open to him. He may appeal as a "National Liberal and Conservative," without any political organization as such. Or he may dissolve this party, form a purely Conservative Cabinet, and appeal to his traditional, though temporarily obscured, political associations. In either case, his situation is one fraught with tremendous difficulties which are not of his own making.

WHAT YOU NEED TO KNOW ABOUT FEDERAL TAXATION

Why the Excess Profits Tax Should Be Repealed, and Why Business Must Accept Its Share of the Tax Burden in Some Other Form. The Error of the Sales Tax

By DAVID F. HOUSTON

Secretary of Agriculture, 1913-20; Secretary of the Treasury, 1920-21

Mr. Houston's views on taxation have been adopted by his successor, Mr. Mellon. His explanation herein of the reasons for these views gives a solid foundation for public discussion of the alternatives that are possible in tax revision and their basis in sound economics.—THE EDITORS.

THE people of the nation must now settle down to a study of Federal bookkeeping. The shouting is over, and the prosaic business of examining the two sides of the national ledger must be gone through with. Just now, there is much squirming and twisting, especially on the part of politicians; but sooner or later the stern facts must be faced, and a balance must be struck either by reducing expenditures or by maintaining or even increasing taxes, at least for the present, or by both.

At present, there is much confusion of thought among business men and among congressional leaders. There are also differences as to the facts and the probable course of expenditure and receipts, as well as to the best course to pursue to make ends meet, between the Treasury and the dominant party in Congress. The chances are very much in favor both of the correctness of the Treasury's facts and of the soundness of its main proposals for dealing with the situation. Naturally I have this opinion, because the Treasury's proposals are now substantially those which I embodied in my Annual Report. For many months Congress has been at sea, floundering under the stress of economic squalls and storms. It has been driven by its political fears, first in this direction and then in that, trying to go in every direction at the same time and, consequently, going nowhere. Substantially the same proposals now pending have been before it since March 17, 1920, and yet it has not seen fit to act on the pressing issues of taxation, and it has taken contradictory action in respect to other important economic matters. At one moment, it revives the War Finance Corporation to stimulate foreign trade, and at the next, it enacts the Emergency Tariff which tends to make foreign trade impossible, and it is considering a permanent measure of the same sort. Both in the War Finance Corporation and in the tariff it is obvious that some of the effort was little more than an attempt to pacify, if not to mislead, the farmers. Congress made loud demands for economy and yet it was about to indulge in gross extravagance, by passing a Soldier's Bonus Bill which would have entailed a burden of approximately $2,300,000,000, when the Executive intervened. Then, on the initiative of the Executive, it has formulated and is discussing an additional Farmers' Relief Bill and another Railway Aid Bill which, at least temporarily, will directly and indirectly impose large burdens on the Treasury and on the public.

Before discussing how to raise the money, let us, as nearly as may be, see what expenditures we face.

In the fiscal year 1920, the ordinary disbursements were approximately $6,400,000,000 and the receipts $6,694,000,000. These figures do not include the postal and the public debt operations. The Treasury's latest estimates for the current fiscal year and the next two following are as follows:

	1921	1922	1923
Ord. Receipts . .	$5,487,000,000	$4,218,000,000	$3,734,000,000
Ord. Expenditures .	5,000,000,000	4,000,000,000	
Debt Retirement .	596,500,000	551,300,000	
Total Expenditure .	5,600,000,000	4,554,000,000	

In the expenditures for 1922, no allowance is made for possible cash withdrawals from the Treasury by the War Finance Corporation

in connection with the proposed Railroad financing.

For the current year, then, according to the Treasury, we face an expenditure of more than $4,500,000,000. Certain leaders in Congress take issue with this estimate. It would be possible for them to lower it, but it is doubtful if they will.

Certainly, expenditures should be reduced. Everything should be cut to the bone. Everybody would welcome more than a 50-per-cent. reduction. Large economies are the only method by which high taxes can be avoided; but, as has been pointed out, these mainly depend on what we shall do about expenditures for war and, therefore, on the success of efforts to limit armament. These can scarcely be made effective within this fiscal year, and we are not likely, therefore, to witness an outgo materially lower than that indicated by the Treasury.

FUTURE POSSIBILITIES

FOR 1923, no disbursement estimates are available, and speculation as to the approximate amount would avail little. It may drop to $4,000,000,000 or to $3,500,000,000 or to $3,000,000,000, or to something less; but one thing is reasonably clear: we shall never see Federal expenditures approximate those before 1914. It may well be doubted if the ordinary disbursements, excluding the postal, will ever again fall below $1,500,000,000 or $1,800,000,000, a level two or two and one-half times as high as that preceding the World War. Certain it is, that past experience does not hold out hope for a better outcome. After the War of 1812, ordinary disbursements were about double what they were before. This was equally true after the Mexican War. Before the Civil War, ordinary expenditures averaged for five years $65,000,000, the highest annual expenditure being $69,000,000. During the Civil War, they rose in 1865 to about $1,300,000,000, and the lowest point reached after the conflict was $231,000,000, in 1878. They were not more than $355,000,000 until 1898. They rose in 1899, after the Spanish War, to $597,000,000, and thereafter were never under $469,000,000, and in only two years were they under the $500,000,000 mark. If we assume that within two or three years —that is, by the end of the fiscal year 1923 or 1924—the ordinary civil expenditures are reduced to the minimum; that the Shipping Board draws much less heavily on the Treasury; that the business of the War Risk Bureau takes a more favorable turn; that the Railroads and the War Finance Corporation are out of the Treasury; that special items of military origin disappear; that particularly large new raids on the Treasury are frustrated, and that the appropriations for the Army and Navy, as a result of agreement partially to disarm or for other causes, are reduced to double their average for five years preceding the War—and they are not likely to fall below this; and that the Sinking Fund operates in full measure, we might see an expenditure of about $2,000,000,000, roughly as follows:

Ordinary civil	$250,000,000
Indians	30,000,000
Pensions	260,000,000
Interest	900,000,000
Army and Navy	580,000,000
Miscellaneous, including War Risk, Rehabilitation, and other items	200,000,000
Total	$2,220,000,000

This is about as favorable an outcome as we may reasonably expect, and it rests upon a number of strong assumptions.

In the estimated expenditures of $4,554,000,000 for 1922, it should be noted that no provision is made for debt reduction beyond that required by law, which includes the Sinking Fund of about $265,000,000 and funds for the retirement of War Savings Securities, and certain other issues, aggregating about $285,000,000. It is highly important that the Sinking Fund be not tampered with. If an interruption is sanctioned, experience teaches that it will be difficult to secure its restoration, and that the large debt will be carried forward for an indefinite period. No other funds are provided for the extinction of the floating debt represented by the loan and tax certificates, which on March 31, 1921, stood at $2,475,000,000, and of the Victory Notes of more than $4,000,000,000 falling due in the spring of 1923. It is calculated that there will still be outstanding in 1923 about $6,000,000,000 of the short-dated debt, unless very drastic cuts are made in appropriations, and receipts are kept very high. The chances are that this will not happen, and that the $6,000,000,000 of short-term debt will have to be funded or refunded. It is unfortunate that so large a part will have to be carried forward,

since it will make the funding operation difficult on terms favorable to the Government, and will tend to perpetuate the debt, making it necessary for the public, with falling prices, to pay more in labor and commodities to extinguish it.

For a year or more after the current fiscal year, then, the total revenues must be kept above $4,000,000,000. As disagreeable as heavy burdens are, the failure of the Government to meet its bills would be more disagreeable. It must pay its bills promptly. The real question is: What is the best method of meeting the obligations?

WHAT IT MEANS

SEVERAL things should be made clear in passing.

In the first place, the people will not have to pay this year or hereafter, in the aggregate, as large taxes, by from $1,000,000,000 to $1,500,000,000, as they did in 1920, when the burden reached its peak. In that year, the internal revenue receipts were $5,405,000,000 and the customs $323,000,000, a total of $5,728,000,000, while in 1921 the customs were $308,000,000 and the internal revenue $4,596,000,000, and the estimates for 1922 are, for customs, $300,000,000, and for internal revenue, about $3,700,000,000.

In the second place, all the expenditure, especially that for 1922, of $4,554,000,000, will not have to be met by taxes. There will be about $350,000,000 available for that year from salvage and other non-tax sources, leaving $4,200,000,000 to be secured from customs, which yield approximately $300,000,000, and internal revenue, which, it is estimated, will furnish, under existing law, about $3,600,000,000. This will leave approximately $330,000,000 to be taken care of either by reducing expenditures or by increasing taxes. If foreign governments were to begin paying interest in whole or in large part in 1922, the situation would be distinctly changed, but it is difficult to see how, in view of their wretched financial condition and the existing international trade and exchange situation, they can do so. The matter of their early interest payment presents a choice of two evils, and the lesser would probably be its further suspension with the funding of accrued interest.

In the third place, the existing tax laws, on account of the great changes in business conditions, will not yield as much as heretofore, or perhaps as much as the Government's demands will necessitate.

Again, it should be recognized—I do not say it will be or that the outcome will embody the recognition—that the problem cannot be solved and justice be done by a process of shifting burdens from certain individuals or classes to others. To judge from much of the discussion, this is what many, if not most people, would like; and not a few are unable to conceal it. I believe, however, that most taxpayers are honest and want justice, but what many of them contend for would not accomplish the purpose.

Finally, the scheme of taxation adopted obviously should be one which will work with reasonable satisfaction in times of storm and stress, of extremes of prosperity and depression, as well as in times of peaceful and orderly development—readily adjustable, by simple modifications, to meet very considerable changes in demand and in industrial conditions, either domestic or international. Our arrangement heretofore—one cannot call it a system—has been highly defective. It may be said to have been fundamentally unsound and dangerous. It has not been either safe, dependable, flexible, or just. It has been particularly unsafe and highly inequitable. With all its faults, our present revenue arrangement is the soundest and least inequitable we have had. For the first time, we have a system which embodies a correct principle, namely, that of apportioning the burden among taxpayers on the basis of equality of sacrifice or, in other words, of their ability to pay. Heretofore, the tax burden has borne peculiarly heavily upon those of moderate and small means. By the new legislation the burden was shifted in large measure, through the Income and Profits taxes with their progressive features, to individuals of larger means. In no preceding period have income taxes constituted as much as 20 per cent. of the net ordinary receipts. Under the present laws, they have produced more than 55 per cent. of the total ordinary receipts, while consumption taxes yield about 21 per cent., a marked reversal and, in the main, a wholesome outcome.

Down to 1914, with the exception, principally, of yields of the direct taxes in the period 1814-17, ranging from a little more than $1,800,000 to about $4,250,000, and during the Civil War and immediately thereafter, ranging from $500,000 to $4,200,000, and from receipts from

the sales of land, which were normally from about $1,000,000 to $4,000,000 or $5,000,000, the ordinary Federal revenues were from customs and excise duties. They were almost exclusively customs' receipts down to the Civil War and, from that time to the outbreak of the World War, they were in somewhat equal parts from customs and excise duties.

This arrangement violated nearly every sound principle of taxation. It was unsafe. It was weakest in time of greatest need, especially in time of war. The customs receipts, which in the fiscal year 1813 yielded from $13,000,000, dropped in 1814 to about $6,000,000, and in 1815 were only slightly more than $7,000,000. In 1836, just before the Panic, they were more than $23,000,000 and in 1837 they fell to about $11,000,000. While in 1860 they were slightly more than $53,000,000, in 1861 they were reduced to less than $40,000,000, and they decreased from $226,000,000, in 1917, to approximately $183,000,000 in 1918. As a whole, the Federal revenues were essentially consumption taxes and, therefore, were inequitable, falling more heavily upon people of moderate means. From the standpoint of some individuals, they had two advantages—they were relatively easily administered, and were collected from a public generally unconscious of its part in the transaction and unaware of its burden.

DESIRE FOR A CHANGE

THERE is a strong desire in certain quarters to upset the existing system, which is in large measure an outgrowth of war legislation, and to secure a reversion to the unjust and unsafe pre-war arrangement. It reveals itself in the demand for the abolition of profits taxes, particularly the Excess Profits Tax, and for the adoption of some form of a general sales tax, together with an increase of customs duties. It is a demand for something more than the elimination of defects in the present taxes. It is, consciously or unconsciously, a struggle to get rid of direct taxes on business and to throw the burden, through consumption duties, on the masses. In every other similar period, this problem has presented itself and in every case the contention for the elimination of all forms of taxes, other than those on consumption, has succeeded. It remains to be seen whether again the people will be misled and induced to endorse action which would be destructive of sound principle and against the public interest.

Unquestionably, the existing arrangements are defective. It would be singular if this were not so. Tax legislation, like other things, moved rapidly at the outbreak of the War, and on a grand scale. Laws were hastily framed. The first requisite was to get money, and in certain directions legislation went to extremes. The pendulum swung too far on the side of direct taxation, and rates were imposed which cannot be effective in times of peace, and especially since, under our system of double jurisdiction, there are so many ways of evading such taxes. The fact that there are faults and serious faults does not warrant a revolution in our methods. We must retain the gains we have secured. The real task is one of revision and of simplification, in the light of experience and of changed economic conditions.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

I ASSUME that opinion will settle down to the conclusion that only revision is needed. The following principles should be kept in mind:

1. Business cannot and should not escape taxation, no matter what system is adopted. It would not escape the effects of taxation, even if we have nothing but consumption duties.
2. Equity must be the aim. The burden must be apportioned among taxpayers according to sacrifice involved or ability to pay. The burden cannot be shifted.
3. The tax should be made to rest finally where it is imposed, so far as possible. The taxpayer should know and feel the tax he pays.
4. The system, as a whole, should be progressive in its effect on total income.
5. It should be simply, easily, and economically administered. It should impose the minimum burden on the conscience of the taxpayer, and the administration should be such as to protect the honest against the dishonest.

(Next month Mr. Houston will give the economic and administrative reasons for retaining the Income Tax, the reason for repealing the Excess Profits Tax, and will discuss the proposed Sales Tax)

THE ROMANCE OF STEEL

The Vital Importance and Growing Influence of Steel. The World's Reserves and How Long They Will Last. The Importance of the Nations in the Steel Industry. How the Steel Market can be Used to Show Which Way the Wind Blows in the Business World

By FLOYD W. PARSONS

THE time is propitious to tell the story of iron and steel. How they have been the world's principal civilizers. How their possession and use have turned the fortunes of nations. How their victories in peace have been no less important than their victories in war. How the production of iron and steel has largely determined the positions, in order of importance, of the leading nations of the world. Many people regard iron as the only accurate barometer of trade. If that is true, we must find a study of iron and steel interesting in our present day of industrial depression.

Few people have properly grasped the vast political significance that is attached to the control of mineral wealth by the various nations. It is on the minerals that our modern industrial life is founded. The products of agriculture duplicate themselves in successive seasons, in accordance with the laws of nature; but in the mineral kingdom, any growth that takes place is too slow to be of material benefit to us, so we must consider that ore deposits once mined and used are gone forever.

Germany's growth and power were due largely to her possession of the iron deposits of Alsace-Lorraine. Now that these great beds of iron have been returned to France, it is likely that the power resting in their possession will also pass to the French. Wherever we turn in the world, we shall find that commercial domination is based on the ownership of minerals, and of these none except coal is so fundamental as iron. If we had a better understanding of the international importance of iron, we should see clearly why Japan seeks control in China, and why Great Britain is ambitious to expand commercially in Brazil.

Great Britain's maritime supremacy dates from the time she became supreme in the construction of iron ships. America's rise to leadership in recent years has resulted from her preëminence in the production of iron and the manufacture of steel. What will the future unfold? Will the United States be the chief source of supply for the hundreds of millions of people who are just awakening to the call of civilization in the thickly populated but industrially undeveloped regions of China, India, and the whole continent of Africa? In order to forecast the future, we must analyze the present.

Twenty-five years ago, Andrew Carnegie thought the end of the great iron and steel industry of the United States was in sight. Now we recognize that there is practically no limit to the world's resources of iron ore. Few elements are found in greater abundance, or in more varied associations than this metal. It is conservatively estimated that one sixth of the whole content of this globe is iron. Astronomers report that the average weight of the earth is much greater than the weight of the surface which we can see. They explain this inequality by the presence, near the centre of the earth, of vast masses of metal, a large proportion of which is iron.

Much of the water of the world is made unpalatable and useless for ordinary purposes because of its large content of iron. A half of one part per million of iron in water can be detected by taste. Five parts per million make water undesirable for drinking. More than two and a half parts per million in water used for laundering makes stains on clothes. An iron content of more than three parts per million in water used for making paper will stain the paper. When iron is allowed to remain in water from which ice is made, it will discolor the ice. Steam boilers are frequently injured by the corroding action of iron in water used for making steam. Many cities have discovered to their sorrow that water containing iron, favors the growth of an organism called Crenothrix, whose iron sheaths clog the water pipes and add to the expense of the munici-

pality in maintaining a sufficient supply of water for the inhabitants.

Wherever we go in city or country, we may observe the presence of iron. The red in bricks, in the paint upon the house, or in Milady's dress, is practically always an evidence of iron. The rosy bloom on the cheeks of youth, if it wasn't purchased in a drug-store, shows a substantial iron content in the human blood. Even the bright red of a tempting apple is produced by the iron the fruit contains. Some day orchardists will be more governed in the selection of their apple lands by the percentage of iron the soil contains.

Although the crust of the earth contains more than 4 per cent. of metallic iron, only a small fraction of this area shows the iron sufficiently concentrated by geological agencies to form iron-ore deposits that are commercially valuable. Science showed us years ago the deadly power of bacteria in disease, but their efficiency in expediting rock decay is a subject concerning which we know but little. Such investigations as have already been made indicate plainly that "iron bacteria" are now actively engaged in the deposition of compounds of iron in many parts of the world. But these new deposits now being created will not benefit man for centuries to come.

HOW LONG WILL OUR IRON DEPOSITS LAST?

RECENT surveys throughout the world show two centuries' stock of iron in sight. The total ore in Europe and North and South America amounts to 31,800,000,000 tons, of which the equivalent iron is 14,310,000,000 tons. Assuming a pig-iron production of 70,000,000 tons a year, this ore is sufficient to last 200 years. However, if we figure that the consumption of iron will continue to increase at the same rate as in the past, our supplies of the grades of ore now utilized would probably be exhausted in a century. While it is likely that consumption will increase rapidly, it is also certain that our metallurgical practices will at the same time be greatly improved, enabling us to extract iron from ores of a grade that is not considered commercially valuable at the present time. In addition, there are doubtless immense reserves of iron ore in South Africa, Australia, India, China, Korea, and Japan.

At first glance, these figures lead one to believe that the wide distribution of iron throughout the earth makes it practically impossible for any one nation to dominate world trade in this essential metal. But this is not true unless there are revolutionary changes in present iron and steel practices.

Notwithstanding the huge reserves of iron ore throughout the world, authorities estimate that excepting the great reserve of the very highest quality ore in Brazil, the known reserves of low-phosphorus ore in the rest of the world only amount to some 1,740,000,000 tons, the bulk of which is in the United States. The European resources of this class of ore are small and are rapidly diminishing. At the present time it is impossible to make certain kinds of hematite steel unless the raw ore is low in phosphorus. Great Britain has been a large producer of this high-grade steel, and the growing scarcity of the right kind of ore in Europe is presenting the British with a problem not easy to solve. It is no wonder that the English are extending themselves in their efforts to get control of the low-phosphorus ores in Brazil.

The value of an iron ore can never be determined by simply estimating the percentage of iron in the ore. A self-fluxing ore containing 25 per cent. of iron may be of greater value than a refractory ore containing 40 per cent. Titanium rules out immense bodies of ore containing a high percentage of iron because the presence of titanic acid raises the temperature of fusion and leads to greater fuel consumption and a heavier blast. A small quantity of manganese on the other hand is generally beneficial, since it helps to get rid of sulphur. Many ores are almost worthless because they are too friable and disintegrate during transportation. Other ores are so dense that they are seldom wanted by steel manufacturers except for enriching purposes. All of which shows that it is the quality of the ore rather than the quantity that counts.

LEADING NATIONS IN THE IRON INDUSTRY

THE world's chief iron- and steel-producing countries, named in the order of their importance, are; the United States, Germany, France, Great Britain, and Belgium. During 1920, Great Britain's production of pig iron and steel exceeded that of Germany, but recent estimates indicate that the Teutons have once more forged ahead of the British. As already stated, it is expected that France, having come into possession of the great iron-ore deposits in Alsace-Lorraine, will expand her

steel industry until it is second only to that of America. As a result of the war, the iron-ore resources of Germany are only one third of what they formerly were. In 1913 the United States contributed 46.3 per cent. of the pig-iron output of the five countries mentioned; in 1920, America's proportion rose to 67 per cent. Before the war the United States produced less than half the steel output of the five leading nations; last year our production of steel was two thirds of the total. In 1917, the United States mined 75,000,000 tons of iron ore, of which 63,000,000 came from the Lake Superior region, and 7,000,000 from Alabama. Last year, we produced 67,773,000 gross tons of iron ore, of which 86 per cent. came from the Lake Superior districts.

The iron-ore reserves of the United States are estimated to be 4,700,000,000 gross tons; France, 2,900,000,000; Great Britain, 1,300,000,000; Germany, 900,000,000; Belgium, 63,000,000. These figures are supposed to include only merchantable ore, and the totals are considerably less than figures often named by many authorities. One recent estimate places the United States deposits at 7,000,000,000 tons, without including the low-grade ores of our famous lake district, which ores are present in enormous quantities, and certainly will one day be worked with improved methods. Without doubt, the leading iron and steel nations of the world have plenty of ore for their immediate needs. This being true, the questions of greatest interest relate to the distribution of high-grade iron-ore deposits, which remain undeveloped in other parts of the world.

IRON IN ASIA

THE future of iron production and steel manufacture in the Far East is an interesting question. Important deposits of high-grade ore have recently been opened up in India. One large deposit, containing upward of a hundred million tons of ore, shows iron, 60 per cent.; manganese, 0.8; sulphur, 0.01; and phosphorus, 0.09. High-grade, low-phosphorus ores have been found in considerable quantity in various parts of India, and the outlook calls for the slow but sure development of a substantial steel industry in that country. H. Foster Bain, noted mining engineer, regards the iron-ore resources of China as overrated, and fixes the workable deposits at about 400,000,000 tons. All the deposits belong either to the Chinese Government, or to Chinese or Japanese concessionaires; not a single deposit is owned by the nationals of any other country. Much of the ore is low-grade. Japan's iron-ore reserves approximate 60,000,000 tons. Japanese steel plants get a large part of their iron ore from mines in Korea, Manchuria, and China. Some pig iron is imported by Japan from British India. Iron ore deposits in the Shantung province, which were being exploited by the Germans before the war, have been taken over and are now being developed by the Japanese.

OTHER AMERICAN DEPOSITS

NORTH and South America are rich in iron ore, even excepting the enormous deposits in the United States. Newfoundland is credited with 3,500,000,000 tons, which makes this deposit one of the largest and most compact reserves in the world. Practically all of the ore lies under Conception Bay, and must be reached by submarine mining. The ore is high in phosphorus, but is splendidly located, since it can be laid down at a low cost in either American or European ports. Canada's iron-ore reserves are only placed at 150,000,000 tons, most of which lies in Texada and Vancouver Islands, off the coast of British Columbia. A large part of this ore runs high in iron and low in phosphorus. Many people believe that large reserves of iron will be discovered in various undeveloped parts of northern Canada. Cuba is rich in iron, and much of the ore is low in phosphorus and especially adapted for making steel for rails and motor-car parts. The total reserves are placed at more than 2,500,000,000 tons. The principal deposits of Cuba are owned and operated by the Bethlehem Steel Company. The high contents of alumina and chromium in the Cuban ore, far from being a disadvantage, confer peculiar value on the steel, increasing its tensile strength and hardness.

Mexico has important deposits of iron ore in six of its states. Some of the ore is located near beds of good coking coal. One recent estimate places Mexico's total iron reserves at upward of a billion tons, some of which ore averages from 60 to 67 per cent. of iron. In South America, Chile contains important iron-ore deposits, estimated to contain 140,000,000 tons. One third is said to be owned by Germans, one third by Americans and the remainder by Chilean and English interests.

Probably the most important iron-ore deposits in the world to-day lie in Brazil. The ore bodies are practically undeveloped and lie in an area roughly 100 miles square, and located 200 miles north of Rio de Janeiro. The Central Railroad of Brazil runs through the iron-ore district to the port of Rio, but on account of heavy grades the line has not been used extensively for the transportation of iron ore. Unfortunately, Brazil is without coal, and this lack of fuel has so far prevented the development of a steel industry in that country. At present, because of the high cost of transporting the material, only the highest-grade deposits are considered as available for commercial use. It is estimated that half of the Brazilian ore contains more than 60 per cent. iron, and in phosphorus is well below the Bessemer limit. A recent survey by American engineers estimates that Brazil's potential reserves of iron ore total 7,500,000,000 tons. The interesting side of the question is not so much the enormous tonnage available as the fact that such a large percentage of the ore is of a Bessemer grade, and entirely suited for the furnaces and practices of the present day. American interests control a larger percentage of the high-grade Brazilian ore than those of any other nation. The British, however, are running the Americans a close race. It is estimated that about 500,000,000 tons of Bessemer ore have been acquired by American, English, Brazilian, German, and French nationals in Brazil. Suffice it to say that some of the international politics of the future will centre around these valuable Brazilian iron-ore reserves.

THE REAL IMPORTANCE OF IRON

NOT one person in ten recognizes the real basic importance of iron and steel in the industrial life of the world. If we link up iron and steel here in the United States with all of their associated industries, we shall find we have a business second to none. America's present normal output of iron and steel is practically equal to the production of all of the rest of the world combined. In 1920, we exported approximately $1,100,000,000 worth of iron and steel products. Twenty-eight states in this country at present contribute to our total production of iron ore. The annual value of our pig iron is greater than that of any other single manufactured product. Viewing the matter from all sides, it may be said in truth that the United States is in a splendid position to maintain its supremacy in iron and steel for years to come.

In 1865, the iron needs of the world were supplied by a paltry 18,000,000 tons per year; in 1903 the total annual consumption of the world passed the 100,000,000-ton mark. If the rate of increase of iron consumption should continue as it has during the last decade, the five years from 1935 to 1939, inclusive, will require as much iron ore as was consumed in the twenty-year period from 1880 to 1900. The enormous growth of the steel industry of the United States during the last twenty years is shown in a striking manner by the fact that the production of steel, during the present time of industrial depression, although only one fourth of the existing capacity of the furnaces, is greater than the entire capacity of the whole industry of the nation in 1902. In this latter year, all the productive facilities of the country were utilized to the uttermost to meet an apparently heavy demand for steel. At that time the steel companies had difficulty in producing 13,000,000 gross tons yearly; to-day our American steel industry could easily produce at the rate of 53,000,000 tons annually.

NEW METHODS

THE great advances in steel manufacture in recent years have been due largely to the remarkable scientific and technical achievements of American engineers and chemists. A century ago, eight to ten tons of coal were needed to smelt the ore for one ton of pig iron; at present only one and one half tons of coal are needed to do this same work. One of the important factors in the development of iron smelting has been the increase in the size of the blast furnaces. A single furnace now yields from 400 to 500 tons of pig iron every twenty-four hours. To do this it consumes more than 800 tons of ore, 400 tons of coke, 100 tons of limestone, and 2,500 tons of air. It is probable that there is no greater money-maker in the world than a modern blast furnace.

In many parts of the country, steel is now being produced in electric furnaces. Some metallurgists maintain that electric steel is superior and can be produced in less time than open-hearth steel. In this connection it may be said that the important point in melting steel is the skill of the metallurgist rather than the type of furnace. Some steel works which changed from the converter to the electric

melting process, found that the quality of their product was better, and sincerely attributed the improvement to the electric furnace, entirely ignoring the fact that along with the electric furnace, they acquired, for the first time, a competent and carefully trained melter, who placed their process on a more scientific basis.

The bulk of the domestic iron ore used in the United States is not touched by human hands from the time it leaves the mine until it is converted into such products as rails, structural shapes, wire rods, sheets, bars, etc. The efficiency with which iron ore is handled at the docks on the Great Lakes is of such high degree that a steamer has been loaded, using little labor, with 10,111 gross tons of ore, in exactly 39 minutes. A cargo of this size can be unloaded in four or five hours, at a cost of about five cents a ton. It is mechanical developments of this kind that make it possible for American steel manufacturers paying high rates of wages to undersell competitors in foreign countries which produce steel with labor that receives a much smaller wage.

THE REASON FOR THE LOCATION OF STEEL MILLS

THE idea prevails that iron ore always flows to coal, and that it is for this reason that Pennsylvania, our great coal state, is also our largest producer of steel. To prove this, those who hold such a belief cite the flow of iron from Lake Superior to Pittsburgh, from Cuba to Bethlehem, and from Spain and Sweden to England. If this idea were entirely true, we might determine the future of the steel industry of the world by simply studying the maps showing the location of the world's fuel beds. The history of our American steel industry shows plainly that the establishment of the great steel works in Pittsburgh was not due primarily to the fact that coal was located near by. Pittsburgh became a steel centre because of its strategic situation at the confluence of rivers which flowed through vast agricultural regions. Steel plants were established in Pittsburgh long before the Lake Superior district began to produce ore in any material quantity. At the present time there is evidence that the drift of the iron-making trade is toward the ore, and away from the coal, provided that markets for steel products are more accessible to the newer locations, where there is no fuel. In America the ore and coal frequently travel hundreds of miles, while later the finished steel products must now be transported sometimes thousands of miles to markets, because of the present enormous productive capacity of most of our steel plants. Such facts are fundamental in any consideration given the iron and steel business. In other words, it is markets rather than coal fields which in the future will determine the sites for steel plants.

IRON AS A BAROMETER

THIS brief survey of what might be termed our basic manufacturing industry will indicate to many why the steel business is frequently spoken of as the barometer of industry. Just now we are all watching every straw which appears to show the direction of our trade winds. Modern history has shown that industrial depressions have been contemporary in iron-producing nations. While our present time of slack business and unemployment has resulted primarily from the waste of war, analysis shows that the underlying conditions are not dissimilar from those which have been at the bottom of other depressions which have occurred in the past. The losses occasioned by war, although they are more savage and mount up more quickly, are not a bit different from the losses resulting from extravagance, laziness, and bad management. High prices and business inflation are followed by the same dire consequences, no matter what the cause may be.

Iron is the foundation of all of our mechanical and manufacturing industries. It is an accepted principle that where industries are greatest the suffering which results from industrial depression is most severe. When prices go up, iron is generally the first to advance. At least for a generation, shrewd business men in this country have closely watched the rise and fall in iron prices in order to determine the trend of prices in all other industries. Hundreds of business men follow the rule of buying heavily and selling sparingly when iron commences to advance, and of reversing the process when iron and steel prices start to fall.

All in a Life-Time

CHAPTERS FROM AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

III. The Social Side of Constantinople

By HENRY MORGENTHAU
Former American Ambassador at Constantinople
In Collaboration with FRENCH STROTHER

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THE Senate confirmed my appointment as Ambassador to Turkey on September 4, 1913. Soon afterward I went to Washington to familiarize myself with the duties of my office and to receive my instructions. A new Ambassador is allowed thirty days for this purpose. Usually, he spends them in the State Department, taking a sort of course of intensive training. I did not take the full month allowed me. The Chief of the Division of Near Eastern Affairs took me in hand, and in a series of conversations outlined to me, first, the duties, prerogatives, and privileges of an Ambassador; and, second, a general survey of existing relations between Turkey and the United States. Then several hours were occupied in studying the methods of keeping the accounts of the Embassy, and of handling its funds.

I found this period of preparation intensely interesting. It was to be crowned in October, upon a second visit to Washington, by an official call on the Secretary of State. I looked forward to this visit with great expectations. Alas for the illusions which a day can wreck! William Jennings Bryan was the Secretary of State. He knew no more about our relations with Turkey than I did. The long-looked-for instructions were an anti-climax. They were, in full, as follows:

"Ambassador," he said, "when I made my trip through the Holy Land, I had great difficulty in finding Mount Beatitude. I wish you would try to persuade the Turkish Government to grant a concession to some Americans to build a macadam road up to it, so that other pilgrims may not suffer the inconvenience which I did in attempting to find it."

Thus fortified by the Secretary's complete programme for my Ambassadorial task, I set forward to the White House for a farewell call upon President Wilson. He bade me a hearty godspeed, and in parting gave me an injunction which enabled me to save many lives in the next three years. "Remember," he said, "that anything you can do to improve the lot of your coreligionists is an act that will reflect credit upon America, and you may count on the full power of the Administration to back you up."

Fortunately, for the success of my mission, I had a most enlightening conference in New York before I left. At the suggestion of Mr. Alfred E. Marling, who was one of the Trustees of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, I had an interview at that great centre of missionary activity, 156 Fifth Avenue, with a large group of earnest and able men, who could speak with authority on the problems I should confront in the East. I learned that five of these men were to cross the Atlantic at the same time I should be crossing. These were Doctors Arthur Judson Brown, Arthur J. Barton, Charles Roger Watson, Dr. Mackaye, and Bishop Arthur Selden Lloyd. These men were the leaders of the Foreign Mission Boards of the Presbyterian, Congregational, United Presbyterian, Methodist, and Protestant Episcopal Churches. One of them, Doctor Barton, had himself been a missionary in Turkey, and had also acted as President of the Protestant College at Harpoot. Another, Doctor Watson, had been a missionary in the Turkish Protectorate of Egypt, and his parents had been missionaries for half a century at Cairo.

I had engaged passage for Europe on the *Imperator*, but when I learned that these five men were sailing at nearly the same time on the *George Washington* (later to become famous

as President Wilson's "peace ship") to attend a world missionary conference at The Hague, I asked them to change their reservations and go with me. They were limited in their expense accounts and could not change, so, emulating Mohammed, I "went to the mountain" and changed to their ship. The voyage gave me an opportunity to gain from them a fuller picture of the work of the mission boards, which was very helpful to me in my new task.

The conversations I had with these men on shipboard were a revelation to me. I had hitherto had a hazy notion that missionaries were sort of over-zealous advance agents of sectarian religion, and that their principal activity was the proselyting of believers in other faiths. To my surprise and gratification, these men gave me a very different picture. In the first place, their cordial cooperation with one another was evidence of the disappearance of the old sectarian zeal. They were, to be sure, profoundly concerned in converting as many people as they could to what they sincerely believed to be the true faith. But I found that, along with this ambition, Christian missionaries in Turkey were carrying forward a magnificent work of social service, education, philanthropy, sanitation, medical healing, and moral uplift. They were, I discovered, in reality advance agents of civilization. As representatives of the denominations which supported them, they were maintaining several hundred American schools in the Levant, and several full-fledged colleges, of which three, at least, deserve to rank with the best of the smaller institutions of higher learning in the United States. They maintained, also, several important hospitals. And, as a part of their purely religious function, they were bringing a higher conception of Christianity to the millions of submerged Christians in. the Turkish Empire, who, but for them, would have been left to practise their religion without the inspiration of the modern thought of the West, which has so vastly widened its spiritual significance.

As my wife and youngest daughter Ruth could not accompany me, I took with me my daughter Helen, her husband, Mr. Mortimer J. Fox, and two sons Henry and Mortimer. We visited London, Paris, and Vienna on our way to Constantinople, and at each of these capitals I paid my respects not only to the American Ambassador, but to the resident Turkish plenipotentiary as well. In doing this I had in mind two things: first, to accustom myself to the looks of an embassy from within, as I had, to that date, never been in an embassy building in any country; and second, to secure some hints upon the character of the government to which I was accredited, in advance of my first formal contact with it. At last, on November 27, 1913, we rolled into the railroad station at Constantinople.

My first impression of the famous old capital of Asia-in-Europe was of a moving sea of silk hats. The station platform seemed populated entirely with frock-coated gentlemen, buried under these chimney-like black headpieces. After some confusion, human personalities began to emerge from under them, and to individualize themselves as real people with proper names, and a rational relationship to myself as another human being. The first to greet me was Mr. Hoffman Phillip, who as Conseiller and First Secretary of the Embassy, had acted as chargé d'affaires during Mr. Rockhill's visit to the United States. He introduced me to the others, and after a somewhat bewildering round of handshakings, Phillip and I and the Foxes stepped into a carriage and were driven to the Pera Palace Hotel, where Phillip gave us a Thanksgiving dinner.

THE EMBASSY AND ITS PERSONNEL

THE Embassy at Constantinople is a handsome marble three-story structure, set in a garden surrounded by a high wall, and overlooking the Golden Horn. Often during my first days there, I would find myself humming the old refrain, "I dreamt I dwelt in marble halls." There were, to be sure, no "vassals and serfs by my side"; but I had more useful assistants in my official staff. Besides Mr. Phillip, there were second and third secretaries, and A. K. Schmavonian, the Turkish legal adviser of the Embassy. He was the permanent attaché—the interpreter—and was, besides, the custodian of the Embassy's traditions. He knew every American interest in Turkey, had carried on for years the correspondence with the consuls and the missionaries, and hence was an invaluable storehouse of information. He knew, also, all the Turkish officials; the ramifications of the Turkish Governmental Departments; the names and characteristics of the leaders of the recent revolution; and, of course, he was versed in the niceties of diplomatic custom.

Soon after my arrival, I observed a curious phenomenon concerning the position of an Ambassador. The instinctive ambition of the attachés led them to try to keep the Ambassador from taking an active hand in the work of the Chancery. It was explained to me with great solemnity, that the business office of the Embassy was not like other business offices; that its operations were so involved in delicacies of diplomatic usage that none but old hands, trained in all their niceties, were competent to handle the transaction of its intricate affairs. All details, I was informed, should be left to those accustomed to handling them. I made short work of this mysterious nonsense. Business is business, and details are the substance of larger concerns. Therefore, I promptly acquainted myself with the records of the Chancery for several years preceding, and took absolute charge of its functions, as I was in duty bound to do. The mysteries faded instantly. Common sense, judgment, and energy are the desiderata of all business relationships, and I found no barrier in these affairs, because of their so-called diplomatic nature.

Other American Ambassadors have complained to me that their subordinates usurped their functions in this fashion; and I know of some who have occupied the most exalted posts in Europe and never penetrated the mysteries of their Chanceries, and, consequently, never really functioned as Ambassadors at all.

As my wife and Ruth had not accompanied me, their absence relieved me, for the moment, of social duties, and gave me time for a considered survey of the society in which I would soon be projected as an active member. I realized that much depended upon the first associations I should make in that society, and I needed just such an opportunity to learn by indirection, the composition of it, the factions into which it was divided, and the cross currents of personality and interest that disturbed it.

CONSTANTINOPLE'S DIPLOMATIC CORPS

THE "diplomatic set" at Constantinople was a little world apart. At most, its members numbered a scant hundred. It comprised the Grand Vizier, the Premier and his Cabinet, and the ambassadors and ministers of other governments, with their principal attachés. Occasionally, there were added to this intimate circle a few leading international bankers and merchants and distinguished tourists. But, chiefly, we consorted with ourselves. Our intercourse was a continuous succession of luncheons, teas, dinners, and formal State functions. In such a constricted society, thrown into such intense communication, the personal equation was naturally of paramount importance. Ere long, I had occasion to use every resource, from social gifts to business experience, to maintain myself in this society of shrewd and cultivated men, all of whom had the advantage of a life-long training in diplomacy and in the intricacies of European state-craft.

My first concern, therefore, was to appraise their personalities. I recalled a piece of wise advice from James Stillman the elder, who was one of the cleverest American financiers. He told me that when a man confronted a new situation, and was not yet sure of his ground, his safest course was to impress his adversaries by mystifying them. I adapted this advice to the present occasion. I realized that the diplomatic corps at Constantinople knew much more about me than I knew about any of them, because I was the one stranger to them, and they were many and all strange to me. I resolved to do, as nearly as I could, directly the opposite of what they expected of me. For one thing, they had fallen into the European habit of imagining that all successful Americans are men of fabulous wealth, and they credited certain absurd stories about my supposed intention to conduct the Embassy on a scale of lavish expenditure, designed to make a great social impression. Accordingly, I went to the other extreme and managed the Embassy very modestly. For some weeks after my arrival, I did not even use an automobile, contenting myself with a carriage and a pair of Arabian ponies.

Further to play the rôle of mystifier, I obeyed only the letter of the custom which prescribes that a new Ambassador shall call upon the other Ambassadors, after he has been presented to the Sovereign. They are supposed to return this call, and thereafter, the newcomer is expected to make the advances to his elders toward a more intimate and workable acquaintance. Instead, I remained at the Embassy and devoted myself to the business of the Chancery and did some watchful waiting.

These tactics were rewarded by an opportunity to enter the society of the diplomatic corps under circumstances that gave me the advan-

tage. One day the local correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* called upon me at the Embassy. This was Dr. Paul Weitz, who had been a resident of Turkey for more than twenty-five years, knew all the officials, spoke the language, and understood the subtleties of Turkish psychology. He was, in reality, an unofficial attaché of the Embassy and a secret agent of the German Government. Dr. Weitz opened the conversation.

"Mr. Ambassador," he said, "I have gotten the impression that you are a man of direct methods. For this reason, I too, shall use the direct method. Frankly, I have come as the emissary of the German Ambassador and the Austrian Ambassador, with whom I had luncheon this very day. You were the principal topic of conversation. These gentlemen are puzzled by your attitude and they are curious to learn of your true character. They have commissioned me to find out these things for them, and I have preferred to come and ask you bluntly, rather than to follow my usual method of finding out by indirection. What is your real attitude? Are you by preference a recluse, or are you playing a game?"

"I am glad," I replied, "that you have come to me personally with these questions, especially because it gives me the opportunity to send a direct message to your principles. Please be good enough to tell them for me, that I have made it a life-long practice never to make the first advances. I have always waited for the advances to come from the other side. Therefore, you may tell Their Excellencies that it is for them to decide whether they wish their relationship with me to continue to be one of formal diplomatic exchanges, or a frank, man-to-man friendship. If they prefer the latter, I shall be delighted to meet them half-way, but they must cover the first half."

Dr. Weitz readily agreed to carry this message, and he was so pleased with the frankness of my conversation that he made no concealment of his own position. He went on to tell me that he was a confidential adviser to the German Ambassador, and frequently was commissioned to carry on unofficial negotiations in which, for reasons of delicacy or of policy, it was not advisable either that the Ambassador should appear in person, or that he should make use of one of his official family. He explained to me that the reason he was used in this capacity was his intimate acquaintance with Turkish life and officials, and he offered to undertake similar commissions for me at any time I might care to make use of him. For obvious reasons, I never availed myself of the offer.

Dr. Weitz faithfully repeated my message to the German and Austrian Ambassadors who afterward told me that they were greatly delighted with it. The very next afternoon, Baron Wangenheim paid me a call; and the following morning, his Austrian colleague, Marquis Pallavicini, arrived to improve my acquaintance. They both greeted me in the spirit of my message, and we entered at once upon an acquaintanceship which removed the formality of an official relation. Both of them were very useful to me during my first weeks in Constantinople. The Marquis was the doyen of the diplomatic corps. He was a noble man of ancient family, had grown old in the diplomatic service, and was an authority on every point of diplomatic usage, from the most subtle phrasing of a threat of war to the refinements of precedence in placing guests at table at a diplomatic dinner. In this latter direction, indeed, he was invaluable to me in teaching me the relative rank of the bewildering array of officers and title holders among my visitors.

THE FOREIGN AMBASSADORS

BARON WANGENHEIM I have described at great length in my earlier volume, "Ambassador Morgenthau's Story." Unlike Pallavicini, who was a quiet, formal, conventional, and a typical diplomat of the old school, Wangenheim was a perfect representive of Prussia. He was not a native of Prussia—but his bearing was that of an excitable Hindenburg. He was a man of great stature, in the prime of life, overflowing with physical vitality, energetic in person, opinionated and positive in manner, voluble and aggressive in conversation, somewhat flirtatious, proud, overbearing—he was Prussia and modern Germany embodied.

After Pallavicini and Wangenheim had broken the ice, I speedily made the acquaintance of the other members of the diplomatic corps, and their characters emerged in my mind in sharp definition. Sir Louis Mallet, the British Ambassador, was a fine type of English gentleman. He exhibited the quiet force and cultivation which one naturally expects from a member of the English upper classes. Though a bachelor, his establish-

ment was one of the most magnificent in Constantinople. Turkey has always been a vital point in British policy, and the British Government has spared no pains to make its public appearance there correspond with the splendor and importance of the British Empire.

The French Ambassador was M. Bompard, the Russian was Michel de Giers. These men also adequately embodied their respective countries, the one in its ideals of polished politeness and clear intellectual grasp, the other in its ideals of imperial pride and the sense of power.

Meeting these men at luncheon; dining with them and their ladies at gorgeous evening functions, where the splendor of the men's uniforms, the brightness of the women's costumes, and the gayety of the young couples made a lively scene of light-hearted inconsequentiality; it was hard to realize that they were, in truth, acting the part of heirs-at-law of a friendless dying man—sitting at tea in his parlor, and waiting for his last gasp as a signal for a scramble to divide his property among themselves. They frankly told me (though of course, not in these words) that this was their position. In their eyes the Sick Man of Europe, so long the diseased invalid among the nations, was now really dying. They had no hesitation in discussing their ambitions regarding his property. Giers comported himself already as if Russia had actually attained her age old vision of capturing Constantinople —as if he were the Governor of Russia's new capital city. Sir. Louis Mallet did not conceal the interest which his Government had in everything that tended to insure the safety of the Suez Canal. Bompard was deeply concerned to secure more concessions for French capital in Turkey. Even the Greek Minister talked with confidence of an approaching Hellenic confederation, which should embrace Smyrna and part of the Asian hinterland.

THE TURKISH SITUATION IN 1913

THERE was, indeed, considerable reason for their hopes. The revolutionary party in Turkey, under the name of the Union and Progress Party, had overthrown the Government and had taken possession of the country in the name of the people. Abdul Hamid, whom Gladstone, for his atrocious crimes, had dubbed "Abdul the Damned," was now shorn of his power, and was a prisoner in a palace, almost within sight of the American Embassy. His throne was now occupied by a nominal successor, his brother, Mohammed V. This good-humored weakling, however, enjoyed only the shadow of power and none of its substance. His brother, fearful of a plot to overthrow him, had caused his successor to be reared in a manner that totally unfitted him for the exercise of authority. He had kept him secluded from society, had not permitted him to learn even the rudiments of history and state-craft, and had enfeebled his intellect and character by consciously exposing him to the temptations of self indulgence. He had placed before the Heir Apparent all the pleasures of life; had supplied him with countless wives, luxurious food, rich wines, and all the other ministers of sensual enjoyment. Reared in such atmosphere, he had grown up and passed the prime of life, ignorant and without character. Socially, of course, he was a charming gentleman, but as a ruler, he was hopelessly incompetent.

He was, indeed, merely the figure head of a government whose substantial ministers were the aggressive, self-made leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress. These were men of native shrewdness, character, and courage. Their political leader was Talaat Bey, a great hulk of a man, who had begun life in the humble capacity of porter in a village railroad station, and who had advanced to the limits of his social prospects when he had achieved the dignity of a telegraph operator in the same station. By sheer force of natural genius, however, he had become a political power, and after the revolutionists had sprung their coup d'état, he soon rose to be their leader. With their success, he had leaped immediately to the dazzling eminence of a Cabinet position, and was then the leader of the Cabal that was the real ruler of the Empire.

The military genius of the young Turks was Enver Bey, a handsome and dashing young officer, who had studied his profession and cultivated the social graces as military attaché of the Turkish Embassy at Berlin. He was now Minister of War and in control of the Turkish Army—a necessary weapon in the hands of Talaat to maintain the Young Turk party in power. Some of my foreign colleagues of the diplomatic corps assured me that these two men were the real power in Turkey. They had seven associates, all men of great influence, and all members of the Committee of Union and Progress.

The personalities of these men, and the drama of their conflicting ambitions and intrigues, gradually unfolded themselves before my eyes. It was like sitting at the performance of a fascinating play, only this was more interesting because it was the reality of life. The actors were the representatives of great nations, and upon the issue of this dramatic situation rested the fate of millions of people.

THE FIRST WEEKS OF AMBASSADORSHIP

THE experience of my first few weeks at Constantinople and the intensely interesting sensations they aroused in me, can best be conveyed to my readers by reproducing a few of the letters which I wrote home to America in the excitement of these moments. The first I shall quote was dated December 23, 1913, and was addressed to my wife and youngest daughter:

I have been so very busy that I have not written for a few days—so I will tell you briefly what has happened since. On December 20th we had our reception, of which I enclose you an account—it was really splendid—no one can describe the sensations and thrills. I had to be told and made to feel that I was the head and responsible man for the property of those great institutions, managed by such soulful, disinterested, and altruistic people—it makes our small efforts in New York appear insignificant. Think of a small determined "band" of Americans revolutionizing with educational means the Balkan States—the drops of water they kept a-going for forty or more years had the result of wearing away the indifference of the Bulgar and roused him. Everybody who is well-informed admits that Robert College deserves the credit for the education that has spread there.

At 9:30 Mort and I went to the *Scorpion* (the gunboat detailed to guard the Embassy) and had a royal reception and inspected the boat. On Sunday I then went alone to the college—but I feel as though I wrote you all this so I'll skip it—if I didn't write it, I'll tell you about it when you are here. We had intended to go on the *Scorpion*, but instead we drove to the seven Towers of Jedi Kulet, and walked on top of the ramparts and then for one hour along the old wall—it was a bewitching sight—the sun was shining brightly, the Marmora made up the background, and the wenty or thirty towers along the wall in various stages of decay, with the moat alongside, made a never-to-be-forgotten impression on us all. As usual, Mortie took a number of pictures and Abdullah guarded us most carefully. It takes this kind of absorption of the history of a country to teach one what these people really are. This city is unquestionably the most favored by nature of any I have ever seen. It excels New York and San Francisco.

On our way home, we stopped to inspect the Kahri Jeh Janisi Mosque—the oldest in C.—it was formerly a Greek Church and the paintings of Christ, Saint Mark, the old Bible heroes, and angels, etc., are still here in mosaic—much finer than in the San Marco in Venice. We were shown through by an old Turk who could give half-intelligent descriptions of the mosaics, etc., in English and German. We wended through many narrow little streets, inhabited largely by Greeks, and it was a most interesting sight. It was nearly two when we sat down to dinner and none of us complained.

On Monday I had a great day. In the morning, representatives of the Austrian *Kultur Gemeinde* called to invite me to attend their synagogue and visit their school; they instruct about 300 children. I agreed to do so. I took my first meal away from the house at Tokatlians—the best restaurant here—had Schmavonian with me. At two, we were at the Finance Office for an interview with Talaat Bey—who is acting Secretary of Finance as well as Secretary of the Interior, and the strongest and most powerful man in Turkey at present. I am already on good terms with the men in power. We had coffee and cigarettes four times that P.M. We next called on the Minister of War, General Izzett—he wore a shabby uniform, spoke German, and was really disconsolate—they are a very frank people if they talk at all—he made some very confidential communications to me. The rumor or hope has gotten around that I may prove their Moses who will lead them out of their difficulties. Let us hope so; I'll try anyhow. Next we called on Colonel Djemal, the newly appointed Minister of Public Works. I tried to dodge the coffee—but he said a call in Turkey without coffee is no call. He was of a hopeful temper and rather dapper. Then we called on Osman Mardighian, the Postmaster General. He speaks good English and is very able—devotes his time to adminis-

Courtesy Robert College

ROBERT COLLEGE

The American-endowed university for men at Constantinople, overlooking the Bosphorus. Many of the leading men of Bulgaria were educated here, as well as many prominent Turks, Armenians, Greeks, and Jews

trative works. When I got to the office, I had to dictate a few despatches and say good-by to Mr. Phillip, who is going on a four weeks' leave of absence. At 5 o'clock, the Grand Rabbi and his Secretary came—he is a very intelligent, nice, youngish man of forty or so—he thinks he has the Red ticket settled, but has not and I shall have to help in disposing of it. While he was upstairs, Helen discussed the White Slave traffic—babies in the Hospitals, etc., etc. She really does well at the tea table. It is a picture to see one of those tea scenes. Helen, Chief Rabbi (addressed as His Eminence, as he ranks with the Church dignitaries of the rank of Cardinal), Sir Edwin Pears, Sir Henry Woods Pasha, Rev. Mr. Frew, the Rabbi's Secretary, Schmavonian, Mort, and I; and I have to listen to French and fortunately am beginning to understand it. They left at 7—I worked at those telegrams until 7:30—then went to bed for a nap and over-slept, not wakening until 8:25, so that we reached the British Embassy at 8:40, the last of the guests! You can't imagine my feelings as I was ushered into that room in which were thirty other guests, including the Grand Vizier, Talaat Bey and three other Cabinet Ministers, the Wangenheims, D'Ankerswaerd and other Sirs and Ladies, and had them all look me over—when

"The American Ambassador"

was announced. I felt, "Is it I or not?" Then, "Mr. and Mrs. Fox" are announced. And then, "Dîner est servi!" I took in Madame D'Ankerswaerd. Escorted her to her seat and then went to the other side of the table where I was seated next to Baroness Wangenheim, a fine, good looking, typically aristocratic German—a charming conversationalist. She is W's second wife—he divorced his first. W. is a great personal friend of the Emperor. Sir Louis Mallet, the English Ambassador, sat on the other side of Baroness W. After dinner we smoked and drank coffee and talked to others than our table companions, while fifty or sixty others gathered for a dance. Such a sight! And to think that we are part of it—Young Princes, Barons, Sirs, and Americans from the Embassies, etc., and lots of Turks and Egyptians, etc. I shall never forget it. Helen sat right opposite me—between Baron Wangenheim, all be-decorated, and

The Summer Embassy (Upper picture) Mr. Morgenthau's summer residence on the shore of the Bosphorus

At the Jerusalem Consulate. At either side of the group are a Turkish guard and a *cavass*. In the centre, the Ambassador and Mrs. Morgenthau, Mr. A. K. Schmavonian, and Mr. Morgenthau's daughter, Mrs. George W. Naumburg (the "Ruth" of the narrative)

A Turkish graveyard. Mrs. Mortimer J. Fox in the foreground whose letter signed "Helen" is quoted in the accompanying article

A GRADUATING CLASS IN CONSTANTINOPLE
At the Constantinople College for Girls, one of the great American-endowed institutions of learning which Ambassador Morgenthau signally served during the war

AN LL.D. OF A GIRLS' COLLEGE
Ambassador Morgenthau in scholastic robes after receiving his degree in Constantinople

Colonel Djemal (Turk) in full uniform. I talked with Baroness Moncheur—we have struck up a nice friendship—with Marquis Pallavicini—Talaat Bey, and Miss Wangenheim, etc., etc., until about 12, when Wangenheim asked me to play bridge with him, a Turk, and a Greek banker—which I did until 1:30, when the dancing was over and they all went in for supper, etc. (I went home) and then they danced again until 2:30 or so. I thoroughly enjoyed it, I am not overstating when I repeat what I said in a previous letter—I am *very glad* I came.

To-day—at 11—a call from the Bulgarian Minister. In the afternoon I finished my official calls on the Cabinet Ministers—called on Mahmoud Pasha of the Marine, Ibrahim Bey—Secretary of Justice, the Dutch Minister, and Mrs. McCauley (the wife of the commander of the *Scorpion*.)

Mesdames Pallavicini, Bompard, Moncheur, Wangenheim, and Willebois are the popular and fine women here, and they are out of the ordinary—you will like all of them and they will like you. Pierre Loti is wrong, so far as this winter is concerned—we have had no cold weather. Yesterday and to-day were delightful—the thermometer has not been below 45°.

On the same day as the foregoing, my daughter Helen (Mrs. Fox) also wrote her mother a letter which adds new touches of color to some of the scenes described in mine. She wrote as follows:

So much to write about! Yesterday afternoon I had Mme. de Willebois and Mme. Eliasco to tea, and after they left (Mme. de Willebois is the Dutch Minister's wife), papa sent up word that "His Eminence" the Chief Rabbi and his Secretary were here and would like tea. They trotted up, and His Eminence is an awfully nice soul, garbed in a flowing black *gouri* and a fez, be-turbaned in white, something like a combination of a Greek priest and a Hadja. He is very learned, especially about archæology as related to the Jews, and was interesting. In the meantime, Woods Pasha, Sir Edwin Pears (a marvelously interesting man and English lawyer here), and

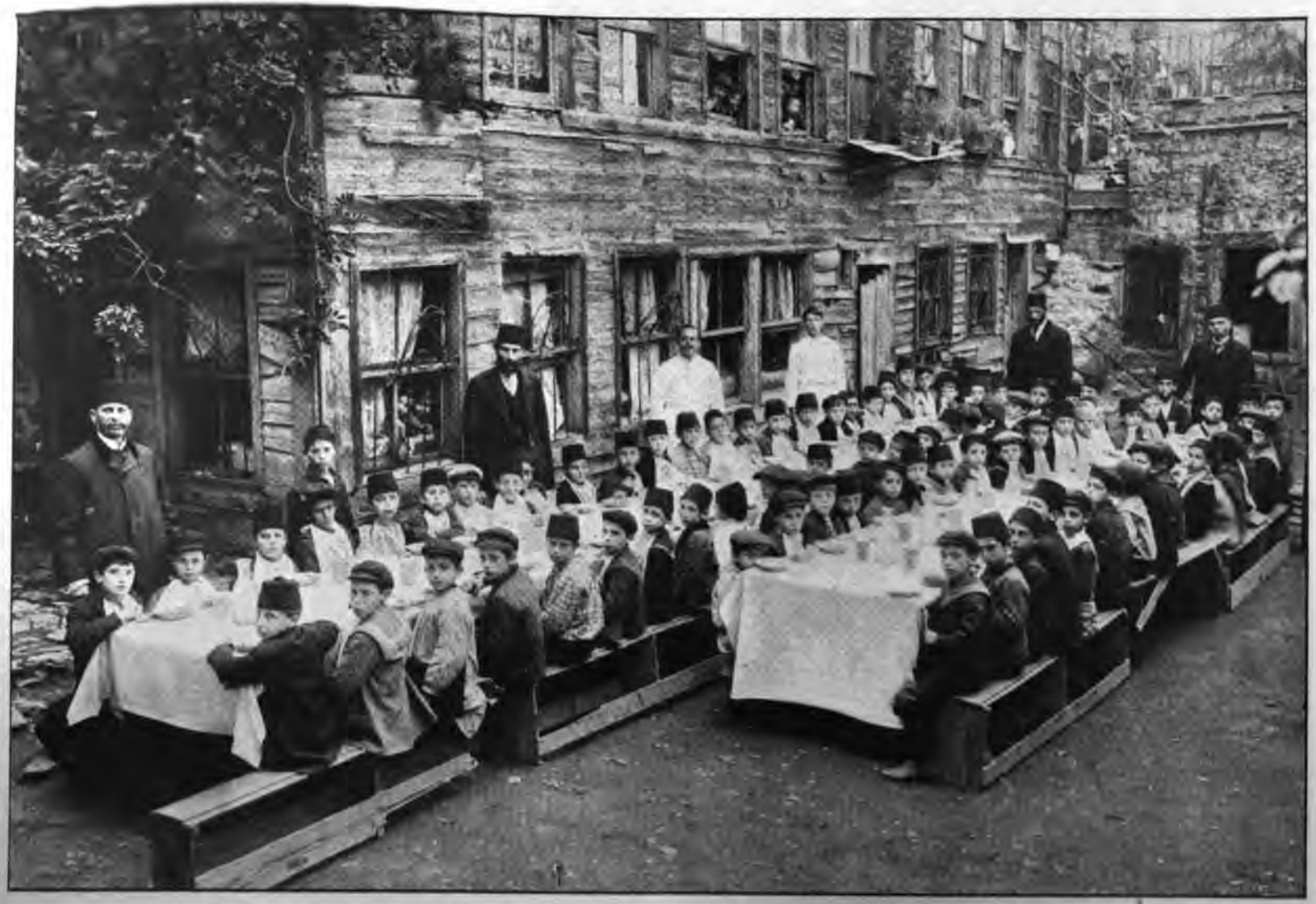
HELPING IN WAR WORK

Ambassador Morgenthau (centre of upper group) and Mrs. Morgenthau (lower picture) devoted much energy to aiding the hospitals in Constantinople during the war

AT THE AMERICAN RED CROSS

Mr. Morgenthau (in the centre of the group) devoted much time to this establishment. Next to him is Sister Jeanne, the head of the French nunnery at Constantinople. At the right of the first row is G. Bie Ravndal, American consul-general, and Dr. Peet, Treasurer of American missionary interests

Mr. Frew (a Scottish minister who was pastor of the English Church in Constantinople) arrived. I kept thinking how interesting they all were, but would they leave me any time to dress for dinner! I had been to Scutari in the morning, sightseeing with some of the College faculty, and had brought them home to luncheon. Mr. Frew left, at 7:30, and I was so busy trying to make myself gorgeous that I completely forgot papa who fell asleep and did not wake up until 8:15. The dinner was at 8:30. Of course, we were all blaming each other and not ourselves and tearing around, whistling for coats, servants, etc. We finally tore up to the English Embassy at twenty minutes to nine. Never in my life have I experienced anything so wonderful. The Embassy is very large and imposing. Two marvelously uniformed *cavasses* stood at the door inside, where powdered footmen in knee breeches, about twenty of them, were also stationed. As we came to the stairs, the second Secretary received us and assured us we were not late. However, we were the last! We then took off our coats and were ushered into the drawing room, outside of which stood a little colored page dressed like an Egyptian slave. Sir Louis Mallet seems awfully nice. He is a bachelor, rather nice looking, and very shy and diffident, and wears a monocle. So many people came up to greet us. Then dinner was announced. I went down with a Turkish member of the Cabinet, and sat in the next to the place of honor. Baron von Wangenheim sat on the other side of me. I think he likes to flirt. At any rate we chatted in German and had quite a gay time together. The table had quantities of roses (all from Nice) on it. The only light in the whole room was from huge, massive, silver candelabra, standing on mirrors all along the table. We had silver dishes and soup plates. The meal was served in the usual rapid-fire English style. Papa sat between Lady Crawford and Baroness Wangenheim. Everyone goes in according to rank, and consequently, usually husbands and wives sit with each other's better halves. The Turk ate most heartily



A FEAST FOR JEWISH ORPHANS IN CONSTANTINOPLE

Following President Wilson's remark to him, that "anything you can do for the Jews in Turkey you do for America," Ambassador Morgenthau devoted a great deal of time to studying their conditions in Turkey proper and in Palestine, and aiding them in all practicable enterprises for their advancement

THE CREW OF THE "SCORPION"
The American patrol boat attached to the Embassy at Constantinople, entertained by Ambassador Morgenthau. Most of the young women in the picture are the Greek wives of the American sailors

and told me afterward he didn't know whether he'd get any dinner the next night or not. At dinner it was funny—on the other side of the Turk sat Mrs. Nicholson (née Sackville-West), a beauty, and with the most gorgeous emeralds! She afterward played poker with five Turks, as her husband informed me. My partner told me he hated formal dinners, it was so uncomfortable eating in a uniform. After dinner there was dancing, and heaps of people were asked for that. I danced quite a bit, but was so tired from my terribly busy day that we left at twelve o'clock. Papa played bridge and didn't get home until 1:30. The English Embassy is lighted entirely by candles and really the effect is wonderfully beautiful.

Next day—This morning Mme. Elise, the children, and I, accompanied by the ever present Abdullah (the body guard), went to Therepia in a motor to find a house for the summer. It is just heavenly. You simply cannot imagine how perfect it is. The houses have the most beautiful gardens and are right down on the Bosphorus, which is so blue; and from one's windows one looks across at Asia. Papa is going some time to decide finally, as this was just a preliminary survey. We picked violets and a rose, just think of it, on December 22nd! But it is quite cold at times. The gardens are so inviting, and I can just imagine tea parties and all kinds of thrilling things happening in them. This afternoon I had two Turkish ladies to tea—Halide Edi Hanum and her mother. They came in their *yashmaks* and we had Mme. Elise serve the tea. Halide is a graduate of the College and a real beauty. She is tall and dark, with almond-shaped eyes, and has a beautiful complexion; and she is so gentle and soft and charming. She speaks in the sweetest voice, and what do you think she is doing? Translating Oscar Wilde into Turkish! Her mother is the daughter of the sixth wife of a very great Pasha, and her grandmother was a Circassian slave girl. The mother cannot speak anything but Turkish, and she smoked all the time she was here. I gave her some candy and a box of American cigarettes to take home. Halide doesn't smoke, and anyway, if she went into a ball-room at home she'd create a sensation, she is so charming. You simply cannot imagine how lovely it is here and I just relish and cherish every moment. Baron von Wangenheim hopes you will take a house right next to him this summer. He wants to ride with Ruth. Beware, Ruth!

A STRANGE PYGMY PEOPLE

A Tribe of South American Indians, Four Feet High, Who Were Amazed at the Appearance of White Men

By GEORGE P. BUSCH

Mr. Busch, an athlete of Syracuse University, joined a party of oil prospectors last January, and with them penetrated Colombia, South America, where they had the adventure which he tells about in this article. The party took along a moving picture outfit with which they recorded the pygmies in action; some of these pictures are here used as illustrations.—THE EDITORS.

WE LANDED on the coast of South America at Cartagena, looking for oil. Then we asked the people who traveled in and out of that dirty town, who had seen puddles, thick and black? Who had seen a rainbow film on the surface of a swamp? Who had seen lakes that were pitchy and cracked and sticky—asphalt? There were as many different reports of these things as there were folks questioned. But Mike Spellacy, who had been there before, was quick to choose. It seemed to be a pretty safe bet that there was asphalt, at least, in the Sierra de Perija. Besides, figured Mike, that country is almost unexplored and there was an old Padre in a mission beyond the Magdalena, who told some queer tale about a crude lost tribe up there—he would make us a good guide.

When we put the finishing touches to our equipment by buying such things as could be had in a stale South American town, we told where we were going, and the people of Cartagena began to grin.

The Sierra de Perija! Nobody ever went there! The mountains were full of cannibals. So we spent a few thousand pesos on life insurance in the form of handkerchiefs, beads, bright-colored cloths, cigars—stuff that would be easy to carry and good for bribing wild men. These things proved useful, in another way.

After three days in native boats along the Magdalena River, we struck into the country for four days more until, thanks to Mike, we found the Spanish mission at La Grange. Padre Camilo stood on the doorsill and roared a welcome to us five gringoes. The Padre was one of those monks who vow never to let a razor come near his face, so he looked like a grizzly bear. His eyes were dark caves; his beard was like a great clump of bushes; he wore a broad-brimmed straw hat, sack cloth shirt like a nightgown, and baggy trousers hitched up like a couple of empty gunny sacks. He had a big heart and a big bulk, and that is how he managed all by himself to be the whole civilized world to the Indians I am going to tell you about. Nobody else could have done that job better than our hairy old Padre.

If you will take your atlas and examine Magdalina Province, half way between the Caribbean Sea and Lake Maracaibo, you will see a great area of ten thousand square miles, cut by rivers, and a lake or two, but almost a blank in respect to names. Civilization which puts names on maps never yet invaded the jungles of the Sierra de Perija where "nobody ever goes."

We followed a mule trail for several days until the last settlement, consisting of shacks of mud and sticks, had been passed. Then for a week we struggled along ridges where the growth was thin, and along brooks, and part of the time the peon boys used their *machetes* to hack a thicket and get us through. It was all up and down: great heights where the night was slow to fall, deep valleys under a cloud of steam—but it was mostly up.

After a two weeks' scramble, one morning we pushed aside the last bush which grew between the world we know and the little world of strangers. We were perhaps 3,500 feet high and the place we found was the only clearing in all that jungle. It was about five miles

WHERE THE PYGMY TRIBE LIVES

The red line shows the route which Mr. Busch and his party took when they discovered the "lost tribe." Padre Camilo, the guide, lived in a mission at La Grange which was separated by forty miles of trackless mountains from the strange Indians, whose approximate location is shown by the black star

long and a mile wide. The place might, if seen without the heavy forest growths that shut it in, have been taken for a part of New England. Here was some rolling land with grassy fields, broken by jutting rocks and clumps of clean trees.

Padre did not hesitate, but guided us toward a curious sort of community. Four canopies were grouped together in a hollow. Each was made of a matting of large flat leaves, resembling the leaves of a banana tree, with their stems twisted together to make a slanting roof supported from seven to four feet above the ground, by flimsy poles at careless intervals. Each of these canopies was the shelter of ten or fifteen persons who were either sitting on the ground or walking around doing little, if anything. There was no pretense of walls for these "shacks" so that the people of the community had a clear view in every direction and saw us as soon as we came into sight. Right away we found ourselves surrounded by about fifty red pygmies. They had the high cheek bones and narrow eyes of Mongols, but not one was over four feet tall—and mostly they were stark naked. They seemed to be neither hostile nor afraid; but they just stood around and grunted. They recognized Padre, because when they had recovered a good deal from looking at us, they began to bark at him with grunts that quickly increased in number and volume. Indeed, as they got unlimbered, the abdominal grunting trailed upward and off in squeaks of excitement. There was a rising and falling of strange voices that sounded like a squall at sea. And we could see that the strain on the pygmies was great. After we had lived among them a few days, I found that their language was about all grunts down in the pit of the stomach; but when they felt like we do when we pound on the table, their voices grew high and trailed off. For example, the word for "far" was just a short grunt, *penapa;* but the expression for a long way off was *penaaapa*, which was pitched higher and higher and prolonged indefinitely to show some tremendous distance. That is why, on the day of our arrival, there was no wail high enough or long enough to fit the situation.

The pygmies said that we were the first white men they had ever seen—except Padre, who was dark like a Spaniard and who hid behind his beard anyway. We soon saw that this must be true.

began to examine our size. We were us small—I am six feet three and the our were large men—but in a New York we could pass for the average. Now we seated ourselves on a stone, these es came and lifted up our feet with both and gave long grunts, and then made ns showing that they thought our legs like tree trunks. But the wonder of ers was our white skin. We had been out weather and tropical sun and were not y pale, except compared to our little red s. Moreover, I am blond, and the effect e sun had been to bleach er than darken my y hair, so that the rast with the straight k spikes of the Indians e them wonder and laugh y time they saw me with hat off. There was always eap of fun when one of us led up a sleeve and exposed white man's arm. They en tried to call our bluff d rubbed the arm as hard they could, trying to rub ff the white paint. When hat failed they got a bright dea. They got us to open our shirts! That did give them a start—to discover that we were really white all over.

We soon found that the pygmies could count to four and *no farther*. They had words for numbers up to four, and they reckoned all the way there on the fingers of either hand. Of course, there was the thumb—but it simply never occurred to any one that a thumb could be counted. As for adding two hands together to make higher numbers, I soon found out about that when I tried to tell them how far we had come. I held up four fingers to stand for four days' travel—of course, one day's travel was only five miles to them, but it was too complicated to try to clear up that point. So all right, four fingers, four days. I took down the fingers and held them up a second time. A little trouble, but all right, they seemed to get the idea. Another four. What's that? Never heard of so many? Never mind, try again. Another four. Stop! They threw up their hands. They quit. It was too much.

You see how we were up against it in trying to bring some simple message from the outside world. We were in over our depth even before we got started telling them anything.

When we questioned these people as to what they knew of the world outside, we found they knew nothing and had no curiosity. Save for a very short penetration into the jungle where they fished and swam in a stream, they had never looked beyond. But they told us of other people who were cannibals, and lived in a distant village by the name of Masorta. None of them had ever seen such a place, but they had all heard about it, and the rumor of it was a great piece of gossip among them. There was a suggestion of some curious connection between that tale of the cannibal village and an incident that Padre told us about:

PADRE CAMILO

The old Spanish missionary who acted as guide to the party, and who, previous to the visit of the five American oil prospectors, had apparently been the only connecting link between the "lost" tribe and the outside world

These people had not been unheard of in the valley west of their mountains, although they had never been seen save by the patient Padre. The Motilone Indians who live below the Sierras are well known. It was one of those whose body was found one day on the lower mountain slopes, where it lay like a big porcupine, shot through and through by 150 arrows. But those arrows, said Padre, were exactly like the ones which our pygmies used. Some of the forefathers must have gone wandering out into the world, been scared by a sudden meeting with strangers, and returned to spread around their only tradition.

The bow and arrow was their only weapon. The men carried them wherever they went, probably because, before we arrived, they never went anywhere unless it was to get food. The women never carried bows. These weapons were made out of tough black palm wood strung with twisted cotton. The arrows were of the same material and notched so as to catch like the prong of a fish hook. But some of the arrows had iron heads bound on with

ONE OF THE PYGMY "VILLAGES"

There were four of these communities about a mile apart. The habitations consisted of canopies of flat leaves with no pretense of walls; under each roof there dwelt from ten to fifteen little people, none over four feet tall

cotton cord. We thought, here is a sign that they know something; but Padre informed us that he had brought them the iron arrow heads on a previous visit; just as he had also introduced corn and sugar cane which grew in small patches around the valley. Before Padre had come, the sole food of the tribe must have been snails, fish, monkeys, and, rarely, a deer and some fruit, because the only thing else they ate during our visit was some of our supplies.

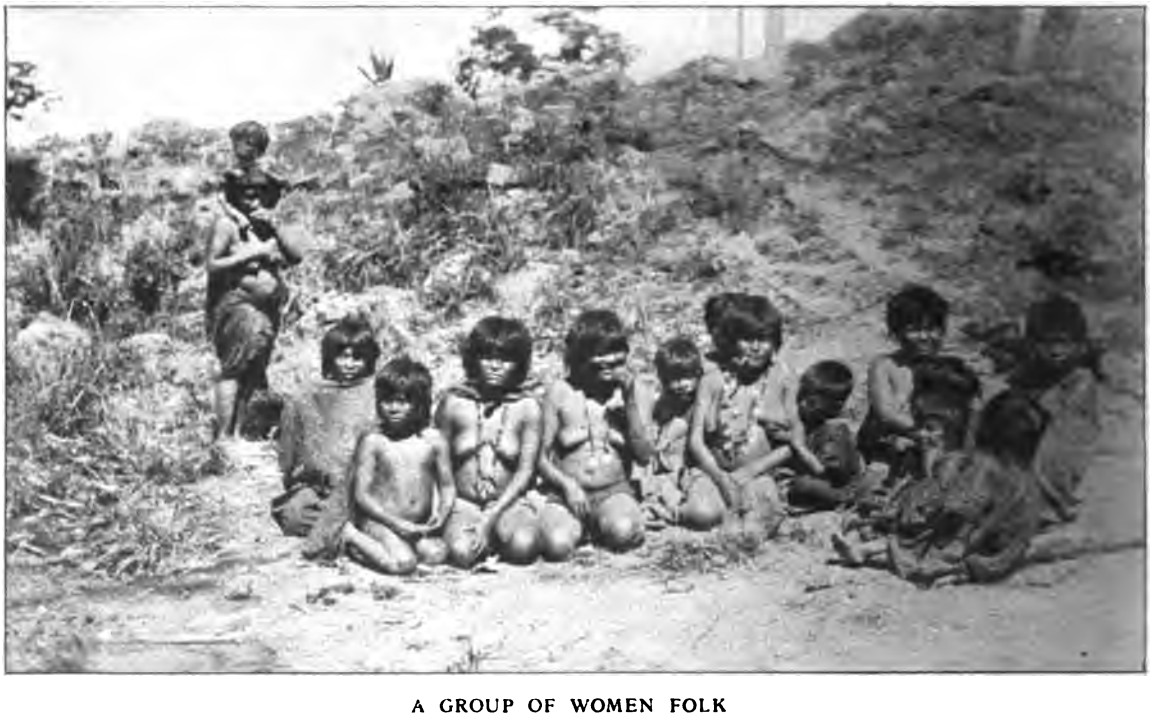
One of the handiest things about these people was the way they caught fish with their bows and arrows. I greatly enjoyed watching the proceeding. The little men waded into the stream up to their waists and stood there as still as a rock waiting for the fish. Perhaps the fisherman would hold his bow so that the point of the arrow was just under water, but not always. If you have ever watched a fish which is unaware of danger, you know that its course is not a steady one. It darts here and there, but between each dart it is practically motionless, as though taking its bearings. The pygmies watched their prey while it zigzagged among the rocks under the water, until finally it came within a few feet of the waiting man and quivered there for an instant, considering where to turn next. But that was the fatal instant, the bow string twanged, a long black arrow slipped under the water, and a few moments later there floated up the body of a fish transfixed by a black palm rod.

Shooting monkeys was different. Monkeys make harder targets than fish, so it was not often that a monkey which was spry among the high branches could be killed outright with an arrow. A special way had to be figured out. A weak spot was cut near the centre of the arrow, and a small cross-stick was fastened at that point to keep the shaft from going into the monkey too far. That shows with what force they were shot. Then a fairly long cotton cord had its two ends tied to the two halves of the arrow, and the slack in between was wound around to keep it from interfering with the flight. What happened? Suppose the monkey was struck but not killed. He would make off screeching among the branches, and right away that part of the arrow which was left sticking out of his hide would get broken off, and go falling toward the ground unwinding the cord. The animal, nearly crazy with pain and fright, would go jumping up and down and back and forth, with half of the arrow still with him pulling the cord along. So, in a jiffy, he got hopelessly tangled up. After that, as long as the monkey meat lasted, the Indian who caught him had nothing to do. About the only thing that made them stir a foot was the need to get something to eat.

At first, I couldn't figure out how they were going to prepare the animal for the table. Besides their being no table, I could not see any knives or kitchen utensils either. There

A PAIR OF JOLLY ABORIGENES

The only weapon of these people was the bow and arrow, and their only garment was a coarse blanket woven out of raw cotton. Only the men were allowed to carry bows or wear the blanket



A GROUP OF WOMEN FOLK

Most of the people in this group are from thirty to fifty years old. One on the left is carrying her little boy astride her neck in a characteristic way. Some of the others are wearing aluminum identification tags, which would usually mark a geologist's sample of soil or asphalt

HOME LIFE

A close-up view of a flimsy canopy, showing the body of a deceased relative bundled in matting and hanging under the roof just to the right of the centre. There is also shown, in the process of manufacture, one of the raw cotton blankets colored by a dye made from berries and twigs

THREE GRINGOES WITH THE PYGMIES

Three of the old prospectors who were the first white men ever seen by this "lost" Indian tribe, with the exception of Padre Camilo, a bearded Spanish priest

THE FISHING PRESERVE
The little people seemed never to have penetrated the jungle that shut them in, farther than a stream where they fished

SHOOTING FISH WITH BOWS AND ARROWS
Wading into the water, they waited for a fish to pause near them, when, like a flash, they pierced it with an arrow

were rough clay vessels for holding water, but those would not do for this purpose. Therefore, when a monkey was caught while we were there, I was on hand to see what would happen.

Two pygmies took the animal, one by its arms, the other by its legs—so to speak—then standing on opposite sides of the fire they swung the body back and forth through the flame. This went on for some time, perhaps an hour, but time was of no consequence. At first the hair of the animal was burned off, and then gradually he was roasted. When it came to eating the meal, the partakers seemed to be the family of the man who had brought in the monkey; but with various families under the same roof it was not clear which people belonged to which family. At any rate, the hands and the head—that is the brains—which were considered the choicest parts went to the two who had patiently swung the rations back and forth through the flames.

In the meantime, what was the chief duty of the women, besides minding the children? They put their babies astride their necks and went out to spots on the hillsides protected from the winds where wild cotton grew. When a mass of this was collected, a stone was tied to the lower end, and then twirled. Thus the cotton was slowly pulled out and twisted into cords. The coarse blankets which the women wove out of this raw cotton and colored with dyes made from berries and twigs was the only proceeding you could call an industry. These blankets were the sole native article of clothing, although the nights were cold at that altitude. But for some unexplained reason, the women and children never wore a blanket —that garment was only for the men. If there were some frocks on the children the explanation lay in the load of Padre's mule.

Next after "industries," what about the religion of those people? Alas, their religion

was neither traditional nor otherwise—it was lacking. They spared effort and exercised no ingenuity on worship. I saw no apparatus, no behavior, and no person that might be identified with spiritual things—with one exception. When one of them died the relatives did a peculiar thing, which might have had some connection with a soul. At any rate, the deceased was buried for six months—that is what Padre Camilo called it—and then the remains were unearthed and tied up in a matting, which was woven out of grass in the same way that the robes were woven out of cotton. This grewsome bundle was then for another six months, suspended under the roof of the canopy where the person had lived. During which time, while the bones decorated the home, the relatives caroused. That is, they tried to eat more monkey brains and hands than usual, and they drank *chicha*, which was really fermented corn soup and as strong as whiskey. When the ceremony of the dead, if that is what it was, was completed, the remains were laid away under a boulder on the hillside.

WHAT PADRE DID

Two women who are wearing frocks that Padre Camilo provided and necklaces that the Americans had brought to tame cannibals with. Both these women are full grown

The social arrangements of the tribe were chaotic so far as the family was concerned. There were no ceremonies, and the only custom governing marriage was that a girl child at about seven years of age would be sent away to another canopy from that in which she was born. Thus, she would be adopted as a daughter-in-law at a tender age and brought up as a member of her husband's family. Frequently, the husband was old enough to help do the bringing up. Once when I was "talking" to one of the men, he took his bow and banged his little wife over the head, while she grinned approvingly. This act was to illustrate how he had treated another wife who was at that moment wandering about in one of the other three communities, broken-headed; but probably not broken-hearted since family ties were not so binding but what they were severed easily.

This banging on the head with a bow was not only a means for ejecting one's wife, but it was a favorite pastime. Sometimes in fun, sometimes for punishment, they were always doing it.

The oldest man of the tribe was called Chief Marino—that is what we called him, taking our cue from Padre. The chief had a corrugated head. He had been so beaten with a bow during his life of indefinite length that his nearly bald head was ridged, so that the tufts of hair which still grew on his red skin resembled coppices on a plowed field. Marino was proud of that badge which was the only token of his chiefdom. In all other respects save his age—in his surroundings and authority he was not different from the others.

In fact, here was the perfect realization of the doctrine of equality. There was no one with authority, no apparent government. "Houses"

WHITE GIANTS AND RED PYGMIES
Some of the party of average sized Americans who were feeling tall beside the four-foot Indians they had discovered. Padre Camilo is the bearded man on the left

were all equally flimsy; each person "dressed" alike; and each was absolutely independent of everyone else.

It may seem as though I had described a wretched people. They were backward, indeed, so far back that they hadn't gotten beyond the bow and arrow stage. But they were not wretched, in the sense of unhappy. They were without care or worry, there were no taxes, servant problems, oppressive armaments, or other complications. I never saw a more care-free people. They were always smiling, and men and women alike were given to a deep jolly laugh. They were jolly, although there wasn't anything up there to be jolly over, unless it was the beads, handkerchiefs, aluminum tags, and so forth, that we gave them. Instead of taming cannibals with these things, it was really just giving to the tamest people in the world some funny toys, to watch them laugh. But we gave them the biggest treat of all at the end of our visit:

There didn't seem to be any crocodiles in the river, perhaps it was too high, so the five gringoes decided to take a swim. Padre was invited to come along, but he only patted us and rumbled his regrets. Down on the stony beach, just below the place where the pygmies fished, we stripped off our dusty shirts and breeches. Then the fun began. Some of the little red men who were standing around with their bows and arrows couldn't keep it to themselves. They fairly croaked with excitement. They sent back word for the whole population to get a move on and come down to the river. The four "villages" came, babies and all—only the relatives who were rolled up in matting were left behind. So, we went in swimming. But do you think that they stood on the shore and watched? No sir, we *all* went into the water together. And so, next to our arrival, that farewell swim in the unnamed river was the most exciting thing that ever happened in the history of the tribe.

Those are the simple facts. When I now look around on the buildings and the noisy, crowded business called civilization, it seems strange, indeed, to think how differently other people are living on the same globe. It is then that my thoughts find a long mule trail across Colombia, through deep jungles, and finally up into a little clearing in a dip of the mountains; and then I wonder if Padre is at that moment there again, with another mule pack of wonderful things for two hundred little red people.

ADVENTURES IN ARABIA'S DELIVERANCE

THE TURKISH ARMY PASSES

By THOMAS E. LAWRENCE

SO GREAT a chance must be extended and improved, and we went to Nuri Shaalan, Auda, and Talal to ask them what local effort they would make. Talal, the energetic, spoke first. He would take Ezraa, the big station and grain depot just north of us. Auda said he was for Ghazale, the station to the south. Nuri offered to sweep his men down the main road from Damascus toward Deraa, on the chance of finding stragglers pushing northward. These were three good ideas, and the three chiefs went off to carry them out while we pulled the column together and went forward past the ruined colony of Sheikh Miskin in the moonlight. Near dawn, we camped out on the stubble plain for a short rest before making Sheikh Saad, our intended base. There were thousands of us, and our order was all confused by the obstacle of the water ditches of Miskin. Some made fires, others lay down as they were, on the dew-laden ground in that penetrating misty chill of the Hauran plateau. There was no rest, for hundreds of men were wandering about looking for their friends and calling them in that sharp full-throated wail of the Arab villager. The moon had gone and the world was black and very cold.

A little later, I roused my body-guard and we rode briskly on in front so that we entered Sheikh Saad with the rising sun. As we came through the narrow place between the rocks into the field of the olive yards the earth woke to life again. The morning airs moved the sparkling silver mass of olive leaves merrily about, and men ran out from a great goat-hair tent on the right calling us in to guest with them.

The parties of the night returned and reported. Talal had taken Ezraa which had been feebly defended by Abd el Kader, the Algerian renegade who had betrayed us at Deraa in 1917. He had his personal followers, some volunteers and troops, with two guns and some machine guns. The volunteers joined Talal when he came, the troops fled, and Abd el Kader had to abandon the place without fighting. He rode off angrily toward Damascus. Talal could not pursue, for his men were heavy with the great booty of Ezraa. Auda came in, saying that at Ghazale he had taken a derelict train with guns and two hundred prisoners including Germans. Nuri Shaalan sent to report four hundred prisoners, mules and machine guns. The prisoners had been farmed out to remote villages to work for their keep till called for.

An English airplane appeared and flew about us, wondering if we were the Arab force or not. Young put out ground signals, and on him they dropped a message to say that Bulgaria had surrendered to the Allies. We had not even heard that there was an offensive in the Balkans, so the news seemed too good and too sudden. However, there it was circumstantially, and it was one more proof that the end, not only of our war but of the Great War, was very near. We thought that just one more sharp effort and our trial would be over, with everyone able to go back to his affairs and forget his recent madness; because, for most of us, it was our first war and we looked forward to its end as rest and peace.

The army now arrived and the fig groves and the palms and olives were all thronged with men and camels, as each detachment picked out the best empty place and unsaddled there. The animals went to water at the stream while we wandered through the gardens, seeing green bushes and flowers and cultivated fruits, things to which we had been for years quite strangers in the flinty desert. The people of Sheikh Saad came shyly to look at us. Feisal's army was a famous legendary thing, whispered of for years, and here it was in all its diversity, led by people renowned or formidable, Nasir, Nuri, Auda, the Druses, or Sukhur, names with which to hush children even in the daytime. We stared back at them, envying the sight of normal peasant life sheltered from the current of war, and engaged in its accustomed husbandry.

We let the men stretch the saddle stiffness from their legs after the days of movement, while we went up, some five or six of us, to the height above the ruins to look out over the southern plain and see the measure of security in hand for us. To our astonishment we saw in the valley just over the walls a straggling company of men in uniform, Turks, Austrians, Germans, with eight machine guns on pack-animals. They were toiling up from Galilee toward Damascus after their defeat by Allenby, hopeless but careless, marching at ease and thinking themselves twenty miles from any war. We did not give an alarm, in order to spare our tired troops further pains. Durzi only, with the Khaffaji and other members or tenants of the family, mounted quietly and fell on the enemy unexpectedly from a narrow lane. The officers showed fight and were killed instantly. The men threw down their arms, and in five minutes had been searched and robbed, and were being shepherded in file along the water-paths between the gardens into an open pound which had become our prison. Sheikh Saad was beginning well and easily.

Next, away to the westward appeared three or four black knots of people, moving north. We loosed the Howeitat on them. An hour later they returned in laughter, each man leading a mule or pack-horse, poor, tired, galled brutes showing all too clearly the straits of the beaten army. Their owners had had no arms, were just ragged Turkish soldiers fleeing from the British, and the Howeitat had disdained to make such prisoners. "We gave them to the boys and girls of the villages for servants," said Zaal with his thin-lipped smile, and, indeed, it was the merciful course, for there they would be fed and allowed to sit about and help on the threshing floor till there was a government to enquire for them. Had he collected them in their thousands about us, they would have perished of hunger and diseases.

THE RISING ARABIAN FLOOD

AN HOUR afterward, a boy came running to say that small companies of men, some still commanded by their officers, were coming east from Jisr Benat Yakub, retiring broken from the attacks of the Australians. We sent out against them parties of Naim, the great peasant tribe of the northern and western Hauran who had joined us as appointed last night at Sheikh Miskin. All the villagers, from the Kuneitra road to the railways on the east and south, were now arming and going out to do what they could to any weak bodies of the enemy within their district. The mass rising, so long and carefully prepared by us, was now in flood, rising ever higher as each new success armed more and more of the rebels In two days' time we would have at our orders, in movement beyond the Jordan, about sixty thousand armed men under local control of those chiefs who had been long in correspondence with us. The careful teaching and preaching of Ali ibn Hussein, Nesib, and Faiz in these districts was now bearing the proper fruit.

There were other small affairs to the east on the Damascus-Deraa road, and then, suddenly, we saw heavy smoke rising from Deraa. A short while afterward a horseman galloped in to say that the Germans were burning the last five airplanes and their storehouses, and that the Turks were about to leave the town. We sent scouts to give us long warning of such movement, and then a British airplane visited us to say that our Fifth Division was near Remthe, and that two Turkish columns, one of four thousand and one of two thousand men, were moving toward us from Mezerib. Talal became anxious, for the indicated route of the second column would bring it through Tafas, his own village. We sent off at once a warning along the threatened road and called up half our mounted infantry, with most of the Hotchkiss and two mountain guns, to march down south and fight the enemy on the way. We thought to seize the ridge south of Tafas and attack them suddenly on the flank as they came unsuspectingly along the track. These six thousand men were probably all the remains of the Seventh Army, retreating before General Barrow.

TURKISH CRUELITIES

UNFORTUNATELY, speed was only a relative term with troops so worn out. Nuri Said undertook to start them off, and I rode away at once with my troopers, hoping to occupy a shadow position and fight a retiring action till the rest came up. On the road, mounted Arabs met us, herding a drove of stripped prisoners toward Sheikh Saad. They were hurrying them mercilessly and the bruises of the driving were sharp and blue on their pale skins. However, I left them to it, for they were Turks from the police battalion of Deraa, beneath whose iniquities the Arabs of the neigh-

borhood had wept not merely tears, but blood innumerable times, and I thought that if they for once tasted the bitterness they customarily inflicted, the lesson would not kill them; and might even make them thoughtful.

The Arabs told us that the Turks were mostly cavalry, Jemal Pasha's lancer regiment, and were already entering Tafas. When we arrived within sight we found the news true. They had taken the village, and there were just occasional shots and small pyres of smoke going up between the houses. They had halted around the village. On the rising ground this side of it, knee-deep in the dried thistles, were a distressed remnant of the inhabitants: old men, women, and children, telling terrible stories of what had happened when the Turks rushed in an hour ago.

It was too late to do anything before the others arrived so we stayed on watch, crawling down quite near through the thistles till we saw the enemy re-form column and march out in an orderly body toward Miskin, cavalry in front and behind, infantry and machine-gunners on the flank, guns and transports in the centre. We opened fire on the head of their line when it showed itself beyond the houses. They made an active return with two field guns which they unlimbered behind the village. Their shrapnel was ranged too long, and passed over our heads into the rough. At last Pisani and Nuri came, and with them Auda, and Talal nearly frantic with the tales his people poured into him of the sufferings of the village. The Turks were by now nearly quit of it, and we slipped down behind them to end the suspense, while our infantry opened a strong fire with the Hotchkiss, and Pisani's high explosive threw their rearguard into confusion.

The village lay there quiet before us, under its slow wreaths of white smoke, while we rode toward it guardedly. There were some gray heaps in the long grass, pressed into it in the close way dead bodies lie. These we knew were Arabs. But then a little figure tottered away from one, as though trying to escape from us. It was a child three or four years old, whose dirty smock was stained red all over one shoulder and side. A little nearer and we saw that it was blood from a large half-fibrous wound, perhaps from a lance-thrust, just where neck and body joined. The child ran a few steps, then stood still and cried out to us, in a tone of astonishing strength (all else being very silent), "Don't hit me, Baba." Abd el Main choked out something (it was of his own village and perhaps of his family) and flung himself off his camel to stumble kneeling in the grass beside the child. His suddenness frightened it, for it threw up its arms and tried to scream, but instead it dropped in a heap, while the blood rushed out again over its clothes; and then, I think, it died.

We left Abd el Main there and rode on past the other bodies, now seen clearly in the sunlight to be men, women, and four babies, toward the village whose loneliness we knew meant that it was full of death and horror. On the outskirts were the low mud walls of some sheep folds, and on one lay something red and white. I looked nearer and saw the body of a woman folded across it, face downward, nailed there by a saw-bayonet whose haft stuck hideously into the air from between her naked legs. She had been pregnant, and about her were others, perhaps twenty in all, variously killed, but laid out to accord with an obscene taste. The Zaagi burst out in wild peals of laughter, in which some of those who were not sick joined hysterically. It was a sight near madness, the more desolate for the warm sunshine and the clean air of this upland afternoon. I said: "The best of you brings me the most Turkish dead"; and we turned and rode as fast as we might in the direction of the fading enemy. On our way we shot down those of them fallen out by the road-side who came imploring our pity.

THE DEATH OF TALAL

TALAL had seen something of what we had seen. He gave one moan like a hurt animal, and then slowly rode to the higher ground and sat there a long while on his mare, shivering and looking fixedly after the Turks. I moved toward him to speak to him, but Auda caught my rein and stayed me. After some minutes Talal very slowly drew his head-cloth about his face, and then seemed to take hold of himself, for he dashed his stirrups into his horse's flanks and galloped headlong, bending low in the saddle and swaying as though he would fall, straight at the main body of the enemy. It was a long ride, down the gentle slope and across the hollow, and we all sat there like stone while he rushed forward, the drumming of his horse's hoofs sounding unnaturally loud in our ears. We had stopped shooting and the Turks had stopped

shooting; both armies waited for him. He flew on in this hushed evening, till he was only a few lengths from the enemy. Then he sat up in the saddle and cried his war-cry "Talal, Talal" twice in a tremendous voice. Instantly, all their rifles and machine guns crashed out together, and he and his mare, riddled through and through with bullets, fell dead among their lance-points.

Auda looked very cold and grim. "God give him mercy. We will take his price." He shook his rein and moved slowly forward after the enemy. We called up the peasantry, now all drunk with fear and blood, and sent them from this side and from that against the retreating column. Auda led them like the old lion of battle that he is. By a skilful turn he drove the enemy into bad ground and split their column into three parts. The third part, the smallest, was mostly made up of German and Austrian gunners, grouped round three motor-cars which presumably carried high officers. They fought magnificently and drove off our attacks time and again, despite our desperation. The Arabs were fighting like devils, the sweat blinding our eyes, our throats parched with dust, and the agony of cruelty and revenge which was burning in our bodies and twisting our hands about so that we could hardly shoot. By my orders they were to take no prisoners—for the first time in the war.

At last we left this section behind us and went on after the other two. They were in panic, and so by sunset we had broken the last pieces of them and left all the rich plain behind us scattered over with the dead bodies of men and animals. The peasants of the villages on our track had joined us, on horse or foot, each man picking up a rifle and his ammunition from the enemy as we brought them down. There was a madness in us, born of the sights of Tafas or the story of it, so that we killed and killed, even blowing out the brains of the wounded and of the animals as if their death and running blood could slake the fire in our brains. Just one group of us, who had been on the flank all day and had not heard the news, took prisoners—the last two hundred men of the central section. That was all.

TALAL'S PRICE

YET their respite was short lived. I went up to learn why it was, willing, myself, that this last remnant might be left alive as witnesses of Talal's price; but a man on the ground beyond them screamed out something to the Arabs, who with pale faces led me down to him. It was one of ourselves whose thigh was all shattered by a bullet, and whose blood had rushed out over the red soil and left him dying. Yet even so he had not been spared. In the fashion of to-day's battle he had been further tormented. Bayonets had been hammered through his shoulder and uninjured leg deep into the ground, to pin him out like a collected insect. He was still fully conscious. We said: "Hassan, who did it?" He drooped his eyes toward the prisoners standing there so hopelessly broken. We ranged our Hotchkiss on them and pointed to him silently. They said nothing in the few moments before we opened fire; but at last the heap of them ceased moving. Hassan was dead, and we mounted again and rode home slowly (home was just my carpet at Sheikh Saad) in a gloom which chilled us now that the sun had gone down.

However, I found that I could not rest or speak or eat for thinking of those who had taken away from us Talal, the splendid friend, the fine horseman, the courteous and strong leader. After a few minutes spent in trying, I had another camel brought and with one of my bodyguard rode out in the night toward Sheikh Miskin to join our men who were hunting the Deraa column and learn the news. It was very dark with a wind beating in great gusts from the south and east, and by the noise of shots carried across to us, and occasional flashes of rifles, we at length came to the place of fighting.

THE LAST REMNANT OF THE TURKS

OUR men were clinging on tenaciously. The darkness had made them bolder, and they were now closing right in on the Turkish detachments, and firing into them at short range. The peasantry of each village on the way were taking up the work, and the night was full of rifle-shots and shouting, volleys from the Turks, and wild rushes of hoofs as small parties of one or the other side galloped up frantically in the icy wind. The Turks had tried to halt and camp at sunset, but had been shaken into movement again. Some had marched, some had remained behind. Many dropped asleep in their tracks with fatigue as they went. They had lost all order and coherence, and were drifting through the storm in lost packets, ready to shoot or run at

any contact with us or with one another, and the Arabs were as scattered as they and almost as uncertain. The exceptions were the detachments of Germans, and here for the first time I grew proud of my enemy. They were marching northward almost without hope, without guides, and in conditions mad enough to break the nerves of the bravest men. Yet each section of them held together, marching in firm rank, driving through the wrack of Turks and Arabs like a battleship. When attacked they halted, faced about, took position, fired to order. There was no haste, no noise, no hesitation. It was glorious.

After great difficulty and some risk I found Khalid and asked him to call off all the Rualla possible, and leave the rest of the enemy to time and the peasantry. These fugitives about us were beyond use in any future army, for a child might drive them. Heavier work, perhaps, lay to the southward. There had been a rumor at dusk near Tafas that Deraa was empty and Trad, with the rest of the Aneze, had ridden off to make sure. I feared a reverse for him since there must still be men in the place, and many more struggling toward it up the railway and through the Irbid hills in expectation of safety there. Indeed, unless General Barrow had lost touch with the enemy, there must be a fighting rearguard yet to follow. Disaster at this eleventh hour of certain victory would be deplorable, and yet a simple fate for the Arabs in their distracted situation, and I wanted Khalid to go and help his brother Trad with all his fellows that he could collect from the night battle.

He agreed at once, and after an hour or two spent in shouting his message down the wind, hundreds of horsemen and camelmen had rallied to him. On his way to Deraa he had several fights with escaping Turks, riding through and over formed detachments in blind charges under the stars. When they arrived after midnight they found Trad in secure possession. He had arrived just at dark, taking the station at a whirlwind gallop, jumping the trenches, and blotting out the scanty elements which still tried a resistance. Then they had plundered all the camp with the help of the local people, especially finding booty in the fiercely burning storehouses which the German troops had fired just before the place was lost. They entered these and snatched goods from beneath their flaming roofs at peril of their lives. But this was one of the nights in which a man goes crazy, when death seems impossible however many others die to the right and left of him, and when their lives seem just toys for him to break and throw away.

Meanwhile, the regular troops at Sheikh Saad had passed a troubled evening, all alarms and shots and shouts, with threatenings to murder the prisoners of the morning to add to the price of Talal and his village. The great Beduin leaders were out with me or hunting the Turks, and their absence, and the absence of their followers deprived the Arab camp of its chiefs and of its eyes and ears. The old sleeping tribal and family jealousies had come to life in the blood-thirst of such an afternoon of killing. Nasir and Nuri Said, and Young and Winterton were up and about nearly all the time, busied in maintaining peace. I got in long after midnight, and found Trad's messengers just arrived with news of Deraa; Nasir left at once to join him. I had hoped to rest a little, for this was my fourth night in the saddle; but my mind was too active to let me be still, so that I might feel how tired my body really was. So I mounted on a third camel at about two in the morning, and splashed out of the place and down the Tafas road again toward Deraa.

Nuri Said and his staff were riding the same way, and our parties hurried along together till the half-light came. Then my impatience and the cold would not let me travel horse-pace any longer. I gave liberty to my camel, the grand but rebellious Baha, and she stretched herself out against all the field, racing them for mile upon mile with great piston-strides like a machine, and entered Deraa quite alone in the full dawn. The men in the smoking ruins of the military stores told me where Nasir was, and I rode past my old hospital, now gutted by the fire, and over the bridge up into the town. He was in the Sheikh's house, and there we worked together for a time, arranging the police and government and inquisition of the place. We put guards over the pumps and engine-sheds, and then the outposts came in to say that they had seen the English and exchanged signals with them just west of the town. I went out up the first slopes of the Buweib and there met Barrow and his staff. So our campaign ended.

THE TOWNS, THE HOPE OF RUSSIAN DELIVERANCE

How the Bolsheviki Will Probably Fall and What Will Follow Them

By HUGO W. KOEHLER

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MY SOJOURN with the armies of Denikin and Wrangel convinced me that forces attacking the Bolsheviki from the outside would never succeed. My experience with the peasants on the land, in both the Red and the White territories and amongst the armed peasant bands of the Ukraine, all alike gave me the conviction that while the peasants preferred the Bolsheviki to the Czar's Government they disliked the Bolsheviki intensely and thought of their régime as merely temporary. At the same time, their lack of leaders and communication made it exceedingly unlikely that the successors to the Bolshevist leaders would be direct representatives of the peasantry, even though peasant opinion must weigh heavily in the eventual settlement.

It was, therefore, particularly important to study the feelings of the townspeople toward the Bolsheviki, since the towns have suffered far more than the peasants at the hands of the Reds. For the more one sees of the inside of Russia, the more definite does the conclusion become that the Bolsheviki control Russia only because of their control of the two great cities, and of communications. This in turn enables them to keep the other towns in check, but even the most enthusiastic Bolsheviki will not pretend that they have any control of the country districts except such as the army enforces. Yet no amount of hatred of the Bolsheviki can give the leadership and organization necessary for a national programme to peasants whose horizon is limited literally to their own fields; so it is to the townspeople that we must look for the initiative in the regeneration of Russia that is so surely coming. Their experience and organization, the presence of former leaders, all these elements make the task of organization much simpler than in the case of the peasants. Nor does the concentration of Soviet power in the cities weigh too heavily against the chances of such an uprising, for in the towns there is also a concentration of disillusioned workmen who are kept in order only by the soldiery and the control of the bread line. The long period of semi-starvation has played directly into the hands of the Bolsheviki. For the spirit of the townspeople is broken, their brains and wills are as weak and starved from lack of food as are their bodies; their sufferings have left them flabby. On the other hand, actual starvation would force even these flagging wills to bestir themselves in the search for new leaders and a new system that would actually provide the necessities of life instead of promises only. From all of which it would appear that either starvation or plenty will mean grave difficulties for the Bolsheviki, for once these townspeople get sufficient food inside of them to restore their stamina, the interior weakness of Bolshevism will give them an opportunity once more to take a hand in their affairs.

Perhaps a brief account of the conditions in a typical medium-sized town would most readily make clear this feeling of the townspeople. Such a town is Alexandrovsk. I found it a discouraged looking city despite its large buildings and boulevards, for the streets were filthy and all the shops on the main streets were boarded up. With a normal population of about fifty thousand, it had, during the last two years, received an addition of nearly a hundred thousand refugees from the north. All gave the same account of Bolshevist outrages, of ceaseless requisitions, of all manner of oppressions at the hands of the countless Jew officials and Commissars, of women of the former middle and upper classes being practically prisoners in their own houses for months at a time, and of the general horror of the Bolshevist régime. The atrocities by the

Bolsheviki apparently were much less during the second occupation than during the first, but the oppressions and the tyranny of the Jewish officials became progressively worse as the occupation continued.

I stayed at the house of the formerly very prosperous owner of a large local agricultural implement works. With much bitterness he told me that the Reds had taken all finished machinery from his factory, saying that it belonged to the workmen, and they then ordered him to continue production, but under conditions that in themselves made production impossible. Upon the entry of the Bolsheviki all factories promptly closed down and none had ever started up again. Some of the workmen had taken up bartering in foodstuffs and old clothing, etc., others were forced into the army, and many—particularly the upper and middle classes—had left the city and were eking out an existence by working for the peasants. This exodus from the cities of the greater part of the upper classes was observable everywhere.

The city had been governed by a Council of Five, appointed from Moscow, there being no local participation in the government—not even by the local Bolsheviki. In addition to two Tchresvechaika bureaus, one for the city, the other for the district, there were bureaus of all sorts, each with many officials and clerks. Not only were all public buildings and schools occupied as offices, but many of the former shops, restaurants, the two hotels, etc., were likewise crowded with officials. The greater part of these officials were Jews. As the local jail had been burned by the Bolsheviki when they first came to town, the cellars of these office buildings had been converted into prisons by the simple expedient of filling them with the huge daily crop of offenders, and locking the cellar door. The greater number of offenders were those who had failed to report in obedience to the published work list, or were under charge of counter-revolutionary activities.

All men between the ages of eighteen and fifty, and women between eighteen and forty, were required to work whenever called upon by the Soviet authorities, and without pay. For this purpose the population was divided into six categories; first, workmen actually at work, and women with children less than five years old; second, workmen actually working, and women other than those with small children; third, bourgeoisie, merchants, and people who did no "useful" work, *i. e.*, professional men; fourth, the sick and invalid; fifth, Communists and officials; sixth, employees of officials. As a matter of actual practice, only the second and third categories were called upon to do public work.

LIFE ON A "BOURGEOIS" STREET

ALL persons were required to register and were assigned a work number. The former practice had been that the numbers required for work were listed in the newspaper bulletin together with instructions concerning when and where to report for work. Of late, however, this system had been replaced by the simple announcement that all people belonging to the category desired, and living on a certain section of the street mentioned, would report for work at time and place designated. My host lived on a so-called "bourgeois" street, *i. e.*, the best residential street, so although he was not in very robust health he had frequently been called upon to clean streets, etc., and twice to handle lumber, while his wife had cleaned the stairs of the Bolshevist office buildings and had washed clothes for commissars. On the other hand, I saw people who lived in the poorer quarter of the town who had never been called on to do any work whatever.

It happened that one of the men who had come with me was a native of Alexandrovsk, and his mother and sister, whom he had not seen in more than two years, were still living there, having been unable to leave during the Bolshevist occupation. They repeated the same stories of the shooting of many so-called "White Parasites" and alleged counter-revolutionaries, and all the hundred-and-one oppressions we had already heard so many times. His sister, a very capable young woman, said that she had rarely left the house during the Bolshevist régime, and then only in rags, for if one had good clothes one would be stopped in the streets and told to hand them over then and there.

In answer to my question as to what good the Reds had accomplished, she said they had made theatres and concerts free and had open-air movies almost every night in the summer; in fact, the poor now had many more amusements of this sort than ever before. The Bolsheviki had also established two playgrounds, but for the children of workmen only, children

of the "bourgeoisie" were not allowed to use them. Also, the Bolsheviki had announced that they were going to open schools and soup kitchens for young children, but this had never been done, as all schools, except the three which were conducted by the synagogue, had been closed.

THE WORK OF A LOCOMOTIVE REPAIR SHOP

IN ALEXANDROVSK is a large railroad repair shop which had often been mentioned in the Bolshevist wireless communiqués, so I was much interested in visiting it, in the first place with a view to establishing the accuracy of the communiqués, and also to see whether the work said to have been done had actually been accomplished. I immediately got in touch with the master mechanic who had worked in these shops ever since his apprenticeship in 1889. When the Bolsheviki first came, they decided to do away with the master mechanic and shop foremen, and had turned the works over to a Council of Workmen. As little was accomplished under this régime, a new council was elected, and then another and another, until some dozens of councils had succeeded each other in rapid succession. By this time it had of course become evident that there would have to be some one definitely centralized authority, but all workmen wanted to be chiefs and no workmen would take orders from another workman whom he considered no better than himself. So the result was that nothing at all was accomplished, although the workmen were given high pay and great privileges, such as being allowed to purchase food and clothing at the Communist Stores.

The final departure from Bolshevist principles came when the Moscow authorities decided to make use of the former factory owners, and accordingly formed a committee of former proprietors. This committee was given a voice in the management of the factory with the further proviso that if the factory actually got to work and produced, the former owners on this managing committee were to receive a small share of the profits in return for their services. Things then went somewhat better for a week or two, but after that the Workmen's Council refused to carry out the plans of the Owners' Committee and things remained at a standstill.

During the last occupation of the Bolsheviki there was an important change in their attitude toward the master mechanic and foremen. In normal times the master mechanic had received nearly twice as much pay as the most skilled workman, but when the Bolsheviki first took charge they had given him the same pay as the ordinary workmen. Later, however, the pay of the master mechanic and foremen had been greatly increased, every attempt being made to attach them to the Bolshevist régime, and the workmen were ordered to follow them until new chiefs could be developed from among the workmen. However, the workmen received the same pay and privileges whether they worked or not, so little was accomplished, and the factory finally dwindled down from more than a thousand workmen to about one hundred and fifty when I was there. In the last five months various odd jobs had been done, and work was going on on a large number of locomotives, but repairs on only two had been completed. During normal times this factory had employed about 720 men, and completely overhauled and repaired from 100 to 120 locomotives a year. Until lately, during the Bolshevist régime, the same number of men were employed—and at times even more—but never were more than two locomotives repaired in any one month, and the work was not as thorough. The master mechanic said that occasionally Moscow and Kharkov papers came to town, and he used to read official statements in *Pravda*, the Bolshevist newspaper, that in the preceding month the Alexandrovsk shops had repaired 141, or 174, or some other number of locomotives, and also that entire new locomotives, varying in numbers from three to eleven, had been constructed, but as a matter of fact, not more than two locomotives had ever been repaired in any one month, and no new construction had ever been undertaken.

THE "PRODUCTION" OF A TEXTILE FACTORY

HERE, too, I was able to check up on an official Bolshevist statement that in August of last year a certain textile factory had turned out about 25,000 *arshins* of new cloth. Actual investigation on the spot developed that what had really happened was that the Bolsheviki had found a certain amount of cloth hidden by the former factory owners upon the approach of the Bolsheviki, and that no new cloth whatever had been made. In the factory mentioned in the official statement not a wheel had moved for more than a year,

as all the leather belts and the engine bearings had been stolen, and no attempt had been made to restore them.

In answer to my question as to the present feeling of the workmen for and against Bolshevism, this same master mechanic said the great bulk of workmen were sick unto death of Bolshevism, for though under the Red régime they could loaf and still draw pay, not one of them was as well off as he had been formerly. However, there were some workmen, say about 5 per cent., who still preferred Bolshevism and always would, simply because they could never exist so comfortaby under any other system, inasmuch as they were fundamentally opposed to real work. He said that he was certain that a secret ballot would result in an overwhelming vote for a return of the factory to the owners. He added, however, that that did not mean that the men would ever go back to prerevolutionary conditions—for most emphatically they would not, they had had their eyes opened these last years, even if no other good had come to them; but they had no faith in Bolshevism any longer, and would return to any régime that offered peace and order.

BOLSHEVIST OCCUPATION TACTICS

PARTICULARLY interesting were the reactions of those towns which, after a period of Bolshevist rule, were restored to a more normal régime under Denikin and Wrangel, for such towns afforded valuable data for an estimate of the chances of eventual success or failure of the Bolshevist régime. Accordingly, I talked to many town officials, and at great length to the mayor of a large city (for obvious reasons I omit the name) concerning conditions under Bolshevist rule, their general plans and procedure, and also concerning the outcome of it all. He recounted the entire year's history of the occupation of his city by the Reds, and his wife added many gruesome details. He said that the last occupation, in December, 1919, was the third time the Reds had come, and each time with increasing violence. The first step was to requisition all large houses and furniture, much of which was sent away. This was followed by "mandate" requisitions, *i. e.*, an order for the Bolshevist Commissar to select such things as the Soviet Government required, which meant, in short, that almost everything of value would be taken. No receipts were given, no payments of any kind were made.

On the first and second occupations, all persons suspected of counter revolutionary ideas were arrested, and many—not less than 800 or 900—were shot. On the last occupation many were arrested, but all were sent to a large town in the north, for trial. The mayor knew of no one who had ever returned from beyond the river Lethe, as they had named the small stream to the northward of the town. All material in shops had been requisitioned, all shops and factories had been closed, all private trade and industry had been stopped. Although this city is the centre of one of the richest grain districts in Russia, and the last harvest had been excellent, there was a great shortage of bread, which was procurable only by cards, or from Jew speculators at exorbitant prices. For the distribution of bread cards, the population was divided into the usual three categories: first, Red officials and clerks, workmen, children under nine, women with small children; second, the sick and unable to work, widows of Red soldiers or officials, women who worked, *i e.*, had no servants and served in the Communist organizations; third, all others. No definite amount of bread was given to any category, but the second and third received fractional amounts of that given the first category.

The mayor repeated that when the factories were first nationalized, *i e.*, taken away from the owners and turned over to the Soviet Council, the control was vested in a Committee of Workmen, elected by all workmen in the factory. This committee was later replaced by another Committee of Workmen appointed from Moscow. This committee was in turn supplanted by an expert administrator appointed by the Soviet Council, and the workmen had no voice whatever in regard to the management of the factory, pay, or working hours. The only strike attempted was punished so summarily that it was not repeated. The last questions I asked were whether Bolshevism could continue its existence in Russia, and what good it had accomplished. The mayor answered that he could not see how Bolshevism could continue, for no work of any kind was being done, and none could be done under such conditions. He said that Bolshevism had lasted thus long only because it had the accumulation of other generations and systems to live on, when such accumula-

tion came to an end, and the end was in sight, Bolshevism must perish because it could not produce. As for the good the Reds had done, he said that there was no single good thing that he knew of, save that they had announced splendid plans for the care of young children —plans which were never carried out, however.

To achieve a real success, it is obvious that the Bolsheviki must restore industry and trade, *i. e.*, the towns; but on the other hand, once strengthened, it may well be doubted how much longer the people will submit to a system to which they are fundamentally opposed. So even in its success, it would appear that Bolshevism, as such, contains the elements of its downfall. I think the mill-worker in Akimovka expressed the idea of thousands when he said that formerly the Russians had a czar, a fool to rule them, and taxes were very bad, but bread was five kopeks a pound and plentiful, and a man could get shirts and shoes and sugar and tea and tobacco all he wanted. Now Russia was ruled by very clever men, and there were no taxes at all, but bread was 500 roubles a pound and scarce, and neither shirts nor shoes nor sugar nor tea nor tobacco were to be had. All this does not mean that Russia wants a czar. Rather does it mean that Bolshevism requires vital reforms—reforms so great that will change the very character of Bolshevism, yet produce a system closely allied to it—with fewer of its bad characteristics and injustices, more of its good qualities, and none of its tyrannies.

WILL A CATACLYSM COME?

IT IS not at all impossible that a cataclysm will come; in my opinion it is sure to come, and Bolshevism, as such, will fall; but it will not be because of any of these so wonderfully clever plans of former Russian officials, or because of the gossip and wailing of émigrés in foreign capitals. Unless all indications fail, it will be because of certain very simple and fundamental reasons; because Bolshevism is founded on an unsound economic principle, because frightful conditions become utterly unbearable, and, oddly enough, because of the wide divergence of Bolshevist practice from Bolshevist principles and professions of principle.

There are many elements which would hasten the downfall of Bolshevism, such, for example, as its fundamental weakness in that it is not Russian, but is controlled almost entirely by Jews; that it represents an exceedingly small minority; and moreover the fact that since it is based on arbitrary military force it requires the constant exercise of that force to keep it in power. These are the fundamental causes of its failure, but the immediate cause of the wreck—the rock that will sink this ship that seems to be sailing along so gorgeously—will be the fact that Bolshevism cannot get the wheels of the factories to turn round, for in this day and age any system which cannot produce is doomed—and doomed fairly quickly —just about as soon as the accumulation of the stores of the previous producing system are exhausted.

However, this fact of the eventual fall of the Bolsheviki need not cheer up the reactionaries unduly, for although it is not unlikely that Bolshevism will be succeeded by a short period of anarchy, and out of anarchy usually comes a dictator, still Russia will not for long stand for reactionaries, even though the latter may have a very brief term. My own opinion is that the régime that will eventually succeed the Bolsheviki will much more closely resemble Bolshevism than reaction; it will be liberal, even very radical, and socialistic, in part, at least, *but not communistic*. Historical precedent would have it that the period of the dictatorship will be short if the dictator is of superlative quality, either good or bad, and rather longer if he is not so distinctive. That is, if he be a really great organizer like Napoleon he will accomplish his work in a comparatively short time and will then be overthrown; if, on the other hand, he is without great organizing power, he will automatically be thrown out; if he is neither great nor small he will probably muddle along for longer than either a greater or a poorer man could do; but the end will be the same in any case, a republic. All Russia is on the lookout for this dictator, and every new leader that crops up is examined in the light of his aptitude for the job. European opinion has already outlined the specifications for this dictator in general accord with Tolstoi's famous prophecy of "The Man from the North." In the interior of Russia, too, they have defined him and very definitely, but along broad and simple lines: he must be strong enough to seize the power and hold it while he gives peace and order to his people. And he must think clearly enough and pronounce himself simply to be understood by the millions.

In connection with the numerous uprisings in Russia, it would be amusing were it not so pathetic, that as soon as news of an uprising that seems to have the slightest chance of success against the Bolsheviki filters into Paris, almost every little group of Russian émigrés in all Europe tries to pretend to itself, as well as the rest of the world, that this particular uprising in Russia is being engineered by each particular group's own particular correspondents in Russia. But the men who will run the new Russia are the men who are suffering there now, and are working there now, and who will be working there when the crash comes—not those who are talking now and waiting for a nice healthy chance to go back to Russia and take charge when most of the hardships and all of the dangers are over.

THE FUTURE OF RUSSIA

WHENEVER I am questioned concerning the future of Russia, I think of a large town in the Ukraine I saw under Bolshevist conditions and again some months later after its release from Bolshevism. At the time of my first visit not a single mill was working or had been working for more than a year. No shops, save a few government depots where rations were issued, had been open for months. The streets were filthy, and in parts of the town the stench was frightful, even though the many dead horses on the streets had not had time to add their quota. On the occasion of my second visit, some months after the departure of the Bolsheviki, I noted that the streets had been swept, there was no refuse about, and though the town could not be called clean according to any European standard, still there was no stench, and the improvement in general was very marked. Yet even more conspicuous than the improved appearances, were the signs of activity of all sorts. Every one of the thirty-odd flour mills in town was running full blast—even those which required anthracite managed to shuffle along somehow on fuel made of soft coal and sunflower seed residue. Food, though considerably dearer than before the war, was, nevertheless, very plentiful now and much cheaper than in any place I've known in many years—and the hotels and restaurants, all closed before, were doing a thriving business. In addition to the flour mills, the local tannery, a brickyard, a veneer factory, etc., had started up, and although pretty feeble, they were actually turning out much-needed products. On my visit to the shops, and in my conversations with the town officials, with shopkeepers, people in the workmen's libraries, people before the bulletin boards, etc., I found a general optimism. They could now buy cloth and tea, even shoes, they said, and consequently the peasants were bringing in their grain, and everything was starting up again.

All these observations brought me to the question of whether, after all, it would take the many years to restore Russia that so many prophets tell us will be necessary. I am wondering, too, whether this town may not really be a simple index of what will happen all over Russia in hundreds of towns exactly like it, which similar conditions brought to a similar pass; and when once again security and reward for individual effort furnish the incentive, and when individual effort puts its shoulder to the wheel and the wheels turn, whether it will not be that the regeneration of Russia will start with an impetus that will carry it along with the speed that the pessimism of these dark years has not allowed us to hope for? There are many signs that point in this direction—many indications of the vitality of the Slav spirit. This Bolshevism has been a frightfully painful experience in Russian history, but in spite of itself, and in spite of its cost, it has been a fruitful experience. And the thing to remember, if one would keep a sense of perspective, is that all this is but an incident—a small incident—in a great history. For within Russia there are many evidences that Russia's future is still ahead of her!

A FRIENDSHIP OF A HUNDRED YEARS

"The Fundamental Identity of Interest and Purpose" Which Has Kept the United States and Great Britain at Peace for More Than One Hundred Years and Which Promises to Keep Them Close Together in Future Crises

By JOHN H. LATANÉ

THE innumerable disputes that we have had with Great Britain from the passage of the Stamp Act to the present day, some involving serious conflicts of policy and other matters, more or less trivial, have obscured in the minds of both Englishmen and Americans the fundamental identity of interest and purpose in many of the larger things of life. For, notwithstanding the diverse elements that have entered into our population, our civilization is still English. This is what Bismarck had in mind when he remarked that one of the most significant facts in modern history was that all North America was English-speaking. Our points of contact with England have been so numerous that conflicts have been unavoidable, and yet because we have both, for the most part, played the game fairly, and placed our trust in law and justice rather than in force, we have maintained unbroken peace for well over a century. While there are many unsettled questions of a serious nature now pending between the two Governments, a review of our past relations will show that they are not more difficult than many others that have been amicably adjusted, and that in most of the grave international crises we have passed through, England has been our friend.

We have very naturally placed much greater emphasis on the American Revolution than our British cousins, who have always regarded it as a disagreeable chapter in their history. It was, indeed, a glorious epoch for us, but we should not overlook the fact that British opinion was itself divided, and that the three leading statesmen of the day, Chatham, Burke, and Fox, opposed the unwise policy of George III and Lord North, and worked hard for conciliation. No sooner had the fighting ceased than Anglo-Saxon solidarity reasserted itself. Our Peace Commissioners at Paris had been instructed by Congress to do nothing without the full knowledge and approval of our ally, France, but when Jay learned that the French Minister Vergennes was disposed to consider favorably the Spanish claims to the Mississippi Valley, he immediately opened secret negotiations with the British Government, and a preliminary treaty was signed without the knowledge of France. Thus the American Commissioners, in open disregard of their instructions, joined forces with the enemy to defeat the schemes of our allies. Great Britain preferred having us west of the Alleghanies rather than the Spaniards.

It was with the consent and approval of Great Britain that twenty years later we acquired the Province of Louisiana. In 1800, Spain was forced by Napoleon to cede this vast empire back to France, and the following year, during the interval of peace with England, Napoleon undertook the reëstablishment of French power in Haiti as the first step in the development of a colonial empire in America. Fortunately for us, the ill-fated expedition to Haiti encountered the opposition of half a million Negroes and ultimately fell a prey to the ravages of yellow fever. As soon as Jefferson learned of the cession of Louisiana to France, he instructed Livingston, his representative at Paris, to open negotiations for the purchase of New Orleans and West Florida, stating that the acquisition of New Orleans by a powerful nation like France would inevitably lead to friction and conflict. "The day that France takes possession of New Orleans," he wrote, "fixes the sentence which is to restrain her for ever within her low-water mark. It seals the union of two nations who in conjunction can maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. From that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation. We must turn all our attention to a maritime force, for which our resources place us on very high grounds, and having formed and cemented together a power which may render reinforcement of her settlements here impossible to

France, make the first cannon which shall be-fired in Europe the signal for tearing up any settlement she may have made, and for holding the two continents of America in sequestration for the common purposes of the united British and American nations."

MONROE AT PARIS

MONROE was later sent to Paris to support Livingston and he was instructed, in case there was no prospect of a favorable termination of the negotiations, to avoid a rupture until the spring and "in the meantime, enter into conference with the British Government, through their Ambassador at Paris, to fix principles of alliance, and leave us in peace until Congress meets." Jefferson had already informed the British Minister at Washington that if France should, by closing the mouth of the Mississippi, force the United States to war, "they would throw away the scabbard." The prospect of an early renewal of the war with England dispelled Napoleon's dream of a colonial empire, and Livingston, who had been negotiating in vain for New Orleans and West Florida, suddenly had the entire Province of Louisiana offered him. Jefferson's contemplated alliance with England was unnecessary, but we do well to remember that the author of the immortal Declaration of Independence placed national and racial interests above prejudice and could speak almost with enthusiasm of "holding the two continents of America in sequestration for the common purposes of the united British and American nations"—words prophetic of the action of Canning and Monroe twenty years later.

Meanwhile, the widely denounced Jay Treaty of 1794 had laid the foundations of modern international arbitration. Aside from the commercial clauses, which were responsible for its unpopularity, this treaty provided for the submission to joint commissions of the northeastern boundary, of the claims arising out of confiscated debts, and of those growing out of the illegal seizure of American ships in the war then in progress between England and France. Under the last head, the brilliant William Pinkney of Maryland conducted the American case in London and got awards aggregating $11,650,000, not only enhancing his reputation for legal learning and oratory, but winning an award that was not equalled in an international case until the famous "*Alabama* Claims" were settled. Great Britain paid the awards promptly and without question.

The War of 1812 resulted from our assertion of neutral rights in the desperate struggle between Great Britain and Napoleon. Neither belligerent recognized us as having any rights they were bound to respect, but the action of England was more overbearing than that of France, and it was accompanied by the odious practice of impressment, carried out frequently within sight of our very shores.

Neither side gained any great credit from the war. As a result of the superiority of the American frigate, we won a number of single-ship actions and notable victories on lakes Erie and Champlain, thus lowering the prestige of the British Navy. But we did not have a single ship-of-the-line and our commerce was eventually swept from the seas. In three campaigns we utterly failed to conquer Canada and our national capitol was burned by the enemy in retaliation for the burning by an American force of the Parliament House at York, the present Toronto. We were glad to let the war end with Jackson's brilliant victory at New Orleans, which, however, was fought after the Treaty of Ghent was signed and thus had no effect on the terms of peace. In fact, not one of the points in dispute was settled by the Treaty, but it was shortly followed by the agreement to disarm on the Great Lakes—an agreement which was destined to preserve peace for a hundred years and more along nearly four thousand miles of undefended frontier. This wise arrangement, effected by a simple exchange of notes, has not only saved both countries the enormous cost of maintaining navies on these inland waters, but it has prevented hostile demonstrations in times of crisis. We have had no mobilizations or demands for demobilization.

ANGLO-AMERICAN ARBITRATION AFTER 1812

SINCE the War of 1812 we have followed the procedure laid down in the Jay Treaty and settled by arbitration all disputes that would not yield to the ordinary methods of diplomacy.

In the assertion and maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine, Great Britain has played a part which few Americans appear to understand. In 1823, the affairs of Europe were still regulated by the alliance formed in 1813 for the purpose of bringing about the overthrow of Napoleon. At the Congress of Vienna, this alliance had tried as far as possible to undo the work of Napoleon and restore legitimate sovereigns to their thrones. In subsequent

conferences it showed itself equally reactionary, its main self-appointed task being to suppress the first symptoms of revolution that might occur anywhere, and keep the world safe for autocracy. As long as Great Britain remained in it, her statesmen exercised a restraining influence, for she was the only one of the allies which professed to have a representative system of government. As Castlereagh was setting out for the meeting at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, Lord Liverpool, who was then Prime Minister, warned him that, "The Russian must be made to feel that we have a parliament and a public, to which we are responsible, and that we cannot permit ourselves to be drawn into views of policy which are wholly incompatible with the spirit of our Government."

In 1820, there was a veritable epidemic of revolutions, beginning in Spain and spreading to Portugal, Naples, and Piedmont within a few months, and the following year witnessed the outbreak of the Greek struggle for independence. The powers at once took alarm, and their first step was to dispatch an Austrian army to Italy. England held aloof from the meetings of the allies which directed these operations, though her Ambassador to Austria was directed to watch the proceedings.

An important meeting of the allied powers was finally arranged for October, 1822, at Verona. Here the affairs of Greece, Italy, and more especially Spain came up for consideration. At this congress, all five powers of the Alliance were represented, England having sent Wellington out of self-defense. He was instructed to use all his influence against the adoption of measures of intervention in Spain. When he found that the other powers were bent upon this step and that his protest would be unheeded, he withdrew from the Congress. The four remaining powers, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, decided to confide to France the task of suppressing the revolution in Spain and signed a secret agreement to this effect. In the spring of 1823, a French army crossed the Pyrenees and in a few months restored Ferdinand VII to absolute power.

Having restored the peoples of western Europe to the absolute sway of their legitimate sovereigns, the Holy Allies, as they were called, now turned their attention to Spain's revolted colonies in America. They did not consider their task completed so long as these provinces remained unsubjugated. But here they came into conflict with the commercial interest of Great Britain. The British Government had with difficulty restrained the popular indignation aroused by the French invasion of Spain. Many of Wellington's veterans who had fought for years to drive Napoleon's troops from Spain, resented the presence of another French army in the peninsula rendered for ever famous by their deeds.

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN QUESTION

THE Spanish colonies had drifted into practical independence while Napoleon's brother Joseph was on the throne of Spain. Nelson's great victory at Trafalgar had left England supreme on the seas, and neither Napoleon nor Joseph had been able to establish any control over the Spanish colonies. When Ferdinand was restored to his throne in 1814, he unwisely undertook to refasten on his colonies the yoke of the old colonial system and to break up the commerce which had grown up with England and the United States. The several colonies soon proclaimed their independence and the War of Liberation ensued. By 1822, it was evident that Spain unassisted could never resubjugate them, and the United States after mature deliberation recognized the new republics and established diplomatic intercourse with them. England, although enjoying the full benefits of trade with the late colonies of Spain, still hesitated out of regard for the mother country to take the final step of recognition.

When, however, in the late summer of 1823, circular letters were issued inviting the powers to a conference at Paris to consider the Spanish-American question, George Canning, the British Foreign Secretary, at once called into conference Richard Rush, the American Minister, and proposed joint action against the schemes of the Holy Alliance. Rush replied that he was not authorized to enter into such an agreement, but that he would communicate the proposal at once to his government.

When Rush's dispatch reached President Monroe, he at once realized fully the magnitude of the issue presented by the proposal of an Anglo-American alliance, and before submitting the matter to his Cabinet, transmitted copies of the dispatch to ex-Presidents Jefferson and Madison for their advice. His letter and the replies that he received are of very great interest, particularly as showing that none of the three considered the isolation we had adopted as a permanent policy. Monroe's own

feeling was that the situation justified a departure from the "sound maxim" of avoiding entangling alliances, and that he ought to meet the proposal of the British Government. Jefferson replied with more than usual warmth, favoring the acceptance of the British proposal. "By acceding to her proposition," he wrote, "we detach her from the bands, bring her mighty weight into the scale of free government, and emancipate a continent at one stroke, which might otherwise linger long in doubt and difficulty. Great Britain is the nation which can do us the most harm of any one, or all on earth; and with her on our side we need not fear the whole world. With her, then, we should most sedulously cherish a cordial friendship; and nothing would tend more to knit our affections than to be fighting once more, side by side, in the same cause." In conclusion he added: "Nor is the occasion to be slighted which this proposition offers, of declaring our protest against the atrocious violations of the rights of nations, by the interference of any one in the internal affairs of another, so flagitiously begun by Bonaparte, and now continued by the equally lawless Alliance, calling itself Holy."

Madison not only agreed with Jefferson as to the wisdom of accepting the British proposal of some form of joint action, but he went even farther and suggested that the declaration should not be limited to the American Republics, but that it should express disapproval of the late invasion of Spain and of any interference with the Greeks, who were then struggling for independence from Turkey. Monroe, it appears, was strongly inclined to act on Madison's suggestion, but his Cabinet took a different view of the situation.

HOW CAN WE UPHOLD THE MONROE DOCTRINE?

THE message made a profound impression on the world, all the more profound for the fact that Canning's interview with Polignac was known only to the Chancelleries of Europe. To the public at large, it appeared that the United States was blazing the way for democracy and liberty and that Great Britain was holding back through fear of giving offense to the Allies. The Governments of Europe realized only too fully that Monroe's declaration would be backed by the British Navy, and all thought of intervention in Latin America was immediately abandoned. A few months later the British Government formally recognized the independence of the Spanish-American Republics, and Canning later made his famous boast on the floor of the House of Commons that he had "called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old."

The Monroe Doctrine was thus Anglo-American in origin. The original declaration would have been of little avail without the backing of the British Navy, and that navy has been an important factor in the subsequent assertions of the policy. Few Americans ever ask themselves the question: how is it that without an army, and until recent years without a navy of any size, we have been able to uphold a policy which has been described as an impertinence to Latin America and a standing defiance to Europe? We have been so little concerned with international affairs that we have failed to see any connection between the Monroe Doctrine and the balance of power in Europe. And yet it has been the existence of this European balance that has enabled us to maintain the Monroe Doctrine for a century without resort to force. No continental power has ever dared alone and single-handed to challenge the Doctrine for fear of the British Navy. Upon two occasions, attempts have been made to secure the coöperation of Great Britain in breaking down our favorite policy. The first attempt was made shortly after the beginning of our Civil War when Napoleon III persuaded Great Britain and Spain to unite with him in an alleged debt-collecting expedition to Mexico, but as soon as it became evident that the French Emperor had ulterior designs, Great Britain withdrew. Napoleon continued operations alone, and placed Maximilian on the throne of Mexico, but he got no support from England, and when, at the close of the Civil War, Secretary Seward demanded the withdrawal of the French troops, Napoleon reluctantly yielded and abandoned Maximilian to his fate, his decision being hastened by the approaching war between Austria and Prussia.

A second attempt to enlist Great Britain against us was made by the German Kaiser in 1902, when he persuaded Lord Salisbury to unite with Germany and Italy in a naval demonstration against Venezuela for the alleged purpose of collecting debts. When, however, Herbert Bowen, the American Minister, persuaded Venezuela to agree to arbitrate, England and Italy accepted the offer and withdrew their squadrons. The German Kaiser refused to arbitrate until President Roosevelt threatened to send Dewey's fleet, then in Porto Rican

waters, to stop further action against Venezuela. The Kaiser had to back down because he did not dare measure strength with the United States with the British Navy in his rear.

No phase of our relations with Great Britain has been the subject of deeper prejudice or more lasting resentment than the disputes arising out of the Civil War.

The main grievance was that the British Government permitted Confederate agents to build and purchase ships in British ports. On the question of the duty of a neutral to prevent the fitting out of a hostile expedition in its ports, international law was clear, but did this rule cover the case of an unarmed vessel? The *Alabama* and other Confederate cruisers procured in England received their armament and crews after leaving British waters, and the British Government disclaimed all liability. The United States held that Great Britain was liable for allowing the component parts of a hostile expedition to leave her waters. For several years after the close of the War the British Government continued to disclaim all liability for the damage done by the *Alabama* and other Confederate cruisers. Finally, in Grant's Administration, Secretary Fish succeeded in getting the "Alabama Claims" included in the Treaty of Washington, which settled a number of outstanding questions with Canada. England not only agreed that these claims should be submitted to arbitration, but agreed upon three rules to govern this case and be binding upon both parties for the future, which practically established the American contention.

The tribunal to which the "Alabama Claims" were submitted met at Geneva and awarded the United States $15,500,000 in direct damages. This award, the largest ever made in an international case, was promptly paid by the British Government.

THE TURNING POINT IN ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

THE Spanish-American War was the turning point in our relations with Great Britain as in many other things. In fact, so marked was the British change of attitude at this time that some writers have naïvely concluded that a secret treaty of alliance between the two countries was made in 1897. Not only did the British Government thwart the attempt of Germany to form a coalition against us at the beginning of the Spanish-American War, but a British squadron in Manila Bay enabled Dewey to defy the commander of a German squadron which had appeared on the scene with sinister designs. The conduct of the German Admiral was so discourteous and aggressive that Dewey finally sent his flag-lieutenant aboard his ship to tell him, "if he wants a fight he can have it right now." The Commander of the British squadron had meanwhile brought his ships into position to bear on the Germans, and had given Dewey to understand that he might rely on more than moral support in case of trouble. In fact, John Hay wrote from London at the beginning of the War, that the British Navy was at our disposal for the asking, on the *quid pro quo* principle of course. Fortunately, we did not need it, but our Navy finally came to the aid of England in the World War as effectively, though not as promptly, as if we had had a naval alliance.

Out of the mass of literature dealing with Anglo-American relations, a few significant titles should be brought to the reader's attention. "The English-Speaking Peoples" by the late George L. Beer is a book which every thoughtful American should read. Beer was widely known as a brilliant American student of British Colonial policy. He sacrificed his life in the service of his country at the Peace Conference. His book deals with the fundamental identity of interest, economic interdependence, and community of policy of the English-speaking peoples. Professor William A. Dunning's "British Empire and the United States" is a brilliant review of relations during the hundred years following the Treaty of Ghent. Charles Francis Adams's "Trans-Atlantic Historical Solidarity" is an authoritative discussion of relations during the Civil War by the son of Lincoln's Minister to England. It clears up many prejudices and false ideas. "The Life and Letters of John Hay" by W. R. Thayer is valuable for the period of the Spanish-American War and the Boxer troubles in China. Owen Wister's recent book, "A Straight Deal or the Ancient Grudge," is written in popular vein and contains some striking and valuable points of view. One marvels that a man of so many prejudices should have overcome one of the greatest—his prejudice against Great Britain.

H.G.

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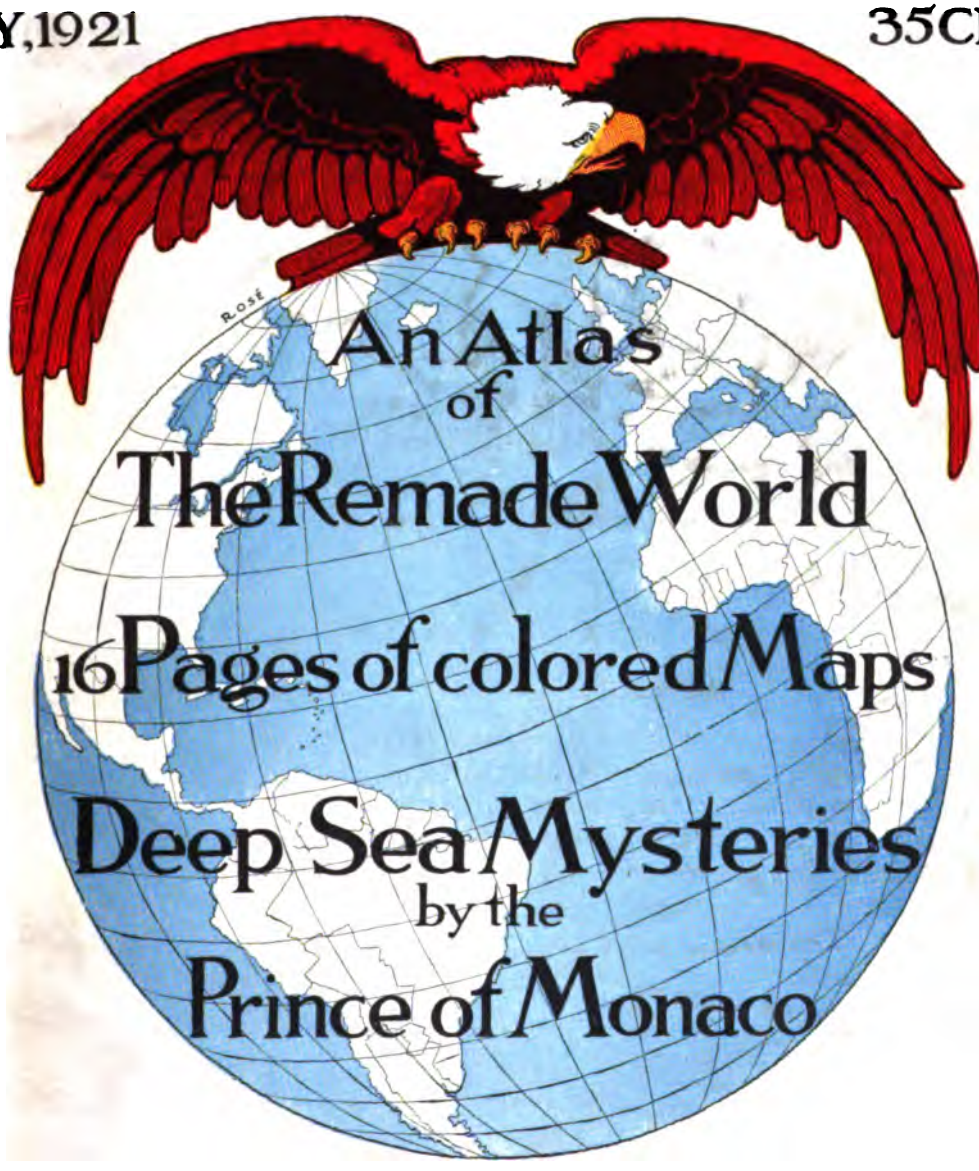

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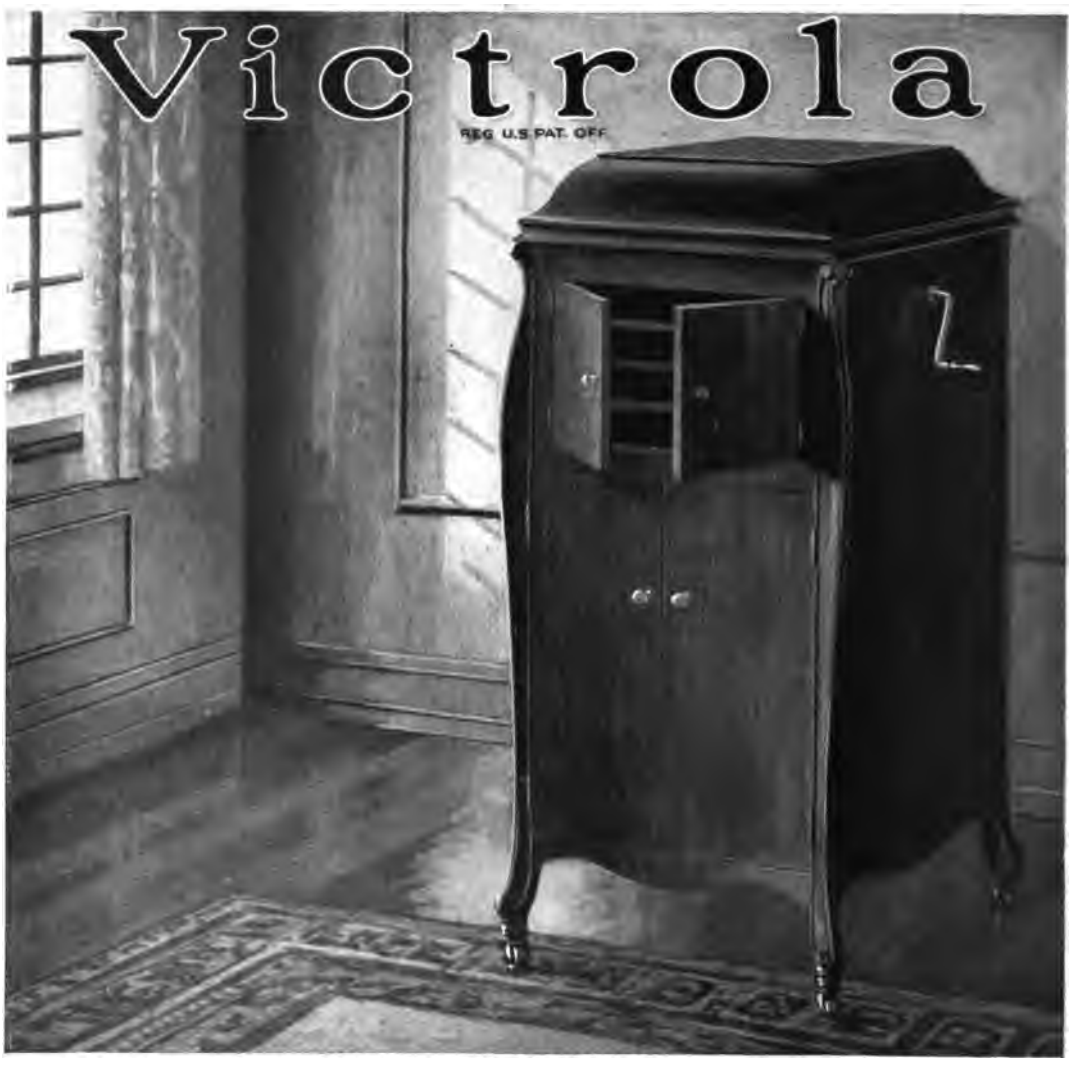

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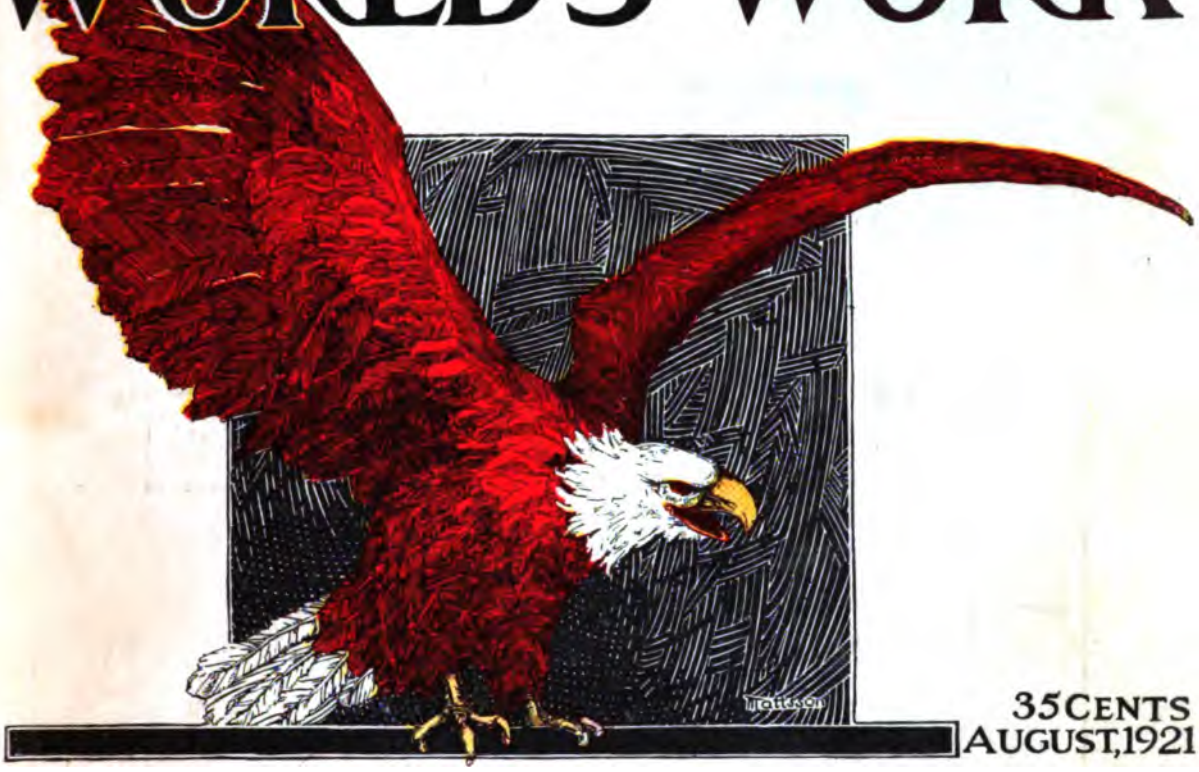

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There Is No Kind of Business

where Group Life Insurance cannot be applied to advantage, and it is a proven success in factories, shops, railroads, banks, stores, public utilities, mines, and other places.

Ask the concerns that carry Group Life Insurance in The Prudential what they think of it. Large brochure on request.

WHAT IT DOES

For the Employee

Pays doctor's bill, funeral expenses, and something to spare.
Demonstrates employer's interest in the family.
Fosters contentment at home.
Discourages "throwing up the job."

For the Employer

Does away with "passing the hat."
Attracts a higher grade of applicants for employment.
Makes the wife a silent partner in the business.
Helps to reduce labor turnover.

The Prudential Insurance Company of America

Incorporated under the laws of the State of New Jersey

FORREST F. DRYDEN, *President* HOME OFFICE, NEWARK, N. J.

He didn't think to put on

WEED TIRE CHAINS

so now his car is Junk!

TIMELY WARNING! Make up your mind now always to put on *Weed Tire Chains* at the first drop of rain

WEED
TIRE CHAINS
left in the garage never stop a skid

IT is a regrettable fact that some automobile drivers still seemingly prefer to take a chance and then think afterwards.

Instead of spending a few minutes to put on Weed Chains they spend hundreds of dollars repairing the damage caused by skidding.

A *certain* antidote to the chances of skidding on *uncertain* pavements and roads is to make an "iron clad" rule always to put on Weed Chains at the first drop of rain.

Directions for attaching Weed Chains are very simple and are packed in the bag with every pair. Additional copies will be sent on request.

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September, 1921 35 Cents

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VICTOR TALKING MACHINE CO.
Camden, N. J.

Victrola XVII, $350
Victrola XVII, electric, $415
Mahogany or oak

Victrola

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Victor Talking Machine Co., Camden, N.J.

His Diary

Mighty nice to be back again with all my old pals—especially this SHEAFFER PEN. It's a darb! I never flunked an exam with it last year—it never fails me. I notice everybody worth knowing writes with a SHEAFFER. There's a freshman girl using one right now—a good excuse to get acquainted.

Her Diary

Everybody's so strange. I'm glad I've got my friendly, reliable SHEAFFER Pencil. It's my only connection with home. Looks like a nice upper-classman opposite. He uses a SHEAFFER, too. Hope he speaks to me. We'll talk about SHEAFFER Pens —that's one good thing we have in common.

No. 5-C, illustrated below, with Sheaffer Clip, $5.25

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Henry Morgenthau—"All in a Life-Time"

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How the United States tried to avert War in 1913 by A Disarmament Conference

A Hitherto Unrevealed Episode

There's lasting satisfaction in owning a Victrola

When the instrument you buy for your home is a Victrola you have the satisfaction of knowing:

- that it was specially made to play Victor records;
- that the greatest artists make their Victor records to play on Victrola instruments;
- that you hear these artists exactly as they expected you to hear them, because they themselves tested and approved their own records *on the Victrola.*

Victrolas $25 to $1500. New Victor Records demonstrated at all dealers in Victor products on the 1st of each month.

"HIS MASTERS VOICE"

This trademark and the trademarked word "Victrola" identify all our products. Look under the lid! Look on the label!

VICTOR TALKING MACHINE CO.
Camden, N. J.

Victor Talking Machine Co., Camden, N. J.

The *Slip*-Shod Driver

THE *slip*-shod driver leaves Weed Tire Chains in the locker when careful drivers put them on their tires. The *slip*-shod driver comes recklessly out of side streets; the *slip*-shod driver cuts corners; the *slip*-shod driver never inspects his brakes and steering gear; the *slip*-shod driver does not signal before turning or stopping; the *slip*-shod driver does not give a warning signal of his approach.

Help us concentrate the light of a condemning public opinion on the *slip*-shod driver—*the greatest menace of motoring.*

Help us forge an endless chain campaign for motoring safety for everyone.

Show this advertisement to all *slip*-shod drivers you meet and ask them to spread its doctrines to others in their class.

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